The Police and the City
Paris, 1660-1750

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Abstract

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Since antiquity the term *polis* has captured both the idea of city as physical settlement and that of city as community/state. In early modern France, this constituent ambivalence was embodied in the notion of *police*. The object of this dissertation is to trace the contours of the *ville policée*, or well-ordered city—an idea of the city that underpinned the work of police officers and government administrators during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The research explores the practices developed by the Paris police to control, discipline, and manage the city, and the discourse that informed and authorized those practices. The focus is on two critical passages: the creation, in 1667, of the Lieutenance de Police, an institution that reconfigured the political dynamic of city government and changed the way Paris was to be managed and built for more than a century; and the publication, between 1705 and 1738, of Nicolas Delamare's *Traité de la police*, the first and most important formulation of the scope and principles of the police. The theorists of the *ville policée* turned the city into a new, complex object of knowledge; they developed a new 'rationality' of the city, an understanding of the multiple, interconnected factors essential to city life (public safety and order, public health, food supply, labor relations, urban infrastructure, etc.) and an awareness that, in order to manage the city effectively, that entire spectrum of factors was to be confronted holistically and inscribed within a coherent planning and governmental strategy. In exploring the attempt of Delamare and his fellow police officers to produce an impossibly comprehensive science of the city, I argue that the project of police marks the first sustained effort to understand and come to terms with the modern urban condition.

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Acknowledgements

This thesis has been in the making for long, much too long. At last, I am happy to offer several overdue thanks. To Mary McLeod, first of all: a tireless and wonderfully generous adviser, she has been my most important mentor since the very beginning; I owe her a debt I cannot possibly repay. Barry Bergdoll, Yoann Brault, Robert Carvais, and Anthony Vidler gave me valuable advice at critical moments. Many others fielded questions, shared their knowledge, or served as unwitting sounding boards: Richard Anderson, Pier Vittorio Aureli, Francesco Benelli, Craig Buckley, Jean-François Cabestan, Jean Castex, Kenneth Frampton, Ralph Ghoche, Jean-Louis Harouel, John Harwood, Hyun Tae Jung, Enrico Landi, Alejandro Lapunzina, Reinhold Martin, Patricia Meehan, Peter Minosh, Paolo Napoli, Albert Narath, Daniel Rabreau, Inderbir Riar, Robert Rubin, Victoria Sanger, Erin Schreiner, Nader Vossoughian, Enrique Walker, Carolyn Yerkes, and Tao Zhu. Finally, the thesis would simply not be without the formidable mentorship of Robin Middleton, adviser extraordinaire.

I should also like to acknowledge the institutions that made this research possible. In addition to the Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation at Columbia University, the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts, and the libraries and archives that hosted me in Paris and New York, I am indebted to the digital libraries of Gallica at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the ARTFL Project at the University of Chicago, and Google Books.

My greatest debt is to my wife, Olympia Kazi. The first reader—and the sharpest critic—of the thesis, she has borne with me throughout the ordeal. I dedicate the work to her.

Editorial method

Quotations

In citing sources, I generally maintained the original spelling and punctuation of both printed and manuscript texts. However, I normalized certain orthography (*s* for *ſ*, *u* for *v*) and expanded omitted letters (e.g., *homme* for *hom̃e*).

For the sake of legibility—and to avoid marking too many passages with a *sic*—I corrected some spelling, completed truncated words, and added punctuation and diacritical marks in the quotations from the minutes of the Conseil de Police. I also added occasional apostrophes and accent marks in the quotations from Delamare's correspondence.

In transcribing manuscript sources, I put angle brackets around the <words> I could not read confidently. I transcribed as <+> the words I found illegible.

The early modern practice of capitalizing words being, to say the least, inconsistent, when emphasis did not seem especially warranted I lowercased words capitalized in mid-sentence.

Translations

I left the names of institutions and most official titles untranslated and non-italicized (e.g., Bureau des Finances, Trésorier, Exempt, Maître des Requêtes, and Prévôt des Marchands). I used English equivalents for most legislative, judicial, and administrative acts (e.g., ordinance, sentence, edict, and letters patent) and let stand in French only the untranslatable *arrêt*.

Footnotes

The three editions of the *Traité de la police*—Nicolas Delamare's first and second (Paris, 1705, 1710, 1719; Paris, 1722) and the pirated second (Amsterdam, 1729)—differ in their pagination but share the same indexing system. To facilitate verification and comparison, when citing the *Traité* I put in square brackets the indexing reference: thus, *Traité-2*, 1:479 [III.4.1] points to the second edition, volume 1, page 479, indexed as book III, title 4, chapter 1.

I wrote the *cotes* of documents at the Archives Nationales not with superscript figures but with letters and numbers separated by slashes (e.g., H/2/2132/1 instead of H^2 2132^1), adopting the format actually employed at the Archives' terminals for the paging of documents—a format that also happens to be a lot easier to type.

C'est dans ces conditions périlleuses pour l'avenir que s'effectue lentement le long labeur dont l'objet est d'ordonner le fait urbain, de le policer, de le discipliner, de le maintenir en capacité de production, de le hisser hors de l'étouffement du chaos. Labeur énorme qu'exécutent les services municipaux, ces services qu'on critique toujours et qu'on ne loue jamais, puisqu'ils sont semblables aux agents de la police qui, aux jours des réjouissances publiques, rectifient inlassablement nos élans, canalisent notre flot, avec cette éternelle et agaçante attitude du gendarme.

Le Corbusier, *Urbanisme*, 1925.

Il vero problema, l'arcano centrale della politica non è la sovranità, ma il governo, non è Dio, ma l'angelo, non è il re, ma il ministro, non è la legge, ma la polizia — ovvero, la macchina governamentale che essi formano e mantengono in movimento.

Giorgio Agamben, *Il regno e la gloria*, 2007.

Introduction

This thesis began accidentally—from two footnotes.

In his *Mémoires sur les objets les plus importans de l'architecture*, of 1769, in the chapter "sur la distribution vicieuse des villes, & sur les moyens de rectifier les inconvéniens auxquels elles sont sujettes," the architect Pierre Patte advanced a pioneering project of architectural and urban reform. One of Patte's most significant proposals concerned the provision of water. Urban dwellers, he argued, should be spared the hassle of fetching water from either rivers or public fountains; most important, they should not have to suffer water polluted by some "principe vicieux." With disarming simplicity, Patte proposed that buildings be equipped with drain pipes channeling rain water into cisterns filled with "gros sables de riviere." In Patte's ideal city, all residents would have, in their own courtyard, a "fontaine domestique"—a convenient and always plentiful source of filtered rain water, "une boisson toujours très-légere & de même qualité." (In the "Profil d'une rue," the domestic fountain is at far left, marked with the letter Z.) **[fig. 0.1]**

Now for the first footnote. The idea that "une eau pure & salubre" was essential to the well-being of the city, Patte drew from the ancients. In a brief and not particularly original historical digression, he recalled how the Romans spared no expense in building "la multitude d'aqueducs" that brought good water to their cities. He then appended the following footnote:

> Le Commissaire Lamare dans son *Traité de la Police, tome 2, page 576*, a fait voir que, si tous les conduits que ces peuples firent exécuter, pour amener des

> eaux dans les fontaines publiques de Rome, étoient mis bout à bout, ils composeroient plus de cent lieues de longueur.[1]

Initially, I did not make much of this reference. With no idea of who the Commissaire was, I remember thinking it curious and, in fact, quite amusing that someone would write a treatise—a treatise!—on the police. I thumbed through the chapter for other footnotes. Patte cited Palladio's *Quattro libri* and his own *Monumens érigés en France à la gloire de Louis XV*. He quoted, entire, Catherine II's *Prospectus* announcing a competition for "les embellissemens" of Saint Petersburg. Most of Patte's marginal notes, though, were to texts at some remove from architecture: Plutarch's *Lives*, Cicero's *De officiis* and *De legibus*, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier's *Voyage* to Persia, a Jesuit missionary's report from China, Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*, and the *Traité de la police* of the "Commissaire Lamare." The tidbit of information on Roman aqueducts seemed useless, the sort of erudite trivia on which eighteenth-century antiquarians reveled. Patte, I was sure, must have put it in just for show.

Patte closed the chapter with a series of specific proposals for the urban renewal of Paris: noisy, smelly, and polluting *métiers* should be moved outside the city; ditto for the cemeteries; sewers should be dug underground; all quartiers should have "lieux communs" (a euphemism for public latrines); the Hôtel-Dieu should be moved to the Ile des Cygnes; the *pavé* should be re-done so that the much-despised *boue* be less likely to form; new streets should be created, wider than the existing ones and with a clear separation of pedestrian and vehicular traffic; the houses built on the bridges should be demolished, so that air might circulate freely and "une vûe

[1] Pierre PATTE, *Mémoires sur les objets les plus importans de l'architecture* (Paris: Rozet, 1769), 56nA.

étendue" be obtained; to prevent fires, wood construction should be proscribed and brick construction encouraged; more water should be brought to the city, either from the river, with new pumps, or from nearby untapped sources; a canal should be built on the north side of the city, along the boulevards. All these proposals, he wrote, "ne peuvent trouver aucun empêchement physique dans leur exécution." They were all eminently feasible, but in order to carry them out properly it was essential that a "plan général suffisament détaillé" be made, a master plan that would "allier l'agréable à l'utile" and guide urban development toward an "embellissement total." Large-scale demolition and reconstruction were not an option. Patte saw urban renewal as proceeding gradually, incrementally, by requiring that all new construction follow the master plan's directives. He gave the example of the city of Metz, most of which had been "rectifiée suivant un nouveau plan" over the previous twenty years. "Pour y réussir," he added, "il n'a fallu que faire revivre une ordonnance de Henri IV, qui défend de reconstruire ou de rétablir tout ce qui se trouve en saillie, ou dans les allignemens arrêtés pour les embellissemens des villes."

After this sentence came the second footnote: "Code de la Voirie, 1607."[2] I only knew vaguely of Henry IV's edict and its provision for the alignment of streets, and had never come across it as the "code de la voirie." I was familiar with today's usage of the term *voirie* (as in *travaux de voirie*, for roadworks) but that did not seem quite right. I looked up *voirie* in the *Encyclopédie*:

> Voierie, f. f. (*Gram.* & *Jurisprud.*) *viaria* ou *viatura seu viatoria*, & par corruption *voeria*, *voueria*, lesquels sont tous dérivés du latin *via*, qui signifie *voie*, se prend en général pour une voie, chemin, travers, charriere, sentier ou rue commune ou publique & privée.

[2] Ibid., 66nA.

> On entend aussi quelquefois par-là certaines places publiques, vaines & vagues, adjacentes aux chemins, qui servent de décharge pour les immondices des villes & bourgs. [...]
>
> On entend plus communément par le terme de *voierie*, la police des chemins, & la jurisdiction qui exerce cette police.[3]

Police, again. The *Encyclopédie* article kept introducing it: *voierie* was a "partie de la police," a "portion de la police générale." Twice, the author used the collocation "police de la voierie." At the end of the article, just before the cross-references (Voyer, Chemins, Péage, Places, Rues), he appended a welcome bibliographic reference: "Voyez le *traité de la police* de la Mare, *tome IV liv. VI tit. 15*, & le *code* de la *voierie*, celui de la police, *tit. 6*."

The Commissaire Delamare, his *Traité de la police*, and the *voirie*. I knew there was a thesis there.

Pierre Patte's project of urban reform marks a critical passage for the emergence of modern urban planning. What is especially relevant is his redefinition of the notion of *embellissement*, namely the shift of emphasis from aesthetic and symbolic to practical and utilitarian preoccupations. Patte, of course, aimed at making Paris more beautiful, but the novelty of his "embellissement total" was to imagine strategies to make the city less congested, less polluted, less noisy—cleaner, healthier, and safer. Patte wanted Paris to *function better*.

The references to Nicolas Delamare's *Traité de la police* and to the regulations of the *voirie* were not perfunctory. In fact, Patte's main preoccupations—the concern for easing the circulation of air, people, and goods; the insistence on the alignment of streets; the concern for public health; the attention to urban

[3] [Antoine-Gaspard BOUCHER D'ARGIS], "Voierie," *Encyclopédie* (1765): 17:422-23.

infrastructure and to the prosaic problems of sanitation—had been for a long time the main occupation of the officers who managed the police of Paris. As I was to discover, Patte did not necessarily invent a new city; he brilliantly articulated and gave form to an idea of the city that had been elaborated over the previous century by the administrators and the theorists of the police. The object of this dissertation is to trace the contours of such idea of the city: the *ville policée*.

By exploring the theory of Delamare and the practices of urban management developed by the Paris police from the late-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century, this thesis presents an alternative account of the origins of modern urban planning, one that supplements both modern architectural histories, which have focused on aesthetic developments within the tradition of Baroque architecture and urban plans, and interpretations indebted to cultural and intellectual history, which have emphasized the role of philosophers, cultural critics, and architectural theorists in proposing new visions of the city. Although not necessarily at odds with these accounts, this research charts a different trajectory, shifting the attention away from monumental architecture and urban design (e.g., the planning of royal squares) or the contribution of Enlightenment critics (e.g., Voltaire and Marc-Antoine Laugier) and focusing instead on the institutional and regulatory environment underpinning the building of early modern Paris and on the system of ideas of government encompassed under the rubric of so-called "police science." This dissertation brings to light a discourse and a set of practices that have been overlooked if not altogether ignored in the standard historiographical narratives of early modern architecture and urban planning—materials that have a crucial bearing on the construction of the City of Enlightenment.

The practical and theoretical work of the police was fundamental in at least two respects. First, the barrage of ordinances issued by the institutions with police authority and, more generally, the practices that the administration developed to regulate the *voirie* were critical to the physical transformation of early modern Paris. One thinks, above all, of the royal declarations that set limits to the city and its faubourgs (1672, 1724-28), but also of countless other measures that addressed the construction and management of streets and buildings, including the obligation for building owners to respect street alignments, the ordinances limiting the *saillies* of buildings, the regulations for the proper construction of chimneys, the measures specifying the incline of the pavé, or, later in the century (1783-84), the rules that prescribed ratios between the width of streets and the height of buildings. Second, the work of the police and the theory formulated by Delamare in the *Traité* anticipated and laid the groundwork for several key shifts in the late-eighteenth-century urban imaginary.

The new understanding of the city—indeed, the new consciousness of the very scope of urban planning—that is readable in the work of architects and urban theorists such as Pierre Patte, Maille Dussausoy, Guillaume Poncet de la Grave, Jaillot, Louis-Sébastien Mercier, and Charles de Wailly would be unthinkable without acknowledging their debt to the work of the officers and administrators that for decades labored at policing the city. Ideas that are central to the project of the modern city, including the idea of the city as a space of circulation and exchange, the idea of the city as the site of specific pathologies, or the idea of functional zoning, had been prefigured in the practices of the police and in the discourse that informed and authorized those practices. In this respect, the renovation of Paris carried out in the nineteenth century under Baron Haussmann may be said to have inherited the legacy

of eighteenth-century police administrators and, perhaps, to have fulfilled the aims of the well-ordered city.

The project of police can be read as a critical instance in the emergence of the modern notion of planning. The theorists of the *ville policée* turned the city into a new, complex object of knowledge. They developed what may be called a new "rationality" of the city—an understanding of the multiple, interconnected factors essential to city life (public safety and order, public health, food supply, labor relations, urban infrastructure, etc.) and an awareness that, in order to manage the city effectively, that entire spectrum of factors was to be confronted holistically and inscribed within a comprehensive planning strategy. In exploring the attempt of Delamare and his fellow police officers to produce an impossibly comprehensive science of the city, I argue that the project of police marks the first sustained effort to understand and come to terms with the modern urban condition.

Until the late-seventeenth century, the term *police* did not indicate any single administrative agency or a specialized corps of officers. *Police* stood not so much for an actual institution as for a set of functions. Moreover, throughout the early modern period, *police* indicated both a form of control and the results of such control. The first dictionary of the Académie Française, of 1694, defined *police* as "ordre." The *Encyclopédie*, in 1765, equated it with "gouvernement." The term is perhaps best understood not as a noun but in its adjectival form: a city—but also a state or a people—was called *policée* if it was (well) governed, ordered, civilized.

Police encompassed a broad range of functions. To police the city meant not only to maintain security and public order, but also to guarantee the food supply of the city, to control its productive activities, to ensure its salubrity, to regulate its

voirie, to preside over its morals. To police the city meant, in a word, to look after the city's very life.

The key instrument of the police was the ordinance, or regulation. Police ordinances sought to enjoin citizens toward disciplined conduct and to ward off a wide range of urban hazards, whether food shortages, bread riots, traffic jams, urban fires, the dangers of polluted air and water, or the moral dangers posed by vagabonds, prostitutes, and the "pauvres honteux." The aim of the police was a city without accidents and *embarras*, where traffic ran smoothly, people lived peaceably, and all were engaged in productive work—in short, a city purged of physical and social ills.

In Paris, the functions of police were exercised by several institutions, including the Châtelet, the Parlement, the Hôtel de Ville, and the Bureau des Finances. In such fragmented a jurisdictional environment, the relations between the various institutions were often contestatory, and police measures were poorly implemented. Beginning in the early-seventeenth century, the growth of Paris and of its population threatened the *police*, the order of the city. In the aftermath of the Fronde, the crown took stock of an urban crisis: Paris was dirty, crowded, unsafe, and unruly. In 1666, Louis XIV and Jean-Baptiste Colbert set about modernizing the urban administration by reforming the practices of the police. The foremost outcome of the reform was a royal edict that, in March 1667, installed a new magistrate at the Châtelet, the Lieutenant de Police de la Ville, Prévôté, et Vicomté de Paris.

The new institution reconfigured the political dynamic of the city and changed the way Paris was to be managed and built for more than a century. From 1667 until the Revolution, the Lieutenance de Police grew into a powerful administrative and bureaucratic machine that reached deeper and deeper into the

life of the city. The Lieutenance established an ever-more comprehensive regulatory regime for the disciplining of society and the management of urban risk. In particular, by exercising control over the *voirie*, the officers of the Paris police played a critical role in shaping urban development: they regulated street alignments and the layout of street intersections, oversaw the services of urban sanitation and street lighting, supervised construction and the quality of building materials, and prescribed, among other things, how streets should be paved and the shape and size of shops' signs.

In parallel to the actual work of police—the concrete effort to rein in the city—police officers and administrators articulated a theory of the police. The most important figure in the development of such theory was Nicolas Delamare, a Commissaire in the quartier of the Cité and a trusted agent of Gabriel-Nicolas de La Reynie, the first Lieutenant de Police. In the late 1670s, Delamare began to assemble a collection of ordinances and regulations dating back to the Middle Ages, with a view to producing a systematic treatment of the subject of police. The result of this research, which occupied Delamare for decades, was the monumental, multi-volume *Traité de la police*, at once a comprehensive history of the police, an exhaustive compendium of police regulations, and the first methodical formulation of the principles and ambitions of the police. Although Delamare's *summa* of the police was never finished (only six books were published between 1705 and 1738, out of twelve originally planned), the *Traité* was to remain until the Revolution the most authoritative reference for all police administrators and the ultimate expression of the theory of government of the *ville policée*.

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, the police of early modern France has been the object of intense scrutiny. The field of 'police studies' is now extremely

vast, with contributions by scholars from a great variety of disciplines, including the history of institutions, the history of jurisprudence, social history, intellectual and cultural history, political philosophy, and the philosophy of law. Of necessity, this thesis is poised at the confluence of several historiographical and disciplinary traditions. (The unwieldy bibliography at the end of this dissertation gives a measure of the scope of these traditions.) In order to chart my way into the history of the police, early on I settled on three programmatic choices, three decisions that shaped the research in terms of historiographical method and, eventually, conditioned the dissertation's form of argumentation and strategies of interpretation.

The first programmatic *parti* of this thesis was the decision to confront both the practical and the theoretical work of the police, and to weave together the two analyses. Although this dissertation traces the development of an idea of the city, the *ville policée*, and is thus primarily concerned with intellectual history and the analysis of debates and ideas, I strove to always maintain sight of the relation between those ideas and the actual practices of police control, and to keep an open mind as to questions of determination—for example, Was police theory a reflection of police practices? Did it influence them?

In many ways, there is nothing particularly remarkable in this decision. Ideas, after all, do not exist in any sort of supra-historical vacuum but emerge from and are always nested in concrete historical contexts and experiences: any intellectual history must pay attention to the ways in which ideas were produced and, at a minimum, to the lives of those who did the producing. The decision to weave together the two parallel stories, however, was dictated by the subject matter itself: the early modern discourse of police is simply unintelligible without an understanding of the concrete experiences from which it emerged. The case of Nicolas Delamare is, in this respect,

exemplary. The celebrated author of the *Traité* worked for roughly half a century as a police officer. His theory of the police was not the result of abstract philosophical speculation but the work of a practitioner, a policeman occupied daily with policing the streets of his city. It bears repeating: Delamare was, first and foremost, a cop. No doubt, he was also an extremely well-read and erudite man, a scholar. He studied Plato and Aristotle, Cicero and Vitruvius, Grotius and Hobbes, as well as scores of other ancient and modern authorities in the most disparate subjects, from history and theology to geography and medicine. In the end, though, the *Traité* was the work of an officer with his feet firmly planted on the ground, a practitioner who wrote in order to understand and give order and clarity to the powers of police that he exercised during his long life. The 'science' of police becomes intelligible only when read as a discourse built upon and, in turn, instrumental in the development of real, all-too-real practices of police control.

I put single quotes around the word 'science' to signal a basic difficulty. In contrast to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century developments in Germany, where jurists and political economists such as Veit Ludwig von Seckendorf, Justus Christoph Dithmar, and Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi erected the discourse on the police into a veritable science and, in fact, into an academic discipline (in 1727, a university chair of *Polizeiwissenschaft* was established in Frankfurt/Oder and Halle), the French discourse on the police never truly gained the theoretical and disciplinary autonomy of a science. The work of Delamare and of practically all other eighteenth-century French theorists of the police—jurists and police officers such as Edme de la Poix de Fréminville, Jean-Baptiste Lemaire, Joseph-Hippolyte Perrot, Jean-Charles-Pierre Lenoir, and Jacques Peuchet—was consistently marked by a fundamentally pragmatic, empirical approach. However intellectually ambitious they

may have been, the French authors rarely engaged in the abstractions of their German colleagues. In both France and Germany, the theory of police grew out of the attempt to systematize the range of practical means by which an administration might sustain and promote the well-being of a community. But only the Cameralist thinkers across the Rhine turned the discourse on the police into a set of doctrinal precepts constituting a science of the state. The French authors never conceived of the police, in the words of Paolo Napoli, "comme forme généralisée de pouvoir."[4] They remained bound to a pragmatic horizon, most evident in the very genres of books that they produced: manuals, codes, and dictionaries rather than theoretical treatises—works that compiled the multitude of ordinances issued on matters of police, described the workings of judicial and administrative institutions, but seldom tackled abstract politico-philosophical questions on the nature of government and police power. One may quote the "Avertissement" that Nicolas-Toussaint Des Essarts appended in 1788 to the sixth volume of his *Dictionnaire universel de police*. Defending himself of charges that he had not really proposed any new idea on the police, he wrote:

> Mon but est d'être utile; je m'en écarterois, si je ne rapportois pas toutes les loix & tous les réglemens qui concernent chaque branche de la Police. J'aime donc mieux qu'on me reproche l'étendue de mes articles, qu'un laconisme qui rendroit mon ouvrage imparfait. Je suis d'ailleurs peu jaloux d'obtenir le suffrage des lecteurs frivoles. Un Dictionnaire de Police n'est pas fait pour leur plaire; mais j'espère que les Magistrats & les Officiers de Police me sauront gré de leur présenter le tableau général de l'administration importante dont ils sont chargés, & de leur épargner des recherches pénibles

[4] Paolo NAPOLI, *Naissance de la police moderne. Pouvoir, normes, société* (Paris: La Découverte, 2003), 272.

> & souvent infructueuses. C'est le but que je me suis proposé, & dont je ne m'écarterai point.[5]

Such concern for producing works meant to be of actual use to magistrates, police officers, and government administrators may be a limitation of the French writers but it is also the key to understand their originality. In particular, such empiricism might be read with respect to two distinctive traits of the French science of police: its realist attention to police practices and their historical development; and its marked focus on the urban question.

The research of many eighteenth-century French police writers consisted primarily in collecting and organizing chronological series of ordinances, with a view to producing systematic and, most important, historicized compendia of police measures. Unsurprisingly, it was Delamare who opened the way to such historical approach. "Ainsi n'arrivant rien de nouveau sous le Ciel, selon le dire du Sage," he remarked in the preface of the *Traité*, "c'est principalement dans les évenemens passez que nous pouvons puiser des régles de prudence, & de conduite pour le présent, & pour l'avenir."[6] The Commissaire wrote the theory of the police by writing its history.

Delamare was also instrumental in defining the focus of the French police writers: they all conceived of the police as an essentially urban fact. In the first pages of the *Traité*, after tracing the etymology of the word *police* to the Greek πόλις (*polis*), the Commissaire noted that the French word was "équivoque." At times, he wrote, *police* was used as a synonym for government as such, "mais ordinairement &

[5] [Nicolas-Toussaint] DES ESSARTS, *Dictionnaire universel de police*, 7 vols (Paris: Moutard, 1786-89), 6:viii.

[6] *Traité*, 1:[xviii-xix] ["Préface"].

dans un sens plus limité, il se prend pour l'ordre public de chaque Ville."[7] Delamare and his followers did not articulate a general theory of governmental power or a fully fledged science of the state. Their science of police was a discourse insistently focused on the city, a formidable intellectual project to think urban life and the means to govern it.

My second programmatic decision was to approach the police holistically. Although my initial aim was to explore the work of the police with respect to questions of architecture and urban planning, it became evident early on that the strategies that the administration developed to regulate the *voirie* could be properly understood only when discussed within the overall project of police: it was necessary to consider the *voirie* as but one of the many functions of the police—and one, for that matter, that might not necessarily be the most central. When Delamare set about devising the structure of the *Traité*, he identified eleven domains of social life into which the police reached: religion, mores, public health, food provisioning, *voirie*, public safety, liberal arts and sciences, commerce, manufacture and mechanical arts, domestic work, and the poor. Although he planned to devote separate books to each of these domains, Delamare insisted repeatedly on the fundamental unity of the project of police. Isolating the analysis of the *voirie* from the preoccupations of police administrators for public safety or public health and, more generally, from their understanding of the essential unity of the spectrum of activities subsumed under the notion of police, would have resulted in narrow and, quite possibly, faulty analyses.

[7] *Traité*, 1:2 [I.1].

As the quickest glance at early modern police ordinances reveals, practically all police measures were the result of a combination of concerns. Even the measures that ostensibly addressed narrowly defined problems—say, the ordinance that prohibited the flying of kites in the streets[8] **[fig. A.3]**—had rarely a unique rationale but stemmed always from multiple preoccupations. In the eyes of the police, the problems of urban living were almost necessarily the effect of several interlocked causes; they were all deeply, ineluctably entangled. That same entanglement obtained also with respect to the goals of any single police measure: almost invariably, ordinances purported to produce multiple effects. For police administrators, for example, flying a kite was not only a safety hazard for passers-by; it could damage street lanterns, and it could lead to all sorts of *libertinage*. The kite-flying prohibition is but one small example of the way the multiple concerns of urban management (in this case, urban infrastructure, public safety, and public morality) were routinely combined.

At the root of Delamare and his colleagues' understanding of urban life was what might be called an "anxiety of entanglement," namely, an awareness that urban problems were all interconnected and a fear that every problem, if left untreated, could be the origin of escalating and potentially catastrophic chain reactions. This was certainly the case with respect to major structural problems that afflicted the city chronically (one thinks, above all, of the precariousness of the food supply: a rough winter could spell disaster, in the form of bread riots and, at worst, mass starvation) but also with respect to the countless details of everyday life to which the police attended, the quotidian disturbances that might trouble the well-being of the city.

[8] Police ordinance, 16 Oct. 1736, BnF ms. fr. 21693, fols. 365-66. **{Appendix 3}**

However focused on the problems of the *voirie*, I strove to give a sense of the complexity of the project of police in its entirety, of the way police administrators sought to understand and manage the myriad problems of co-existence in a dense urban environment.

The third and, possibly, most problematic *parti* of this research was the decision to write a thesis based primarily, if not exclusively, on primary sources, and to tell the story (or, at least, a story) of the early modern police with something of a nineteenth-century attitude, as if that story had never been told. There is a certain presumptuousness in this stance—that of the historian pretending to dismiss a century and a half of reflections on his subject matter, as if one could just scrape away all that has been thought and written on one's subject and, in a word, simply tell the story of the police as it actually happened. A personal bias (a distaste for texts peppered with sentences beginning with "As the historian So-and-so wrote, …") was probably a factor, but, above all, I constrained myself to a basic writing regimen (no quotations from secondary literature; no rehearsals of historiographical debates; no padding) after realizing, at an early stage of the research, that two elements that are central to virtually all histories of the early modern police—namely, the reform of 1667 and the theory of Delamare—had never been the object of proper study; they had remained either unexplored or, worse, occluded under multiple coats of hagiographic paint.

The reform of 1667 has often been posited as an inaugural moment in the history of the French police. For long, the dominant narrative was that forged by historians of institutions, who told the story of the creation of the Lieutenance de Police in triumphalist tones, positioning the new institution as a necessary step in an inexorable march of the so-called "administrative monarchy." This story has been

challenged and enriched by the revisionist literature produced since the 1970s. While acknowledging the novelty of the 1667 institution, historians such as Paolo Piasenza and, more recently, Vincent Milliot revealed important elements of continuity with earlier forms of police control and raised critical questions concerning the narrative of administrative centralization. The reform itself, however, has remained surprisingly unexplored. In particular, the meetings convened by Colbert in the fall and winter of 1666-67 to reform the practices of the police were never truly studied. In my research, the analysis of the surviving minutes of the Conseil de Police offered an opportunity to revisit these historiographical narratives and explore the political conflicts that preceded the reform and the ways the notion of police was brought to bear on the management of the city.

The historiography on Delamare and the *Traité de la police* is modest and somewhat spotty. Although references to the *Traité* are rife in the literature on early modern France, few historians appear to have looked at Delamare's book with more than passing interest. The *Traité* has mostly been used as a mere repertory of information, little more than a valuable documentary source. The Commissaire's archive has suffered a similar fate: the "Collection Delamare"—a treasure trove of early modern laws and ordinances at the Bibliothèque Nationale—has furnished materials to countless histories, but the archive as a whole has remained largely uncharted; Delamare's manuscript notes have mostly sat unread.

For long, the sole source on the Commissaire's life and work was the "éloge" that his assistant Anne-Louis Lecler du Brillet appended in 1738 to the fourth volume of the *Traité*. In 1876, in a short article, Arthur-Michel de Boislisle brought to light a few archival documents concerning the financing of the *Traité*. In 1935, Paul Martin Bondois published an article that revealed new documents, in particular a

biographical mémoire written by Delamare to secure funds for his research, and offered a useful if ultimately narrow assessment of the Commissaire's work. In 1962, in a book on La Reynie, Jacques Saint-Germain looked briefly at the relationship between Delamare and the Lieutenant de Police through their correspondence. In the early 1970s, Nicole Diament studied Delamare's archive, focusing especially on the Commissaire's activities in the police of the grain trade and of the book trade; while her unpublished thesis is very useful for retracing the career of Delamare, her analysis of the *Traité* is mostly limited to an account of the book's complex financing. In 2004, an article by Quentin Epron offered insights on Delamare's research practices and his relation to the juridical culture of early modern France. In 2005, an essay by Nicole Dyonet revealed new archival documents concerning Delamare's family and his career as a Commissaire, and offered brief, perceptive remarks on the reform of 1667. In a 2011 essay, Dyonet gave a synthetic account of the *Traité*, with an analysis of the book's allegorical vignettes.

Two authors have offered compelling readings of the *Traité*: Steven Kaplan and Michel Foucault. Both have influenced me profoundly. In his masterful study of the eighteenth-century grain trade, Kaplan provided a seminal analysis of the administration's policies of provisioning and of the exigencies of subsistence management; moreover, by setting his sight on the debates of the 1760s and 1770s and on the arguments put forward by the Physiocrats, he shed a new and bright light on the principles of police regulation advanced by Delamare in the *Traité*.[9] Foucault wrote relatively little on the *Traité*, but the arguments he proposed in the late 1970s

[9] Steven L. KAPLAN, *Bread, Politics and Political Economy in the Reign of Louis XV*, 2 vols (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976).

on the problematics of "gouvernmentalité" and "biopolitique" have indelibly marked my understanding of the early modern police. Although I depart from Foucault in some respects—in particular, I find troublesome his approach to historical causality and his thesis of an ever-advancing biopolitical reach of power into social life—I remain indebted to his analysis of the police as "a governmental technology peculiar to the state."[10]

In one way or another, this entire thesis revolves around the work of the Commissaire whom I first encountered in Pierre Patte's footnote. Truth be told, another footnote spurred me to stay for so long in the company of this extraordinary policeman-cum-scholar. In 1976, Steven Kaplan called Delamare's "mammooth" *Traité* "a staggering monument to the range, complexity, and pretension of the police enterprise." In a footnote, he added: "There remains an important book to be written on Delamare."[11] Alas, this thesis is no such book. I hope, however, it is a contribution toward a critical assessment of Nicolas Delamare and the *Traité de la police*.

Chapter 1, "The Utopia of the Police," explores the *Mémoire sur la réformation de la police de France,* a project conceived in 1749 by François-Jacques Guillotte, an officer of the Paris police. With respect to chronology, this chapter should have been at the end of the thesis. Two reasons justify placing it at the beginning. The first has to do with the *Mémoire* itself. Unlike many of Delamare's followers, who produced texts that essentially described and explained the workings

[10] Michel FOUCAULT, "Omnes et Singulatim: Toward a Criticism of Political Reason," in *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, vol. 2, ed. Sterling M. McMurin (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1981): 223-54 at 246.

[11] KAPLAN, *Bread, Politics and Political Economy in the Reign of Louis XV*, 1:13, 63-64n23.

of the police, Guillotte wrote a crisp project of reform, notable for the sharpness of its criticism, the ingenuity of its proposals, and for a wonderful set of illustrations drawn by the young Gabriel de Saint-Aubin. Guillotte's *Mémoire* provides a remarkably clear introduction into the world of the Paris police and into the key problems of the city's *voirie*. In many ways, the *Mémoire* is the closest thing to a blueprint of the *ville policée*.

The second reason has to do with the *Mémoire*'s readers. By curious circumstance—Guillotte was Diderot's landlord—Guillotte's ideas found their way into the *Encyclopédie*, Catherine II's *Nakaz*, and the political writings of Diderot. Tracing these ramifications offered an opportunity to examine Diderot's political thought and his confrontation with the theories of economic liberalism and "despotisme éclairé" proposed by the Physiocrats. Through the lens of Diderot, we can read at once the ideology of the police—the argument for state regulation of society and the economy—and the ideology of the Physiocrats who, by positing the economy as a natural and ultimately self-regulating system, advanced the first and most substantial challenge to the theory of the police championed half a century earlier by Delamare.

Chapter 2, "The Police of Paris," explores the reform of 1667 and the creation of the Lieutenance de Police. In the first part of the essay, I examine the scope and complexity of the early modern notion of police; I trace the ways in which police functions were exercised in Paris until the mid-seventeenth century and, more broadly, how police power was conceived and distinguished from the power of justice. The core of the essay is an analysis of the twin reforms of justice and police that were spearheaded by Colbert in the mid 1660s. In particular, it explores the work of the Conseil de Police, an ad-hoc committee established in 1666 to reform the

police and implement more effective strategies of urban management. After examining the political significance of the reform and the first accomplishments of the Lieutenance de Police, notably the creation of a city-wide service of street lighting, the essay concludes with an analysis of two representations of the reform: a painting by Charles Le Brun in the Grande Galerie at Versailles and a series of medals produced by the Petite Académie for the medallic history of Louis XIV.

Chapter 3, "The New Science," is a study of Nicolas Delamare and the *Traité de la police*. After tracing the Commissaire's career as a police officer and his relationship with key figures at the Châtelet, the Parlement, and Versailles, it explores the laborious gestation of the *Traité* and the work of a nexus of scholars, antiquarians, archivists, historians, and cartographers with whom Delamare collaborated. The central part of the essay offers an analysis of the treatise, of its complexity and intellectual reach. In particular, it investigates the section of the *Traité* devoted to the history of Paris and the eight maps of the city that accompany it. In my analysis, the *Traité*'s 'fictive' maps are not only the first example of a systematic representation of a city's temporal development, they articulate the paradigm of planning underpinning the idea of the *ville policée*. I close the essay with an analysis of the *Traité*'s last published volume, the book on the *voirie*, an unprecedented compendium of regulations concerning buildings, streets, and urban infrastructure written by the late Delamare's assistant Anne-Louis Lecler du Brillet.

In the Epilogue, "Toward a *ville policée*," I outline how the discourse of police informed the work of architects and writers such as Pierre Patte and Louis-Sébastien Mercier but also how the project of building a well-ordered city was ultimately frustrated: all through the eigtheenth century, the *ville policée* remained an aspiration more than a reality.

Chapter 1. The Utopia of the Police

> Il y a bien de la différence entre un peuple policé et un peuple à policer; la condition de celui-là me paraît pire que la condition de celui.
>
> Denis Diderot, *Observations sur le Nakaz*, 1774.

In eighteenth-century parlance François-Jacques Guillotte, author of the extraordinary *Mémoire sur la réformation de la police de France*, would have to be called a *faiseur de projets*. Voltaire, in *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*, scoffed at the many inventors who came up every other day with new projects to increase the force of machines or, say, drain marshes with unheard-of efficiency or boost the range of cannons while using less gunpowder: "Tous ces feseurs de projets sont trompés eux-mêmes les premiers, comme *Laſs* [Law] le fut par son système."[1] A few years later, Louis-Sébastien Mercier would be even more disparaging of *faiseurs de projets*. In his *Tableau de Paris* he described the entertaining scene of a man in a Parisian café telling to all who would listen the misadventures of his great ideas, the story of how he had for thirty years worked and reworked "un projet admirable" to pay off all the state's debt, another one to replenish the state's coffers and give the king a revenue of hundreds of millions, and another to vanquish England once and for all and render French commerce "le premier de l'univers." The "évidence" of such "utiles projets," the man claimed, had apparently made a favorable impression on many government officials, yet no one had ever followed through with a commission; the government had been cruelly ungrateful to the inventor and just plain blind to his wonderful ideas. "Ainsi," wrote Mercier,

[1] [VOLTAIRE], *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie, par des amateurs*, 9 vols ([Geneva]: [Cramer], 1770-72), 6:144 [art. "Force en physique"]. Voltaire's reference to John Law and the failure of his infamous *système* points to one of the usual meanings or colorations of the expression: schemers of all sorts were often called *faiseurs de projets*.

> il y a dans Paris de fort honnêtes gens, économistes et anti-économistes, qui ont le cœur chaud, ardent pour le bien public; mais qui malheureusement ont la tête fêlée, c'est-à-dire, des vues courtes, qui ne connoissent ni le siecle où ils sont, ni les hommes auxquels ils ont affaire; plus insupportables que les sots, parce qu'avec des demies et fausses lumières, ils partent d'un principe impossible, et déraisonnent ensuite conséquemment.[2]

Paris bristled with men of this sort, unabashed dreamers, builders of castles in the air, tinkerers of things physical and moral. Guillotte is to be counted among such men, if only for his *Mémoire*, the most remarkable text in the eighteenth-century literature of so-called police science—at once a pragmatic, precise project of institutional reform (a kind of white paper on the police) and a fully fledged, terrifyingly prescient utopia of a policed city.

We know little about Guillotte himself. The scant information that we do have stems from the two projects of his that have come down to us: a design for a bridge which he presented to the Académie Royale des Sciences in 1748 and the manuscript of his *Mémoire sur la réformation de la police de France*, of 1749.

The first record of Guillotte's work appeared in the annals of the Academy of Sciences. In the list of "Machines ou inventions" approved by the Academy in 1748, a short entry described Guillotte's design for a "pont flottant," a wooden pontoon bridge. The Academy judged it more solid than other floating bridges, believing that "il peut être utile, & d'un transport plus facile que ceux que l'on connoît, sur-tout si on observe de ne donner aux bateaux que la grandeur suffisante, & de choisir pour leur construction le bois le plus léger, ce qui se peut sans préjudicier à la solidité du

[2] Louis-Sébastien MERCIER, *Tableau de Paris*, ed. Jean-Claude Bonnet, 2 vols (Paris: Mercure de France, 1994), 1:191-93 [ch. 73, "Faiseurs de projets"].

pont."[3] Of the inventor himself, the report mentioned only his last name and the office he held: "M. Guillaute, Officier de la Maréchaussée Générale de l'Isle de France." The clue is valuable: as revealed by the *Almanach royal*, the administrative directory published yearly throughout the eighteenth century, one Guillotte did serve from the late 1720s onward as an officer within the Prévôté et Maréchaussée générale de l'Ile-de-France.[4]

One of the several institutions housed within the Palais, the Prévôté et Maréchaussée Générale de l'Ile-de-France was a unit of the Maréchaussée de France, the police corps responsible for patrolling the roads and villages of the French countryside (the ancestor of the post-revolutionary Gendarmerie). Reorganized in 1720, the Maréchaussée was composed of thirty companies, one for each *généralité*, the administrative regions into which French territory was divided. In Paris and the *banlieue*, that is, the villages and towns immediately outside the city, the structure was more complex. In addition to three other deterrent patrols (the company of the Lieutenant de Robe Courte, the Guet, and the Garde), Paris had more than one company of Maréchaussée: the Connétablie, which, among other things, guaranteed order and security outside the Opéra, the Comédie Française, and the Comédie Italienne; a second company, commanded by the Prévôt Général des Monnoies,

[3] "Machines ou inventions approuvées par l'Académie en MDCCXLVIII," *Histoire de l'Académie royale des sciences* (1748): 120-21

[4] *Almanach royal* (1728), 193; (1730), 195; (1731), 211; (1733), 211; (1736), 265; (1740), 278; (1741), 283; (1742), 282; (1743), 281; (1746), 279; (1747), 280; (1749), 282; (1750), 284; (1752), 283; (1753), 289; (1754), 329; (1755), 289; (1756), 300; (1757), 301; (1758), 301; (1759), 310; (1765), 350; (1766), 353; (1769), 358; 1770 (390); (1772), 348; (1775), 370; (1777), 408; (1779), 407; (1784), 467. In the *Almanach* our man's name was generally given as "Guillotte" and occasionally as "Guillaute."

which dealt with counterfeiting; and the company of the Prévôté de l'Ile-de-France, which had jurisdiction over and controlled the *banlieue*.[5]

The company was headed by a Prévôt Général and comprised, in addition to a Procureur du Roy, a Greffier, a Commissaire aux Rêvues and a Contrôleur aux Rêvues, half a dozen Lieutenants and seven to eight Exempts. The Lieutenants and a few of the Exempts, then, commanded a small number of brigades, each made of four to eight men.[6] Guillotte served as an Exempt in the company, beginning in 1728. He resided first in the Grande Rue du Faubourg Saint Marceau and, from 1740 onward, in the Rue Mouffetard, "près S. Médard." He continued serving as an Exempt until the mid 1760s, joined from the mid 1750s by a "Guillotte jeune," a relative of his or perhaps his son, who was first employed as an Exempt and, beginning in the late 1760s, commanded the brigade of Bondy, north-east of Paris. Guillotte the elder's name continued to appear until 1784 in the roster of the Prévôté et Maréchaussée Générale de l'Ile-de-France as "Guillotte pere, vétéran" or "Guillotte aîné," and, beginning in 1765, with the title of "Inspecteur au Marché aux chevaux."[7]

[5] For a concise overview of the Maréchaussée see Alan WILLIAMS, *The Police of Paris, 1718-1789* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 86-89. See also William MILDMAY, *The Police of France* (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1763), 23-42, 51-52; Iain A. CAMERON, "The Police of Eighteenth-Century France," *European Studies Review* vol. 7, no. 1 (Jan. 1977): 47-75.

[6] The operations of the brigades are discussed briefly in [Jean-Baptiste LEMAIRE], "La police de Paris en 1770. Mémoire inédit composé par ordre de G. de Sartine sur la demande de Marie-Thérèse," ed. Augustin Gazier, *MSHPIF* vol. 5 (1878): 1-131 at 30: "Ces brigades [...] font incessamment des rondes, arrêtent et emprisonnent les vagabonds, les gens sans aveu, les mendiants et autres gens suspects [...] ainsi que les malfaiteurs et autres dont le signalement leur est envoyé." The number of brigades varied throughout the century: the *Almanach royal* listed seven until the 1740s and nine in 1752. In 1770, according to Lemaire, there were eight, all but one stationed in towns outside Paris; the so-called "brigade du major ou de l'inspecteur"—to which Guillotte was probably attached—was stationed in Paris to receive more promptly the orders of the Lieutenant Général de Police. A royal ordinance of 10 April 1774 reduced the Parisian territory to five arrondissements (Paris, Villejuif, Sèvres, Saint Denis, Charenton), each overseen by one brigade.

[7] The horse market was located south of the Jardin du Roi, not far from Saint Médard. In 1760, on orders of the Lieutenant Général Antoine de Sartine, a pavilion was built to house the inspector's

"Exempt" was a generic term for a number of officers belonging to the various civil and military corps who exercised police functions in early modern France. They formed a network of agents who were available for all sorts of missions required by the Lieutenant Général de Police, the city's chief police official, a magistrate and administrator installed since 1667 at the Châtelet, a law court which judged civil and criminal cases for Paris and the Ile-de-France. Indeed, early on Guillotte had dealings with the Lieutenant Général. In the late 1720s, for example, he was appointed to missions concerning the repression of Jansenism and the surveillance of social mores.[8] Unfortunately, we don't know much else of Guillotte's years of work within the police system.[9] We may surely surmise, though, that he had a fair knowledge of the workings of the police, one that he would put to good use in his project of reform.

Guillotte's 1748 design of a pontoon bridge is known to us because it served as the basis for the article "Pont militaire" in the thirteenth volume of the *Encyclopédie*,

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bureau—an elegant two-story Louis XV building which still stands, in today's Rue Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire.

[8] Two documents attest to such police missions. In 1728 Guillotte was assigned by René Hérault, then Lieutenant Général de Police, to find and spy on M. Delaporte, "grand vicaire" of the Bishop of Sées: Guillotte couldn't find the man, and spent a day in the streets of Paris fruitlessly tailing the Abbé de la Roussière, whom he believed to be a friend of Delaporte's. On another mission, Guillotte and one Vanneroux, an Exempt of the Compagnie de Robe Courte, were dispatched to Villejuif and Essonnes, south of Paris, to track a Lyon-to-Paris shipment of eight suspicious "caisses"; it is unclear, though, if they ever found them. GUILLOTTE to Hérault, 20 Feb. 1728, and VANNEROUX and GUILLOTTE to Hérault, 25 Jan. 1729, in *Archives de la Bastille. Documents inédits*, ed. François Ravaisson, 19 vols (Paris: A. Durand et Pedone-Lauriel, 1866-1904): 14:172-73, 183-86.

[9] Assuming that Guillotte began to serve as an Exempt at age twenty (b. 1708), in 1784, the last year in which his name appears in the *Almanach royal*, he would have been seventy-six, quite an old age and yet possible. Other scenarios, however, could be imagined: it is possible, for example, that Guillotte had not one but two sons who joined the Prévôté & Maréchaussée Générale de l'Ile-de-France: the "Guillotte aîné" mentioned in the *Almanach* of 1784 and preceding years would not be our man but his eldest son.

published in 1765.[10] **[fig. 1.2]** The article is quite odd: at more than 20,000 words, it is one of the longest in the entire multivolume work and certainly one of the most technically demanding. After a short and rather slight history of military bridges, Guillotte—who wrote in the first person and signed the article "Guillotte le pere"—presented his own invention as a solution to a problem of military architecture. He stated the problem thus: "Trouver un *pont* portatif qui puisse se construire avec promptitude & facilité, recevoir dix hommes de front, & supporter les fardeaux les plus lourds qui suivent une armée." The solution he offered in the form of three elaborate plates and a lengthy text taking the reader through a minute description of the machine and step-by-step calculations of its mechanical and structural properties. His bridge, Guillotte proved, was capable of withstanding the passage of heavy equipment and of troops marching ten abreast; it would not break under swift currents; its construction would be "prompte & facile," as would its assembly, disassembly, and transport. "Donc," Guillotte concluded, "j'ai résolu le problème d'architecture militaire que je m'étois proposé." In a series of "Observations ou corollaries" following the demonstration, Guillotte—now in full *faiseur-de-projets* mode—continued to highlight the features of his bridge, boasting that it would allow for the passage of 36,000 men in an hour, would be relatively inexpensive (77,900 livres for a bridge of 100 toises), and could even be used for purposes other than military: "on en pourroit user dans certaines fêtes qu'il plairoit à Sa Majesté de donner." Interestingly, the *Encyclopédie* article also included, in extenso, the long report written in 1748 by the Marquis de Courtivron, a member of the Académie des

[10] François-Jacques GUILLOTTE, "Pont militaire," *Encylopédie* (1765): 13:49-66. The illustrations of the project are in volume two of the *Recueil de planches* (1763), plates xxviii-xxx. The article would later be included, *tel quel*, in the *Encyclopédie méthodique. Arts et métiers méchaniques*, 8 vols (Paris: Panckoucke; Liège: Plomteux, 1782-91): 1:560-81.

Sciences who, together with Jean d'Alembert and Jacques de Vaucanson, had reviewed Guillotte's invention. The three had examined the project very carefully, had verified Guillotte's calculations, and had suggested a few relatively minor modifications to the design—modifications that Guillotte, in turn, had taken into account and included in a final revision of the project.

As an officer of the Maréchaussée, Guillotte certainly understood the workings of the military corps. It is unclear, though, how such a low-ranking officer, who had presumably received little advanced schooling, could have acquired such an expert knowledge of military engineering as to produce the bridge project. The degree of sophistication in the design, the complexity of its engineering, the elegance of the decorative details, the quality of the illustrations, all indicate that Guillotte must have had help.

Introducing the second volume of the *Recueil de planches*, which included the illustrations of Guillotte's military bridge, Diderot explained how he had sought the advice of an expert to review the project:

> un des hommes de l'Europe, qui entend le mieux la méchanique & les machines, & qui a jetté les yeux sur notre recueil, nous a donné quelques conseils excellens, dont nous n'étions malheureusement plus à tems de profiter. [...] Il a pensé que le pont que nous avons appellé *militaire*, étoit trop magnifique pour une machine de cette nature; mais on verra à l'article PONT que, destinée par l'inventeur à l'usage militaire & à l'usage civil, nous avons préféré avec quelque avantage de la montrer ici comme il la faudroit pour une ville, & par conséquent avec tous les ornemens dont elle étoit susceptible. Il n'y a qu'à dépouiller ce pont de ces ornemens, pour le réduire à un *pont* vraiment militaire.[11]

[11] Denis DIDEROT, "Etat détaillé," in *Encyclopédie. Recueil de planches* (1763), 2:6. Frank Kafker suspects Diderot's unnamed adviser to be the engineer Jean-Rodolphe Perronet; I do too. Frank A. KAFKER and Serena KAFKER, *The Encyclopedists as Individuals: A Biographical Dictionary of the Authors of the Encyclopédie*, "Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century," vol. 257 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1988), 170.

Three scientists at the Académie had reviewed the project, in very favorable terms; an engineering expert of international renown noted that the project was possibly "trop magnifique," too beautiful for its intended purpose. How did Guillotte do it? A further microhistorical excursus is required.

Guillotte's collaboration with Diderot and d'Alembert's venerable entreprise seems to have been based on not more than a fortuitous circumstance: Guillotte was Diderot's landlord. In the mid 1740s, in fact, the newly married Diderot had moved chez Guillotte, into a second-floor apartment in the house that our Exempt owned on Rue Mouffetard. The two, it appears, must have gotten to know one another. In May 1746 Guillotte and his wife were godparents at the baptism of the second of Diderot's children; the child was named François-Jacques Denis, after his father Denis and his *parrain*, François-Jacques Guillotte.[12]

A few more details on the relationship between Guillotte and Diderot can be gleaned from two letters that were written in June 1747 to Nicolas-René Berryer, the newly appointed Lieutenant Général de Police, by, respectively, a Lieutenant of the Prévôté Générale des Monnoies and the curé of the church of Saint Médard. Both denounced Diderot as a suspicious character and possibly the author of impious books, and remarked that he resided at Guillotte's house. Queasy about Diderot's 'clandestine' marriage, the curé, in particular, noted that Guillotte was "certainement au fait de tout le mistère: il n'ignore ni sa [Diderot's] conduite ni ses dangereux

[12] "Extrait des registres des baptêmes de la paroisse de Saint-Médard de Paris," in Charles NAUROY, *Révolutionnaires* (Paris: Albert Savine, 1891), 244-45. See also Arthur M. WILSON, *Diderot* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 61-62. The baptism certificate is, I believe, the only document with a record of Guillotte's first name.

sentiments," and added that "Guillotte est un homme à craindre et qui a beaucoup de suite."[13]

The last bit of information we have on Guillotte comes from Diderot himself. In August 1749, while imprisoned at the Château de Vincennes, Diderot wrote to Berryer, who had ordered him imprisoned, to ask for clemency:

> Que vous dirai-je de mes mœurs? Que vous avez auprès de vous Mrs. Duval [Berryer's secretary] et Guillotte, qui vous [en] parleront avec connoissance, et qui, s'ils le font avec équité, comme je n'en doute pas, vous convaincront qu'on ne peut en avoir de plus pures.[14]

The letter was unsuccessful (Berryer did not release Diderot, who remained at Vincennes for three more months). However, the fact that Diderot used Guillotte as a character witness in such a delicate situation is telling. Diderot was trying to prove his moral standing to the chief of police, and although by then no longer living chez Guillotte, he thought the combination police officer/former landlord would make for an excellent reference.[15] Diderot's letter attests to a relationship of trust between the

[13] The letters are quoted in Paul BONNEFON, "Diderot prisonnier à Vincennes," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* vol. 6, no. 2 (1899): 200-24 at 202-03. See also Denis DIDEROT, *Correspondance*, ed. Georges Roth and Jean Varloot, 16 vols (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1955-70), 1:53, 84n3. A person who had "beaucoup de suite" was logical, rational, clever. The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (4th ed., 1762) says that "On dit figurément, qu'*Un homme n'a point de suite dans l'esprit*, ou qu'*il n'a pas un esprit de suite*, pour dire, qu'*Il n'est pas capable d'une attention continue*." A search for the expression in the ARTFL-FRANTEXT database (http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu) yielded only a few matches, most notably one in Saint-Simon's *Mémoires*, in a short portrait of the Abbé Jean-Jacques Boileau, secretary to the Archbishop of Paris in the 1690s: "Boileau était un homme sauvage qui se barricadait dans sa chambre [...] Il ne sortait de ce repaire que pour aller à l'église ou chez Monsieur l'Archevêque, travaillait obscurément, vivait en pénitent fort solitaire, avait une plume belle, forte, éloquente et beaucoup de suite et de justesse." Louis de Rouvroy, Duc de SAINT-SIMON, *Mémoires*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, ed. Yves Coirault, 8 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1983-88), 1:591.

[14] DIDEROT to Berryer, 10 Aug. 1749, in *Correspondance*, 1:86-87; BONNEFON, "Diderot prisonnier à Versailles," 212. See also KAFKER and KAFKER, *The Encyclopedists as Individuals*, 169-70; Frank A. KAFKER, *The Encyclopedists as a Group: A Collective Biography of the Authors of the Encyclopédie*, "Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century," vol. 345 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1996), 40.

[15] In January 1748, according to a report compiled by Joseph d'Hémery, a police inspector who watched authors and publishers, Diderot lived in "Place de l'Estrapade chez un tapissier." See Robert

two. It was certainly through the acquaintance (possibly friendship) with Diderot that Guillotte gained access to the Académie des Sciences and eventually entered not just into the pages of the *Encyclopédie* but also in contact with the circle of scientists and intellectuals gravitating around Diderot.

A further clue to understanding how Guillotte could have conceived the bridge project—and especially in fathoming the nexus of people that probably helped him—is contained in Guillotte's second and most important work, the *Mémoire sur la réformation de la police de France*. In 1749, when he produced the final presentation copy of the manuscript, Guillotte employed the services of the twenty-five-year-old draftsman and painter Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, who prepared twenty-eight exquisite pen-and-ink wash drawings. **[fig. 1.1]** Saint-Aubin was at the time a teacher at Jacques-François Blondel's Ecole des Arts, and it was probably there, in the rooms in the Rue des Grands Cordeliers, that Guillotte met him. Saint-Aubin had been appointed professor of drawing in 1745. His role at the school was described by Blondel in 1747, when he appended the "ordre de leçons," i.e., the school's curriculum, to a brochure announcing the opening lecture of the public course he taught that year. Three afternoons a week, from three to eight, Saint-Aubin taught

> les principes & les proportions du corps humain; les parties de l'histoire nécessaire pour parvenir à placer avec choix les attributs, les allégories convenables aux palais des rois, aux édifices sacrés, aux maisons de plaisance, bâtimens publics, fêtes, &c. ensemble les animaux, le paysage, & tout ce qui peut donner de la liberté, & animer le génie.[16]

DARNTON, "Les encyclopédistes et la police," *Recherches sur Diderot et sur l'Encyclopédie*, no. 1 (Oct. 1986): 94-109 at 103.

[16] Jacques-François BLONDEL, *Discours sur la manière d'étudier l'architecture, et les arts qui sont relatifs à celui de bastir* (Paris: P. J. Mariette, 1747), 14. See also Emile DACIER, *Gabriel de Saint-Aubin. Peintre, dessinateur et graveur, 1724-1780*, 2 vols (Paris and Bruxelles: Editions G. Van Oest, 1929-31), 1:27; Kim DE BEAUMONT, "Reconsidering Gabriel de Saint-Aubin: The Background for His Scenes of Paris," Ph.D. thesis, 2 vols (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1998), 1:62-65, 78-

It is unlikely that Guillotte ever took courses with the young professor—he didn't have any special reason to learn figure drawing or the proper way to represent mythological characters and allegories. The Ecole des Arts, though, was probably the starting ground for his engineering and intellectual pursuits.[17] Beside Saint-Aubin, Guillotte may have sought the help of other professors at the school. The engineer and mathematician Rogeau de Val, who thrice a week lectured on mathematics, calculus, geometry, mechanics, and hydraulics, may have advised him. And, of course, Blondel himself may have guided our ambitious police officer. In addition to the daily classes he offered for the enrolled students, Blondel gave public lectures twice a week—lectures which, he said, "peuvent également intéresser tant les personnes qui sans avoir d'autres vûës que de se nourrir le goût, desirent acquérir les connoissances de l'Architecture, que celles qui se destinent à exercer un jour cet Art en entier, ou quelques-unes de ses parties."[18] When he wrote these lines, Blondel was surely thinking his public lectures would attract not so much commoners like Guillotte as gentlemen—and potential clients—wanting to refine their taste in

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94; ID., "Reconsidering Gabriel de Saint-Aubin: The Bibliographical Context for His Scenes of Paris," in *Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, 1724-1780*, ed. Colin B. Bailey et al. (New York: The Frick Collection; Paris: Musée du Louvre, Somogy Art Publishers, 2007): 19-47. Further study of Saint-Aubin's teaching at the Ecole des Arts is needed: it is likely that he taught drawing to, among others, Boullée, de Wailly, and Ledoux. See DE BEAUMONT (2007), 24; Michel GALLET, *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, 1703-1806* (Paris: Picard, 1980), 251.

[17] The illustrations of the bridge in the *Encyclopédie* are not signed, and it is possible that Saint-Aubin may have had a part in their design. Guillotte's idea that the military bridge could also be used for public festivals may also be Saint-Aubin's. The latter had begun his career as a designer of ephemeral structures: his first teacher was Jean-Baptiste Sarrazin, a painter specializing in set design. In the mid 1740s Saint-Aubin had collaborated with Blondel on the design of ephemeral structures for the two marriages of the dauphin. Cf. DE BEAUMONT (2007), 22-24.

[18] BLONDEL, *Discours sur la manière d'étudier l'architecture*, 13.

architecture. Nonetheless, it is more than probable that Guillotte made contact with Saint-Aubin through such public lectures.[19]

Blondel's school also offered Guillotte the chance to meet other students, and in particular the engineering students of the Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées, for whom the Ecole des Arts served as a preparatory school. In its early years the Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées was not much of a school. It began in 1744 as a Bureau des dessinateurs, a small drafting office set up by Daniel-Charles Trudaine, Intendant des Finances and director of the corps of Ponts et Chaussées. Trudaine realized early on that the draftsmen employed at the Bureau needed to receive a sound scientific instruction, and appointed the engineer Jean-Rodolphe Perronet to devise a system for their education. Starting in 1747, Perronet transformed the Bureau into the Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées. Unlike the Ecole des Arts, the Bureau had no regularly appointed professor. In fact, the Bureau essentially functioned as an administrative service, with employees/students spending much of their time engaged in professional tasks. Much of their education took place outside the Bureau's walls, through a relatively simple system: each year a few of the most gifted students received money to enroll in courses outside the Bureau (courses taught privately by Parisian teachers or offered at private schools such as Blondel's) on condition that they should take notes and then pass those courses on to their colleagues.[20]

[19] It is tempting to think that it may have been Guillotte who introduced Blondel to Diderot and the Encyclopedists. Blondel later contributed almost 500 articles to the first seven volumes of the *Encyclopédie*, most of them written during the year 1749. See KAFKER and KAFKER, *The Encyclopedists as Individuals*, 39-40.

[20] See Gaston SERBOS, "L'Ecole Royale des Ponts et Chaussées," in *Enseignement et diffusion des sciences en France au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. René Taton (Paris: Hermann, 1964): 346-63, esp. 356; Antoine PICON, *L'invention de l'ingénieur moderne. L'Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées, 1747-1851* (Paris: Presses de l'Ecole Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées, 1992), 84-85; Robin MIDDLETON and Marie-Noëlle

It was within these two contexts—the circle gravitating around Diderot and the group of professors and students of the Ecole des Arts—that Guillotte produced, in little more than a year, both the bridge project and the *Mémoire* on the police. In a revealing passage of the latter, Guillotte felt the need to explain, and perhaps justify, so extraordinary a double feat:

> Mon état n'était pas d'imaginer un pont, cependant je m'en suis acquitté d'une manière à mériter les éloges et l'approbation de l'Académie des Sciences, au grand étonnement de certaines gens qui n'étant pas même propres à ce qu'ils font, ne conçoivent pas que d'autres puissent être propres à plusieurs choses.
>
> Je vais parler d'une matière qui doit m'être plus familière que l'architecture civile et militaire, je peux donc espérer quelque succès de mes réflexions.[21]

The *Mémoire* is a major project, worth exploring at length. Not only does it offer a remarkable introduction to the police of mid-century Paris, it is especially valuable for its ideas concerning the proper government of the city and the reform of the city's urbanism. The manuscript was produced in a lavish fashion, its 265 folio pages bound in a blue Moroccan binding inscribed with the coat of arms of Louis XV. Guillotte may have wanted to present it to the king himself, although the most probable addressee was Berryer, the Lieutenant Général de Police—not strictly Guillotte's superior but rather the official with the authority to put into practice the proposed reforms. It is unclear, though, who saw the manuscript or through whose

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BAUDOIN-MATUSZEK, *Jean Rondelet: The Architect as Technician* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 15. Serbos writes that the "pension Blondel [...] fut en quelque sorte la pepinière de l'ancienne Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées." Picon agrees: the Ecole des Arts "fait un peu figure d'antichambre du Bureau des dessinateurs." Tuition at Blondel's school was 15 livres per month in the summer and 18 livres in the winter, the three extra livres covering the cost of firewood and candles. SERBOS, 358.

[21] François-Jacques GUILLOTTE, *Mémoire sur la réformation de la police de France soumis au Roi en 1749 par M. Guillaute, officier de la Maréchaussée de l'Ile-de-France, illustré de 28 dessins de Gabriel de Saint-Aubin*, ed. Jean Seznec (Paris: Hermann, 1974), 20. This passage is the manuscript's only clear indication of authorship (Guillotte's name does not appear on the frontispiece). Unfortunately, I could not consult the original manuscript: all quotations are from the 1974 edition.

hands it passed. Antoine-Gaspard Boucher d'Argis, a lawyer and, from 1753 onward, contributor of some 4,500 articles on jurisprudence for the *Encyclopédie*, surely knew it and used it for the article "Police."[22] People within the police administration may also have known it, although there is no direct reference to it in police writings of the second half of the century. Guillotte's manuscript, in any case, was not published at the time, and no other copy seems to have survived. (The only copy of the manuscript resurfaced in 1897, when Ferdinand de Rothschild bought it at the sale of the library of the collector and bibliophile Jérôme Pichon and deposited it at Waddesdon Manor, in England, where it remains.[23] The *Mémoire* was transcribed and published in 1974 by Jean Seznec.)

Divide and rule

Guillotte's *Mémoire* called for a sweeping reform of the police.[24] The key to the entire project was in the first vignette and the first lines of the text, in the motto *divide et*

[22] [Antoine-Gaspard BOUCHER D'ARGIS], "Police," *Encyclopédie* (1765): 12:904-12. On Boucher d'Argis see KAFKER and KAFKER, *The Encyclopedists as Individuals*, 51-53; Jean-Christophe GAVEN, "Antoine-Gaspard Boucher d'Argis," in *Dictionnaire historique des juristes français, XIIe-XXe siècle* ed. Patrick Arabeyre, Jean-Louis Halpérin and Jacques Krynen (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2007): 113-15.

[23] *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de feu M. le Baron Jérôme Pichon ... Première partie. Livres rares et précieux, manuscrits et imprimés* (Paris: Librairie Techener, 1897), 58. Rothschild purchased the manuscript for 10,600 francs.

[24] On Guillotte's *Mémoire*, beside Jean Seznec's introduction to the 1974 edition, see Vincent MILLIOT, "Migrants et 'étrangers' sous l'œil de la police: la surveillance des lieux d'accueil parisiens au Siècle des Lumières," in *Police et migrants, France, 1667-1939*, ed. Marie-Claude Blanc-Chaléard et al. (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2001): 315-31, esp. 324-25; Vincent DENIS and Vincent MILLIOT, "Police et identification dans la France des Lumières," *Genèses*, no. 54 (Mar. 2004): 4-27, esp. 7-8; Vincent MILLIOT, "Ecrire pour policer: les 'mémoires' policiers, 1750-1850," in *Les Mémoires policiers, 1750-1850. Ecritures et pratiques policières du Siècle des Lumières au Second Empire*, ed. Vincent Milliot (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2006): 15-41, esp. 38, where Milliot, in classifying the varieties of "mémoires policiers," places Guillotte's among the "mémoires des faiseurs de projets." Two recent studies specifically devoted to Guillotte add little to what was already known: Eric

impera: "Divise et commande. Cette devise a lieu non seulement quand il s'agit de gouverner un peuple nombreux, mais encore lorsqu'il est question de le connaître."[25] **[fig. 1.3]** The basic idea of the project wase to divide systematically space, to partition it so as to understand it better—to know it. The first pages of the *Mémoire* expanded on the theme of "divisions et subdivisions" by tracing a brief history of government since antiquity in the police of the Jews, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, and finally the Gauls.

> C'est à l'aide des divisions et des subdivisions que l'autorité est immédiatement appliquée, qu'un Magistrat est aussi exactement instruit de ce qui se passe dans la ville que de ce qui se fait dans sa propre maison; [...] qu'on fait évanouir la distance qu'il y a entre le méchant et la loi, entre le châtiment et la faute [...]; que le bras du Magistrat se tient perpétuellement suspendu sur les malfaiteurs [...][26]

Guillotte's main reference and documentary source throughout the text was Nicolas Delamare's great *Traité de la police*, of which four volumes had appeared between 1705 and 1738. For Guillotte, as for pretty much every other eighteenth-century police writer, the *Traité* was the ultimate reference, offering at once a comprehensive history of the police from antiquity to the present, an exhaustive compendium of police regulations, and a reliable theoretical guide. The analogy between a city and a house in the passage above, for example, derived directly from the *Traité*. In the fourth volume, published after Delamare's death by his assistant Anne-Louis Lecler

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HEILMANN, "Comment surveiller la population à distance? La machine de Guillauté et la naissance de la police moderne," seminar paper, LISEC, Laboratoire interuniversitaire des sciences de l'éducation et de la communication (Spring 2005), http://archivesic.ccsd.cnrs.fr/sic_00125574/en; Claude-Olivier DORON, "'Une chaîne, qui laisse toute liberté de faire le bien et qui ne permette que très difficilement de commettre le mal': Du système de Guillauté au placement sous surveillance électronique mobile," *Carceral Notebooks* vol. 4 (2008): 101-30. Cf. also Bernard E. HARCOURT, *The Illusion of Free Markets: Punishment and the Myth of Natural Order* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2011), 152-53.

[25] GUILLOTTE, *Mémoire*, 15.

[26] Ibid., 18.

du Brillet, the latter appended an apologetical biography of Delamare which included an account of how the *Traité* came about. In August 1677, Lecler du Brillet wrote, Delamare was received in his private library by Guillaume de Lamoignon, Premier Président of the Parlement of Paris, who said to him: "J'ai formé deux desseins que je veux vous communiquer, par ce que j'espere que vous voudrez bien m'aider; le premier, de connoitre mon Paris comme je connois ma maison; & le second, de rassembler dans un Corps tout ce qui concerne le Droit Public."[27] The story is likely apocryphal, yet the idea that the fundamental task of the police was one of knowledge—that the first order of business of the police magistrate was to know the city as his own house—was to be a leitmotif of all subsequent police writers. From the very start, though, Guillotte sought to distinguish his project from Delamare's. One of the *Traité*'s most impressive features was its monumental collection of edicts and ordinances concerning the police dating back to the Middle Ages. The idea underpinning so exhaustive a compilation was that such legislation was proof that problems of the police, that is, problems in the maintenance of a well-ordered state, had been confronted and solved. That's not quite the case, argued Guillotte:

> Voici les avantages que l'on peut atteindre des divisions et des subdivisions; mais non de l'état actuel des choses. Il est cent inconvénients auxquels il faudrait remédier avant que d'atteindre à quelque précision dans l'établissement et la conservation du bon ordre. On s'est persuadé de tout temps qu'il suffisait d'imaginer des remèdes à mesure que les désordres se présentaient; comme s'il n'était pas infiniment plus essentiel d'obvier à ces désordres, et de veiller à ce que les remèdes soient appliqués.[28]

[27] *Traité*, 4:[ii] ["Eloge de M. De La Mare"].

[28] GUILLOTTE, *Mémoire*, 18.

Later on in the text Guillotte was even more explicit in his critique of Delamare. "Quand on lit le fameux traité du commissaire Lamare et qu'on parcourt cette multitude prodigieuse d'édits," he wrote,

> on est tenté de croire que tout a été vu, prévu et réglé; mais quand on détourne les yeux de dessus son ouvrage et qu'on les ramène sur la société, on est étonné qu'il n'y ait presque rien de fait. Le grand problème est encore à résoudre. On a cru qu'il consistait à publier un édit, à mesure qu'il survenait un inconvénient, au lieu qu'il consiste à trouver un moyen d'éloigner les inconvénients et de prévenir les édits.[29]

Legislation, Guillotte argued, had been produced as problems and disorders within society arose, but rarely had the administration made sure that such legislation was properly enforced. The "grand problème" of maintaining good policing had not really been adressed: the institutions charged with police functions should not, as it were, issue edicts *after the fact*, but rather work at preventing disorders, at creating conditions in which disorders do not arise and hence new legislation is not needed. "Il en est du code de la Police," wrote Guillotte in one of the most significant passages of the *Mémoire*,

> comme de l'amas de maisons qui composent la ville. Lorsque la ville commença a se former, chacun s'établit dans le terrain qui lui convenait, sans avoir aucun égard à la régularité, et il se forma de là un assemblage monstrueux d'édifices, que des siècles entiers de soins et d'attentions pourront à peine débrouiller. Pareillement lorsque la société se forma, on fit d'abord quelque lois selon le besoin qu'on en eut: le besoin s'accrut avec le nombre des citoyens, et le code se grossit d'une multitude énorme d'ordonnances sans suite, sans liaison, et dont le désordre ne peut être comparé qu'à celui des maisons vues de quelque tour élevée au-dessus d'elles. Nous n'avons de villes régulières que celles qui ont été incendiées, et il semblerait que pour avoir un système de police bien lié, dans toutes ses parties, il faudrait brûler ce que nous en avons de recueilli; mais ce remède est

[29] Ibid., 35.

> impraticable, et selon toute apparence, nous en sommes réduits pour jamais à un vieil édifice qu'on ne peut raser, et qu'il faut étayer de toute part.[30]

The image conjured by Guillotte is striking. The comparison of a nation's system of laws to a city is apt: our cities and our jurisprudence, he said, have grown randomly and chaotically; both are like an old building that cannot really be torn down but must be shored up constantly. Here too Guillotte was at once referring to and subtly criticizing the *Traité*, which had extolled the Paris police and its effect on the city. In the first pages of the fourth volume Lecler du Brillet announced that the book would show how police work had produced countless improvements in the way men built, and notably how "au lieu de ces amas confus de logemens mal rangés, on a bâti des Villes d'une régularité, d'une symmétrie & d'une élegance capables de charmer la vûe, & de rendre le commerce & la société des Citoyens plus commodes & plus utiles."[31] Guillotte was far more critical of both the present state of Paris and its police: unlike Delamare and Lecler du Brillet, he did not want to describe, explain, and ultimately justify the police and the city: he wanted to change them.

Boucher d'Argis, the author of the article "Police" in the *Encyclopédie*, relied heavily on Delamare's *Traité*, yet he also made Guillotte's criticism his own, at times following him to the letter. True, he wrote, in no other country was the police as developed and advanced as in France, but it was far from being perfect. "Ce n'est pas assez que d'avoir connu les desordres, que d'en avoir imaginé les remedes; il faut encore veiller à ce que ces remedes soient appliqués; & c'est là la partie du problème

[30] Ibid., 19.

[31] *Traité*, 4:4 [VI.2.1].

qu'il semble qu'on ait négligée; cependant sans elle, les autres ne sont rien." "Il en est du code de la *police*," he continued,

> comme de l'amas des maisons qui composent la ville. Lorsque la ville commenca à se former, chacun s'établit dans le terrein qui lui convenoit, sans avoir aucun égard à la régularité; & il se forma de là un assemblage monstrueux d'édifices que des siecles entiers de soins & d'attention pourront à peine débrouiller. Pareillement lorsque les sociétés se formerent, on fit d'abord quelques lois, selon le besoin qu'on en eut; le besoin s'accrut avec le nombre des citoyens, & le code se grossit d'une multitude énorme d'ordonnances sans suite, sans liaison, & dont le desordre ne peut être comparé qu'à celui des maisons. Nous n'avons de villes régulieres que celles qui ont été incendiées; & il sembleroit que pour avoir un systeme de *police* bien lié dans toutes ses parties, il faudroit brûler ce que nous avons de recueilli. Mais ce remede, le seul bon, est peut-être encore impraticable. Cependant une expérience que chacun est à portée de faire, & qui démontre combien notre *police* est imparfaite, c'est la difficulté que tout homme de sens rencontre à remédier d'une maniere solide, au moindre inconvénient qui survient. Il est facile de publier une loi; mais quand il s'agit d'en assurer l'exécution, sans augmenter les inconvéniens, on trouve qu'il faut presque tout bouleverser de fond en comble.[32]

Boucher d'Argis made no mention of Guillotte in the *Encyclopédie* article, yet the Exempt's trope of the "amas de maisons" was to be taken up. It returned, for example, in Catherine II's *Nakaz*, the "instruction" prepared in 1767 to guide a commission that was to draft a code of laws for the Russian empire:

> Il en a été des réglemens de cette partie [the police] précisément comme de l'amas des maisons qui composent une ville, pour laquelle on n'a pas fait de plan avant que de la commencer. Dans une ville pareille lorsqu'elle commence à se former, chacun s'établit dans le terrain qui lui convient le mieux, sans avoir égard à la régularité, ni à l'étendue de la place à occuper, & il se forme de là un assemblage monstrueux d'édifices, que des siècles entiers de soins & d'attentions peuvent à peine débrouiller ou rendre réguliers. Les Loix qui regardent le bon ordre sont sujettes au même inconvenient.[33]

[32] BOUCHER D'ARGIS, "Police," 12:910. Of the article's two sections ["Police (Gouvern.)," 904-11, and "Police (Jurisprudence)," 911-12] only the second is marked with the letter "A," the signature of Boucher d'Argis. Although the first part too is almost certainly his, the lack of signature may be an indication that Diderot had some part in the writing.

[33] *Instruction de Sa Majesté Impériale Catherine II pour la commission chargée de dresser le projet d'un nouveau code de loix* (Amsterdam: Marc Michel Rey, 1771), 196-97 [§ 545]. The theme of the

How was one to address such predicaments of both cities and systems of laws? Those who had proposed government and police reforms, Guillotte argued, had rushed to "idées platoniques et creuses," impractical and impossible to carry through.

> Il ne s'agit pas de faire de la société une maison religieuse, cela n'est pas possible: il faut diminuer autant qu'on peut certains inconvénients: mais il serait peut être dangereux de les anéantir. Il faut supposer les hommes comme ils sont, et non pas comme ils devraient être. Il faut combiner ce que l'état actuel de la société permet ou ne permet pas, et travailler d'après ces principes.[34]

The *Mémoire*, as we shall see, set forth proposals that can rightly be called utopian (at the very least in the sense that they were not within the realm of actual possibility), yet Guillotte was at pains to portray them as practical and feasible, and to characterize his approach as eminently non-utopian. Guillotte the realist aimed to ward off preemptively the charge that he was yet another *faiseur de projets*.

> Je conviens qu'il est très facile de proposer de beaux rêves, car il ne s'agit que d'aimer le bien public, et que d'avoir un peu d'imagination, deux choses qui me sont communes avec tous les inventeurs de systèmes; mais j'ai sur eux l'avantage de leur succéder, de pouvoir profiter de leurs fautes, et de connaître peut-être un peu mieux ce dont la nature de l'homme et celle d'une société permettent l'exécution.[35]

The bulk of Guillotte's *Mémoire* was divided into ten "discours." The first three concerned the organizational structure of the new police and were devoted to the

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"amas de maisons" appears also in the writings of architectural critics, although the source is probably not Guillotte and the metaphor does not extend to the system of laws. "Nos villes sont toujours ce qu'elles étoient, un amas de maisons entassées pêle-mêle sans système, sans œconomie, sans dessein." Marc-Antoine LAUGIER, *Essai sur l'architecture* (Paris: Duchesne, 1753), 242-43. "[Paris] est un amas de maisons entassées pêle-mêle, où il semble que le hasard seul ait présidé." Pierre PATTE, *Monumens érigés en France à la gloire de Louis XV* (Paris: Chez l'auteur, Desaint, Saillant, 1765), 212. The trope of city plans being the product not of design but of chance can ultimately be traced back to Descartes: "à voir comme ils [the buildings of old cities] sont arrangés, ici un grand, là un petit, et comme ils rendent les rues courbées et inégales, on dirait que c'est plutôt la fortune que la volonté de quelques hommes usant de raison, qui les a ainsi disposés." René DESCARTES, *Discours de la méthode*, in *Œuvres et lettres*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, ed. André Bridoux (Paris: Gallimard, 1953), 133 [part 2].

[34] GUILLOTTE, *Mémoire*, 19. On this passage, see Michel FOUCAULT, *Sécurité, territoire, population. Cours au Collège de France, 1977-1978* (Paris: Gallimard, Seuil, 2004), 348-49.

[35] GUILLOTTE, *Mémoire*, 35.

three types of officers that would man the reformed institution: police commissioners, police inspectors, and "syndics," an office of Guillotte's invention. The remaining chapters dealt with the system of tax collection, the organization of wet nurses, the "généralité" of the project, i.e., the possibility of generalizing the proposals for Paris throughout all French cities, the problem of urban traffic, the structure and functions of the Garde and the Maréchaussée, and finally the question of *voirie*, what today we would call urbanism.

Following the tone and method he had adopted in his description of the military bridge, Guillotte proceeded *more geometrico*, so to speak, beginning with a first "supposition," a kind of axiomatic proposition: he supposed that "le premier Magistrat" was "un honnête homme, aimant le bien, la justice, la vérité, et ses devoirs." The entire project rest on this presupposition, for "Comme il est le principe du mouvement de la machine entière, son vice, s'il en avait un, se répandrait sur toutes les parties subordonnées." This pseudo-philosophical, pseudo-scientific passage could well be disregarded: after all, Guillotte, however maladroitly, was here paying his statutory respects to the "first magistrate," the Lieutenant Général de Police. But the passage also reveals something interesting, namely the idea that the system Guillotte was describing and advocating was—or functioned as—a "machine," an apparatus in which all moving parts were interconnected.

The demonstration continued with a series of seven "demandes," essentially a set of concrete proposals that form the backbone of the entire project. Guillotte's first demand was to redraw the quartiers of Paris. The quartier was the basic administrative unit of the city; there were twenty of them, and Guillotte proposed to increase their number to twenty-four, changing their boundaries so that they would be neither too small nor too large, and also more equal to each other; each quartier

would be designated by a letter of the alphabet. **[fig. 1.4]** Second: each quartier would be subdivided into blocks of twenty houses each, a new kind of administrative unit which he called "syndicat." Third: the problem of two or more streets having the same name would be solved, some street names would be changed. Fourth: all houses at street intersections would carry stone plaques inscribed with the names of the streets and the quartier letter. Fifth, sixth, and seventh: all houses, as well as all stairwells and the entry doors of all apartments, would be labeled and numbered. The logic behind the demands was straightforward: dividing and subdiving the city and systematically labeling quartiers, *syndicats*, houses, stairwells, and apartments were ultimately the means to render as precise as possible the identification of citizens. The police needed to be able to tell, with no margin of error whatsoever, that "Mr tel demeure quartier A ou B etc rue St Denis ou St Honoré, maison n° 29 ou 47 escalier 2e étage 3e porte C ou D."[36] **[fig. 1.5-7]**

Earlier in the century the police had already taken steps in a similar direction, although with a different rationale. In the mid 1720s, as part of the so-called Travail des Limites—an effort to rein in urban growth outside the city limits—houses in the faubourgs had been numbered.[37] In 1729 and 1730, the Lieutenant Général had issued police ordinances requiring owners of houses located at street intersections to install signs bearing the names of streets.[38] **[fig. 1.8]** In the first case, house numbering was introduced to facilitate the work of "recensement" of all buildings in

[36] Ibid., 22.

[37] Royal declaration, 23 Mar. 1728, AN G/7/446. The document is also reproduced in Jeanne PRONTEAU and Isabelle DÉRENS, *Introduction générale au travail des limites de la ville et faubourgs de Paris, 1724-1729* (Paris: Paris Musées, 1998), 293-96.

[38] Police ordinances, 30 July 1729, 3 June 1730, BnF ms. fr. 21692, fols. 302-05; APP, Collection Lamoignon, vol. 29, fols. 604-08, vol. 30, fols. 151-54.

the faubourgs, maintain up-to-date cadastral maps, and ultimately prevent new and henceforth illegal constructions. In the second, signs with street names were meant to simplify movement within the city, especially with an eye to foreign and provincial travellers.[39] Guillotte pushed the idea of numbering, labeling, and identification to different, more extreme ends—to create a project for a totalizing, unerring system of surveillance.

Some of the ideas for establishing a surveillance apparatus in the city had been circulated earlier and had appeared, for example, in an anonymous, undated mémoire titled "Plan nouveau pour l'exercice de la police à Paris." Written by a police officer in the second decade of the century, the 37-page manuscript set forth a series of reform proposals concerning the organizational structure of the police. Most notably, the manuscript called for the elimination of the office of Lieutenant Général and its re-establishment as "Intendant général de police du Royaume" (so that he would be "independant du Chastelet et du Parlement"), the suppression of the office of police inspector, the striking of police functions from the remit of the forty-eight commissioners at the Châtelet, and finally the creation of 250 new officers to be called "Commissaires de Police." (The commissioners at the Châtelet were informally called *Commissaires de police*; their official title was *Commissaires-enquêteurs-examinateurs*.) It also proposed measures very similar to Guillotte's: it called for the division of Paris into twenty-five quartiers and the further subdivision of each quartier into ten departments, each comprising "un certain nombre de rues dans

[39] Stories of people getting lost in the city abound. The most curious is certainly that of Marie Antoinette: on the night of 20 June 1791 she and the king fled Paris, in separate carriages; their departure was delayed—and they were eventually caught at Varennes—because the queen got lost for several hours in the labyrinthine streets of Paris, "a few yards from her home." See Graham ROBB, *Parisians: An Adventure History of Paris* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2010), 43-59.

chacun desquels departemens au nombre de 250 il sera distribué un des commissaires de police." All streets, moreover, would be identified with street signs at intersections, and all houses would be numbered: "Chaque maison sera numerotée rue par rue et le numero gravé sur la principale porte de chaque maison, avec le nom du principal locataire comme cela se pratique à Londres." Each of the new officers would draft, street by street, "un etat en forme de denombrement maison par maison de tous ceux qui sy trouveront logés, tant maitres et maitresses qu'enfans, domestiques, pensionnaires ou etrangers par noms, surnoms, âges, qualités et pays." All the information would then be kept regularly updated in registers, one for each street.[40]

The proposals of the anonymous police officer were not to be accepted. A note handwritten in the margin of his plan for a new organizational structure reads: "Touttes reflexions faittes, on estime qu'il ne convient pas quant à present de rien changer au titre de Lietenant general de police tant par rapport au Parlement qu'au Prevost de Paris."[41] The plan, which would have dramatically altered the institutional and juridical framework of the city, was probably considered too radical, and, in fact, the role of the Lieutenant Général hardly changed at all throughout the century. The note, though, suggests that reform proposals, even radical ones, were being solicited

[40] "Plan nouveau pour l'exercice de la police à Paris," BHVP CP 5177, fols. 21-22. The dating of the manuscript can be inferred from clues in the text: it must certainly be put after 1708 (the year of creation of forty posts of police inspector) and before 1724 (the beginning of the "travail des limites"). Cf. Vincent MILLIOT, "Jean-Charles-Pierre Lenoir (1732-1807), lieutenant général de police de Paris (1774-1785). Ses 'Mémoires' et une idée de la police des Lumières," *MEFRIM* vol. 115, no. 2 (2003): 777-806 at 794.

[41] "Plan nouveau pour l'exercice de la police à Paris," BHVP CP 5177, fol. 21. The Prévôt de Paris was the head of the Châtelet, but only nominally (since the early-seventeenth century the office was mostly honorific). The Lieutenant Général de Police was subject to the authority of the Parlement, which exercised what was called the *grande police*.

and considered carefully by the police administration. Guillotte's *Mémoire* was not an isolated case.

The question of the organizational structure of the police occupied Guillotte too. The reform he envisioned was not as extreme as his predecessor's, but the goal was roughly the same: to increase the efficacy of the police and strengthen its control of the territory and the population. Guillotte proposed to maintain the office of Lieutenant Général as well as those of police commissioner and police inspector, and offered only relatively minor modifications to their responsibilities.[42] His most important organizational innovation—and the one of which he was the proudest ("Voici le discours important de mon ouvrage")—was the creation of a new type of officer, the *syndic*. He traced its origin to antiquity, to Hebrew, Greek, and Roman institutions.[43] "[I]nstituer avec discrétion des officiers subalternes," explained Guillotte, "c'est multiplier les yeux du premier Magistrat, ou ce qui revient au même, réduire pour lui le nombre d'habitants, et rendre un petit comité, répresentatif d'une assemblée nombreuse." As with Delamare's *Traité*, the reference to historical

[42] Guillotte wanted the posts of police inspector increased, from twenty (the number that had been set in 1740, from the original forty established in 1708) to twenty-four. As for police commissioners, they too seemed to him too few, but he proposed not to augment their number but rather to choose them better and especially to reduce their duties, exempting them, for example, from overseeing street cleaning and street lighting, menial tasks better suited to other, lower-ranking officers. Police commissioners, he wrote, are important officers "dont il ne faut pas dégrader la dignité par des petites choses auxquelles ils vaquent avec peine et qui s'exécuteront plus décemment et mieux par d'autres personnes." GUILLOTTE, *Mémoire*, 29-30. On police commissioners, see *Traité*, 1:182-220 [I.11.1-11]; [Antoine-Gaspard BOUCHER D'ARGIS], "Commissaires au Chastelet (Jurispr.)," *Encyclopédie* (1753): 3:705-07; [Daniel JOUSSE], *Traité des fonctions, droits et privileges des commissaires-enqueteurs-examinateurs* (Paris: Debure l'aîné, 1759); [Nicolas-Toussaint] DES ESSARTS, *Dictionnaire universel de police*, 7 vols (Paris: Moutard, 1786-89): 3:19-164, 628-32; Steven L. KAPLAN, "Note sur les commissaires de police à Paris au XVIIIe siècle," *RHMC* vol. 28, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1981): 669-86; Vincent MILLIOT, "Le métier de commissaire: bon juge et 'mauvais' policier? (Paris, XVIIIe siècle)," in *Entre justice et justiciables: les auxiliaires de la justice du moyen âge au XXe siècle*, ed. Claire Dolan (Laval, Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2005): 121-36; Nicolas VIDONI, "Les 'officiers de police' à Paris (milieu XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle). Distribution territoriale et compétences," *Rives méditerranéennes*, no. 34 (2009): 97-118.

[43] Guillotte's source was, unsurprisingly, Delamare. *Traité*, 1:5, 8-9, 20-21 [I.2, I.3, I.4.4].

sources—and the obsession to trace things back to their origins—served to legitimize contemporary institutions. For Guillotte, however, the return to the police of the great legislators of antiquity was more than an ideological stance: the police of Moses, Solon, Lycurgus, and Augustus, he believed, was actually better than that of the present. We keep multiplying laws, he said; they instead tried, via the invention of good institutions, to suppress disorder. Our police boils down to prosecuting the "méchants"; theirs sought to increase the number of "bons." "Imaginons donc, à leur [the ancients'] example, une sorte de chaîne que personne ne puisse secouer, qui laisse toute la liberté de faire le bien, et qui ne permette que très difficilement de commettre le mal."[44] The image is again striking: the police is an unbreakable chain, it makes life difficult for the *méchants*, it prevents them from doing bad deeds while leaving the *bons* free to do good.

The first and most important task of the *syndic* was to know the houses he was responsible for and to compile, on specially designed forms, extensive information on the buildings in his *syndicat* and on their occupants. **[fig. 1.9-10]** Guillotte described in minute, maniacal detail the page layout of these two new documents, one for houses and one for people. Step by painstaking step, he explained how the *syndic* should prepare, for everyone within his *syndicat*, a "certificat" listing name, age, "qualités" (social status), address, dates of entry into and exit from the city, information on rent and taxes paid, and whether one owned a carriage. The ancestor of today's ID cards, the *certificat* is surely Guillotte's most innovative proposal. Everyone would have his own made; without it, no one would be allowed to stay in the capital. The rule was to apply to all Parisians, of course, but

[44] GUILLOTTE, *Mémoire*, 34-35.

also to provincials and foreigners visiting Paris: their first obligation on entering the city would be to present themselves to a *syndic* with the certificate that police officials in their own cities or at customs houses would have issued to them. Guillotte was not troubled by the logistical complexity of these measures; nor did he have any qualm about their justness: after all, "Tout homme qui se présente pour entrer dans une société se soumet volontairement aux lois de cette société," and it would be perfectly legitimate for the king to impose on all the obligation to obtain a certificate. Taking up the metaphor of the chain, Guillotte described the *certificat* as "une espèce de chaîne" without which Parisians, foreigners, and everyone else "ne peuvent se remuer sans avertir le Magistrat." The police magistrate should be able to know, at all times and at his pleasure, "où Pierre ou Jacques couche, depuis quand, ce qu'il est, d'où il vient, ce qu'il a fait, ce qu'il est devenu, s'il existe ou non dans la ville, et dans le cas qu'il y soit, où il pourra le trouver."[45]

The desire for an ever more thorough control of people and identities was certainly not new, it had preoccupied the administration—and French society at large—for a long time.[46] It is only in the early eighteenth century, though, that police officials began to devise practical measures to perfect the identification and

[45] Ibid., 45-47. On the history of techniques of identification, see Valentin GROEBNER, *Who Are You? Identification, Deception, and Surveillance in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Mark Kyburz and John Peck (New York: Zone Books, 2007); Vincent DENIS, *Une histoire de l'identité. France, 1715-1815* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2008); ID., "Comment le savoir vient aux policiers: l'exemple des techniques d'identification en France, des Lumières à la Restauration," *RHSH*, no. 19 (2008): 91-105; Jean-Pierre GUTTON, *Etablir l'identité. L'identification des Français du Moyen Age à nos jours* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 2010). It should be noted that, by 1749, systematic techniques of identification involving passports and certificates already existed—not for people, though, but for commodities: grain and flour had to be accompanied by a so-called *lettre de voiture*, a certificate of purchase and passport of sorts, which needed to be registered with police officials at the markets. See Steven L. KAPLAN, *Bread, Politics and Political Economy in the Reign of Louis XV*, 2 vols (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976), 1:69 and fig. 4, 1:146.

[46] On the subject of mistaken identities, the *locus classicus* is Nathalie Zemon DAVIS, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983).

surveillance of citizens, measures such as the creation, in 1708, of twenty posts of police inspector. The reform proposal we encountered earlier, for example, had called expressly for an across-the-board prohibition to disguise one's identity, on pain of prison and *fouet*. "En un mot," the anonymous police officer had summed up, "personne ne pourra etre huit jours à Paris dans quelque endroit qu'il aille sans etre suivy et connu ou pour un honnete homme ou pour un homme d'intrigue et vagabond."[47] Any number of concerns and fears are in evidence here: fear of impostors or criminals hiding under false name in *chambres garnies*[48] or entering the city surreptitiously,[49] and the broader fear of a population that was not only growing but also becoming more and more mobile, a population that increasingly seemed to elude the city's traditional forms of social control. The control of migrant workers and of all sorts of fringe characters (beggars, prostitutes, vagabonds, and all other *gens sans aveu*) was to be one of the central preoccupations of the police in the eighteenth century.[50] Guillotte's system of certificates was meant to address these

[47] "Plan nouveau pour l'exercice de la police à Paris," BHVP CP 5177, fols. 24, 27-28.

[48] An unsigned mémoire produced for the 1666-67 council for the reform of the police ("Memoire pour travailler a la reformation de la police de la ville fauxbourgs et banlieu de Paris," 4 Oct. 1666, BnF ms. fr. 16847, fols. 108-09) called for police commissioners to supervise *auberges* and *maisons garnies*. The requirement was included in the March 1667 edict creating the office of Lieutenant de Police, AN AD/✠/390. **{Appendix 1}** The obligations for *aubergistes* and lodging-house keepers to maintain records of their lodgers were later specified in an edict of March 1693 and again in an *arrêt* of the Conseil of 2 December 1708, which compelled them to keep two registers: one was to be held by the police commissioner of the quartier and updated once a month; the other was to remain at the *auberge* and initialed at regular times by a police inspector. See DELAMARE to Joly de Fleury, 18 Nov. 1721, BnF Joly 185, fols. 43-44. As with most police regulations, the two-registers rule was repeated often. See, for example, police ordinance, 20 Dec. 1734, AN Y/9499, no. 536. See also LEMAIRE, "La police de Paris en 1770," 50, and the relevant documents in the Delamare collection, BnF ms. fr. 21707, fols. 13-27.

[49] See, for example, the police ordinance of 24 December 1733, which repeated the prescription for "messagers, rouliers et voituriers par eau et par terre" to record names, *qualités*, and addresses of the people they ferried and declare to the police inspectors all entries into the city. AN Y/9499, no. 533.

[50] On the control of migrants, beggars and other *gens sans aveu*, see Christian ROMON, "Mendians et policiers à Paris au XVIIIème siècle," *HES* vol. 1, no. 2 (1982): 259-95; Daniel ROCHE, ed., *La ville*

problems. Hospitals such as the Hôtel-Dieu ("le réceptacle de je ne sais combien de gens qui ont mérité la potence") were to be subjected to the same requirements of all other houses: criminals would no longer be able to find refuge in them, for no one would be admitted without the *syndic*'s certificate. Convents and monasteries were also to be treated the same way: "Les maisons monastiques sont des lieux de ténèbres, et la Police aime la lumière."[51]

The police want light: this could well be the motto not just of Guillotte but of most other eighteenth-century police writers. Visibility is indeed a central theme of the utopia of the police: the literal visibility of citizens to the eyes of police officers, of course, but also the dream of the society entire becoming visible, known, transparent.

Guillotte's network of some 1,400 *syndics* would provide an up-close watch of the city and finally guarantee its thorough policing. In addition to issuing and keeping up-to-date the *certificats*, the *syndics*' remit would also include various other police functions, tasks that until then had been performed by the police commissioners at the Châtelet. In Guillotte's plan, the *syndics* were to oversee the service of street cleaning and the lighting of lanterns; do their twenty-house beat twice a day, making sure, for example, that nothing dangerous leaned on balconies and windows; share with inspectors and other police officers the supervision of carts, carriages, and other vehicles; visit once a year the houses of their *syndicat* accompanied by an expert who would advise on needed repairs; and be in charge of

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promise. Mobilité et accueil à Paris, fin XVIIe-début XIXe siècle (Paris: Fayard, 2000); Vincent MILLIOT, "Migrants et 'étrangers' sous l'œil de la police"; ID., "Réformer les polices urbaines au siècle des Lumières: le révélateur de la mobilité," *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés* vol. 10, no. 1 (2006): 25-50.

[51] GUILLOTTE, *Mémoire*, 49.

collecting the residents' *capitation* and the tax on *boues et lanternes*, the tax that paid for street cleaning and lighting.

The *certificat*, a record of "l'état passé d'un homme et son état actuel," would be the cure for all sorts of social ills. The system of *syndics* and *certificats*, Guillotte insisted, would produce countless improvements: among other things, it would simplify the assessment and collection of taxes; it would allow the government to know with certainty of all births and deaths, since priests would not be able to either marry or bury anyone without a *syndic*'s certificate; a better knowledge of the population would help distinguish between the "pauvres qui méritent d'être soulagés" and the "gueux par état qu'il faut poursuivre et renfermer"; the *syndics*' system of surveillance would be useful in weeding out clandestine printers and warehouses of prohibited books; it would even help eradicate prostitution, thereby reducing both out-of-wedlock children and venereal disease.[52]

A duplicate of each *certificat* would be maintained by the Lieutenant Général de Police: these copies would be for him "une image fidèle de la ville." The problem now became one of scale. Guillotte estimated Paris to be one million strong: how would one manage "cette multitude immense de certificats"?[53] The *syndics* would not have too much to worry about; each would have to store and keep up to date no more than 800 certificates—as thick, at most, as "deux bons volumes in-quarto." Twice a week, then, every *syndic* would send to the Lieutenant Général a single sheet of paper (yet another form for which Guillotte gave a model) listing the changes

[52] Ibid., 48-52.

[53] Guillotte overestimated the population of Paris: a more realistic number would be between 500,000 and 600,000. See Daniel ROCHE, *Le peuple de Paris. Essai sur la culture populaire au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1981), 21-22.

befalling the citizens of his *syndicat*, presumably no more than four per day, each one entailing only the change of one line per certificate. But, chez the Lieutenant Général, maintaining the duplicates of the certificates—an archive of one million papers—would be a logistical nightmare. Were one to store them in big quarto volumes, Guillotte calculated, one would need 3,333 volumes and at least fifty clerks. What to do then? "Le contraire de ce qu'on fait partout." It wouldn't do to use cabinets such as those used in *chambres des comptes*: clerks should not have to move to fetch documents, the documents themselves should move to them. Guillotte's solution was "une machine fort simple," a contraption of his own invention, which he called "serre-papier."[54] **[fig. 1.11-13]** Its key element was a large wooden wheel, three-and-a-half feet wide, twelve feet in diameter, and divided into hundreds of compartments, which clerks would operate with their feet, the right foot for fixing and releasing it, the left to make it spin. Since one such device, by Guillotte's calculation, would hold 102,400 documents, eleven or twelve *serre-papiers*, manned by as many clerks, would suffice to cover the city of Paris.[55]

[54] The *serre-papier* may have been inspired by the book-wheel, a revolving bookcase of medieval origin perfected in the late-sixteenth century by the military engineer Agostino Ramelli; the machine found application in libraries and scholars' study rooms throughout Europe. See Agostino RAMELLI, *Le diverse et artificiose machine del capitano Agostino Ramelli* (Paris: in casa del'autore, 1588), 316-17, fig. clxxxviii; Bert S. HALL, "A Revolving Bookcase by Agostino Ramelli," *Technology and Culture* vol. 11, no. 3 (July 1970): 389-400; Lisa JARDINE and Anthony GRAFTON, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy," *Past & Present*, no. 129 (Nov. 1990): 30-78, esp. 46-48. Ramelli may also have been the source for Guillotte's bridge design: chapters 140 through 153 of *Le diverse et artificiose machine* contained designs for pontoon bridges and other machines for crossing rivers and fortresses' moats.

[55] GUILLOTTE, *Mémoire*, 53-68. To test the viability of the system, Guillotte imagined a worst-case scenario, that of a public festival attracting 60,000 people. They would not all come at once but, presumably, their arrival would be spaced over the course of two weeks, hence no more than 4,000 per day. Since the *syndics* numbered about 1,400, each would be responsible for receiving and updating the certificates of no more than four visitors per day. At police headquarters, the task of the clerks would not be any harder: although they would receive 4,000 certificate duplicates per day, they wouldn't have to write anything on them, their only task would be to put them in the *serre-papiers*, a simple filing operation: "Voilà tout l'embarras de police pour ces soixante mille survenants." Guillotte's

Saint-Aubin drew with remarkable grace the *serre-papiers* and the police bureau in which they would be assembled. A grand room at police headquarters, there appears to be just about nothing in it: on a wall, a large map of Paris; along two sides, twelve desks; at one end, a table near three tall windows; a dozen or so clerks sitting on plush chairs or moving about, effortlessly. The room, one imagines, is almost silent, if not for the regular, strange sound of the machinery spinning behind the walls. In Saint-Aubin's hands the new control room at police headquarters became a salon whose rococo *boiserie* all but concealed Guillotte's remarkable apparatus, an unprecedented, immense mechanical database of Parisians. In the drawings, Guillotte's big-brotherish system of surveillance became elegant, light-footed, non-threatening.

Guillotte's utopia of an all-knowing police is arresting. The archive of certificates—a prodigious repository of information on hundreds of thousands of people—would be "une image toujours ressemblante et jamais semblable de l'état actuel de la ville; cette image sera perpétuellement sous les yeux du Magistrat."[56] The eyes of the magistrate would reach everywhere.

> Le premier Magistrat de la ville connaissant toujours de tout habitant, le nom, l'âge et le pays, la qualité, la date de son entrée dans la ville, par jour, mois et année, le temps de son séjour, son domicile par quartier, rue, syndicat, maison, escalier, étage, porte; la date de sa sortie, soit de la ville pour la province, soit d'un syndicat pour un autre, son loyer par an, s'il loue à l'année, par mois et par jour, s'il loue au mois et au jour; sa capitation de la ville ou des arts et métiers, si c'est à la ville ou à la police qu'il paye, son dixième d'industrie et des rentes sur particuliers, s'il en a, ses impositions accidentelles, s'il en survient et s'il y est sujet, ses voitures, soit carrosse, soit carrosse de place, soit charrette et autres s'il en a; la face actuelle de la ville lui

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insistence on the ease of operation of the system is at times disarming: each *serre-papier* contained the files for two quartiers, but some quartiers were busier than others and hence more tiring for the clerks; the solution was, once again, very simple: "Il serait à propos que ces commis circulassent d'un serre-papier à un autre."

[56] Ibid., 67.

> sera aussi parfaitement connue que sa propre maison; il saura plus de choses sur le compte d'un citoyen, quelqu'il soit, que n'en savent ses voisins et ceux qui fréquentent le plus assidûment dans sa maison.[57]

The figure of the city that emerges in the *Mémoire* is no longer that of geographers, historians, or antiquarians, with their maps, list of *antiquitez*, or *portraits*. Nor is it that of architects. Rather, the new image of the city is the archive itself, the millions of lines of information on the citizens methodically compiled by the *syndics*. (In the jargon of today's theory, such a figure would probably be called computational.) The utopia of the police was ultimately not a matter of design but a matter of knowledge. Indeed, in the work of the police, in the writings of theorists and officers such as Guillotte, the city itself, understood as a problem of police, was constituted as a new object of knowledge. Everything in it must be known; every piece of information—the number of streets and houses, but also "where Pierre or Jacques sleep"—was significant; everything would be seen, known, counted, measured, notated, in a strange sort of political arithmetic. With Guillotte, one might say, the utopia of the police was in the end a matter of accounting. In these notations, in the new calculus of buildings, streets, people, and risks, is the origin of a new kind of knowledge, a new rationality of the city.

For Guillotte and the police theorists of early modern France, the city was the ultimate figure of society; the police of a great city, the ultimate figure of government. In the *Mémoire*'s sixth *discours*, stressing the "généralité" of the project (the idea that the system's advantages could be extended from Paris to the whole

[57] Ibid., 47.

country), Guillotte envisioned all French citizens to be "assujettis au certificat": the kingdom entire would become "une seule et unique grande ville."[58]

Police and *voirie*

The creation of the system of *syndics* and *certificats* is certainly Guillotte's most significant contribution to the science of police. The *Mémoire*, however, included other reform ideas and, most important, an analysis of the problems of *voirie* and several proposals to transform Parisian urbanism.

In early modern French jurisprudence the term *voirie* or *voyerie* referred to the area of administration concerned with streets and roads. Its primary object was, in the words of Lecler du Brillet, "le logement, la régularité des édifices; l'étendue, l'allignement, la liberté & commodité des rues, des places publiques & des grands chemins."[59] It was under the rubric of *voirie* that administrators, jurists, and police writers discussed questions of city planning. Despite various municipal and government efforts—and despite the creation in 1667 of the Lieutenance de Police—the image of the mid-century city was not pretty: Paris was dirty, polluted, crowded, and unsafe. Visitors were repelled by the stench, which could be smelled from miles away, and dreaded stepping on the *boue*, the black, sticky mud that covered most streets.[60] Almost everyone was appalled at the maze of narrow, tortuous streets, at

[58] Ibid., 86.

[59] *Traité*, 4:1 [VI.1].

[60] The problems of *boue* and *senteur* were chronic. Montaigne deplored them in the *Essais*: "Le principal soing que j'aye à me loger, c'est de fuir l'air puant et pesant. Ces belles villes, Venise et Paris, alterent la faveur que je leur porte, par l'aigre senteur, l'une de son maraits, l'autre de sa boue." Michel de MONTAIGNE, *Les essais*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, ed. Jean Balsamo, Michel Magnien and

the derelict state of many quartiers, and at the city's traffic jams, the infamous *embarras*.[61] The problems of *voirie* were too many and too entangled; they seemed intractable. For Guillotte, however, solutions were straightforward and, once again, primarily a matter of logistics and organization: if only we could get the police system to work properly, he seems to be saying, all would be alright.

The key to his proposals for the city revolved around the question of *alignement*. The act by which a public authority set the limits of properties and regulated the layout of streets, *alignement* was one of the most essential tools of early modern urbanism. The *feudiste* Edme de la Poix de Fréminville, author of a *Dictionnaire ou Traité de la police générale des villes*, of 1758, expressed it neatly: "La beauté des villes consiste principalement dans l'alignement des rues."[62] The Lieutenance de Police was one of the public authorities with powers in these matters, but was responsible only for issuing permits to buildings located at street intersections. The bulk of the task of overseeing the city's alignments fell to the

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Catherine Magnien-Simonin (Paris: Gallimard, 2007), 335 [bk. 1, ch. 55, "Des senteurs"]. A century later, in the 1670s, Sauval took note of a popular saying to describe nasty, sticky things: "Il tient comme boue de Paris." Henri SAUVAL, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, 3 vols (Paris: Charles Moette, 1724), 1:186.

[61] The sense of disgust at the sight Paris recurs in many eighteenth-century accounts, most memorably in Rousseau's *Confessions*: "Combien l'abord de Paris démentit l'idée que j'en avais! La décoration exterieure que j'avois vue à Turin, la beauté des rues, la simétrie et l'alignement des maisons me faisoient chercher à Paris autre chose encore. Je m'étois figuré une ville aussi belle que grande, de l'aspect le plus imposant, où l'on ne voyoit que de superbes rues, des palais de marbre et d'or. En entrant par le fauxbourg St. Marceau je ne vis que de petites rues sales et puantes, de vilaines maisons noires, l'air de la malpropreté, de la pauvreté, des mendians, des chartiers, des ravaudeuses, des crieuses de tisanne et de vieux chapeaux. Tout cela me frappa d'abord à tel point que tout ce que j'ai vu depuis à Paris de magnificence reelle n'a pu détruire cette prémiére impression, et qu'il m'en est resté toujours un secret dégout pour l'habitation de cette capitale." Jean-Jacques ROUSSEAU, *Les confessions*, in *Œuvres complètes*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, ed. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond, 5 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1959-95), 1:159 [bk. 4].

[62] Edme de la Poix de FRÉMINVILLE, *Dictionnaire ou Traité de la police générale des villes, bourgs, paroisses et seigneuries de la campagne* (Paris: Gisey, 1758), 687 [art. "Rues, Alignement"]. On the issue of *alignement*, see Jean-Louis HAROUEL, "Le droit de la construction et de l'urbanisme dans la France du XVIIIe siècle," Ph.D. thesis (Université de droit, d'économie et de sciences sociales de Paris, Paris II, 1974), 76-82; ID., "Le fonctions de l'alignement dans l'organisme urbain," *Dix-huitième siècle*, no. 9 (1977): 135-50.

Bureau des Finances of the Paris *généralité* and its chief officers, the Trésoriers de France. Although they fought tooth and nail to defend their prerogatives, the Bureaux des Finances (regional jurisdictions with fiscal, domanial, and *voirie* authority) had steadily declined in importance relative to rival institutions, had lost to the Intendants many of their rights on public works in the provinces, and by the eighteenth century had become somewhat dysfunctional, especially with respect to the business of *alignement*.[63] Guillotte gave an example: Take, he said, the Rue de la Huchette, a small street on the left bank. **[fig. 1.14]** Why do the facades of its houses face different directions? Why are they not parallel? And why all the set-backs? "Si l'on présentait à quelqu'un l'état de la rue de la Huchette [...] se persuaderait-il jamais qu'il y a des gens constitués par état pour veiller à l'alignement des rues et des maisons?"[64] At fault for the "plan ridicule" of this street were, of course, the Trésoriers de France. Building owners disregarded the Trésoriers' decisions; they knew that a *procès* would be started for neglect of an alignment, but they also knew that they could always appeal to the Parlement, and these appeals dragged on forever: the risk of having to demolish one's non-aligned facade was minimal, almost non-existent. Guillotte was well aware that, in the tangled institutional and jurisdictional environment of early modern France, it would have been impossible to

[63] On the Bureau des Finances of Paris, see François BLUCHE, "Les officiers du Bureau des finances de Paris au XVIIIe siècle, 1693-1791," *BSHPIF* vol. 97 (1970): 147-215; François OLIVIER-MARTIN, *Histoire du droit français des origines à la Révolution* (1948; repr., Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1984), § 449. Cf. Geneviève DELAUME, *Le Bureau des Finances de la Généralité de Paris* (Paris: Editions Cujas, 1966); ID., "Les commissions des Trésoriers du Bureau des Finances sous l'Ancien Régime," in *Etudes d'histoire du droit parisien* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1970): 247-52. See also Roland MOUSNIER, *Les institutions de la France sous la monarchie absolue, 1598-1789* (1974-80; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2005), 849-53; Jean-Louis HAROUEL, "La monarchie administrative, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles," in Jean-Louis HAROUEL et al., *Histoire des institutions de l'époque franque à la Révolution* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1987): 395-558 at 546-47.

[64] GUILLOTTE, *Mémoire*, 106.

pry from the Trésoriers' hands any of their *droits*. The solution he proposed was to let them hold on to their jurisdiction on *alignement* (and to the revenue attached to it, for building owners had to pay a fee to obtain the alignment) but charge someone else to do the work: "qu'ils perçoivent leurs droits, à la bonne heure; mais qu'ils laissent à d'autres mieux instruits, et mieux intentionnés, le soins de cet alignement."[65] Once such jurisdictional obstacle was removed, the first and most important means to procure a city-wide embellishment was to draw a "plan général," a map that would show both the present state of the city and all proposed alignments, dotted in. Such a plan would be *arrêté* by the king, and one person would be given power to have it executed and implemented: the abbé Delagrive, Géographe de la Ville de Paris.

One of the most renowned map-makers of the time, Jean Delagrive was the author of a celebrated plan of Paris and its faubourgs, a large-scale map he had made in 1728 that was to remain an exemplar of cartographic accuracy for decades.[66] **[fig. 1.15]** In the early 1730s he had begun working for the Bureau de la Ville, the capital's municipal authority, which commissioned from him a map of the course of the Seine. In 1735 he proposed to deliver an unprecedented work, what would have been the

[65] Ibid., 108.

[66] "Nouveau plan de Paris et de ses faubourgs, dressé sur la meridienne de l'observatoire et levé géométriquement, par M. l'abbé Delagrive," BnF cartes Ge A 1401. The map was funded with a public subscription launched in January 1727—a first in the map-making business. The map's accuracy was due, above all, to Delagrive's knowledge and use of trigonometry. In one of the map's explanatory texts, he criticized the plans made by previous cartographers: "Je n'en ai vu aucun ou l'on ait mis en usage les calculs de trigonometrie pour la position des clochers et des autres points fixes." Later on, Delagrive wrote the book on trigonometry: Jean DELAGRIVE, *Manuel de trigonométrie pratique* (Paris: H.-L. Guérin, 1752). On this plan, see Jean BOUTIER, Jean-Yves SARAZIN and Marine SIBILLE, *Les plans de Paris des origines (1493) à la fin du XVIIIe siècle. Etude, cartobibliographie et catalogue collectif* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2002), 239-40. See also Alfred BONNARDOT, *Etudes archéologiques sur les anciens plans de Paris des XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, ed. Michel Fleury (1851, 1877; Paris: Agence culturelle de Paris, 1994), 192-96; Antoine PICON and Jean-Paul ROBERT, *Le dessus des cartes. Un atlas parisien* (Paris: Editions du Pavillon de l'Arsenal, Picard, 1999), 84, 87.

first cadastre of the city. The proposal pleased the Bureau de la Ville and its chief officer, the Prévôt des Marchands Michel-Etienne Turgot: they created for Delagrive the post of city geographer, gave him a stipend of 1,000 livres per year, and commissioned him to "lever les plans généraux et particuliers que Nous jugerons nécessaires pour le bien public et en particulier pour l'avantage de la Ville."[67] Turgot had already commissioned a map of Paris from Louis Bretez, but that map, published in 1739, served only as a *portrait* of the city, however beautiful. Delagrive's project was different—to create not a portrait of the city, but an actual planning tool. He was to produce both a series of cartographic representations of Paris and an inventory of information on the city's real estate—an urban cadastre. The final work would comprise a set of maps collected into an atlas and a number of tables. The maps, in addition to providing an accurate description of the city's buildings and layout, would include all sorts of administrative information: they would indicate, for example, the residences of police commissioners, the length and width of streets (useful for assessing the cost of street paving), and the city's various administrative boundaries (*quartiers de police*, *quartiers de capitation*, parish boundaries, etc.). The accompanying tables would be a record of information on all city buildings (address; position within the city's administrative framework; names of *seigneur*, owner, and *locataire*; width of the building's facade; quantity of water allocated per year; number of street lanterns; *valeur annuelle*; etc.).[68]

[67] The quote is from the 8 March 1735 *brévet* naming Delagrive city geographer, in *Histoire générale de Paris, Collection de documents fondée ... par M. le B.on Haussmann ... et publiée sous les auspices du conseil municipal*, ed. Lazare-Maurice Tisserand et al. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1866), 94-95.

[68] The urban cadastre was never completed: one part of it, the "Plan de la Cité," was published in 1754; in 1757, shortly after Delagrive's death, his disciple and future city geographer Alexandre François Hugnin published the plan of the quartier Sainte-Geneviève; after that, the project was abandoned. See

Delagrive's urban cadastre promised to become a most useful tool for the administration of Paris. Not only would it function as a *terrier* of the city, listing the properties belonging to the city's domain; it would be invaluable for managing the *voirie* of Paris and, more generally, its police. Indeed, early on the officials in charge of policing the city, that is, of making policy for the city, showed interest in it. In 1737 Delagrive's cadastre was a topic at the Assemblée de Police, a semi-regular biweekly meeting hosted by the Premier Président of the Parlement and attended by the Lieutenant Général de Police, the Prévôt des Marchands, and the Procureur Général at the Parlement: the latter wanted from the Prévôt an update on the project; he seemed eager to have, for the first time, a plan of the city with the indication of "chaque maison par paroisse, par censive, par quartier de commissaires, par quartier de la ville & c."[69]

Guillotte was surely not privy to the discussions of the Assemblée de Police, but he must have known of Delagrive's cadastral project, and certainly knew of him as an excellent map-maker, if only because in the 1730s Delagrive had produced two maps that were included in the fourth volume of Delamare's *Traité*: the "Neuvième plan de Paris," which completed the set of eight historical maps commissioned by Delamare for the first volume of the treatise, and the "Plan des fontaines," an extraordinary map of the city's water system.[70] **[fig. 3.81]** If Paris was, so to speak,

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Jean BOUTIER, "Une tentative de relevé cadastral de Paris: le plan de l'Abbé Jean Delagrive, 1735-1757," *CREPIF*, no. 50 (Mar. 1995): 107-20; BOUTIER, SARAZIN and SIBILLE, *Les plans de Paris*, 32-33, 277-80.

[69] Assemblée de Police, 10 Jan. 1737, BnF ms. fr. 11356, fol. 308 [no. 622, "Continuation par le Sr. de la Grive d'un nouveau plan de Paris"].

[70] The fourth volume of the *Traité* was published in 1738, but the map of the water system was ready by 1730, BnF cartes Ge C 9768. (Two more prints of the same, dated 1735 and 1737, are at BHVP G 82 and G 83.) As for the "Neuvième plan," it was ready by 1735 at the latest, BHVP A 31. (Another print, dated 1737, is at BHVP A 186 a.)

urbanistically adrift, Delagrive was the perfect captain to see to the city's *embellissement*. Empowering him to oversee the making of a *plan général* would finally put an end to the continuous jurisdictional disputes on *voirie* and to decades of lackadaisical government intervention. In Guillotte's scheme, the officials overseeing the plan would at last have the legal means to implement it: a tariff system would be established to calculate monetary compensation (proprietors who lost land to an alignment would, basically, be compensated by those who gained land); all appeals pending at the Parlement (injunctions of demolition issued by the Trésoriers for non-respect of an alignment) would be terminated, starting retroactively on January first, 1720.[71]

Guillotte's call for a *plan général* was not completely new. The most notable precedent was the plan presented in 1676 by Pierre Bullet and François Blondel, which recorded both "l'estat present" of the city and "les ouvrages qui ont été commencez par les ordres du roy et qui peuvent étre continuez pour la commodite publique."[72] **[fig. 1.16]** Some of the works projected there—above all, the northern boulevards—had been seen through, although the plan had not really guided Parisian urbanism. The idea, however, of a master plan that would govern urban development, one that would serve as a steadfast basis for all private and public works, did not wither away: the need of a *plan général* so forcefully expressed by

[71] GUILLOTTE, *Mémoire*, 106-08.

[72] It is interesting to note, especially in relation to the work of Delagrive, that Bullet was the first map-maker to make systematic use of triangulation, which he calculated with a measuring instrument of his own invention, the *pantometre*. Pierre BULLET, *Traité de l'usage du pantometre* (Paris: André Pralard, 1675). On the Bullet-Blondel plan, see BONNARDOT, *Etudes archéologiques sur les anciens plans de Paris*, 150-58; Alfred FRANKLIN, *Les anciens plans de Paris. Notices historiques et topographiques*, 2 vols (Paris: Léon Willem, 1878-80), 2:64-114; BOUTIER, SARAZIN and SIBILLE, *Les plans de Paris*, 166-71; cf. Anthony GERBINO, *François Blondel: Architecture, Erudition, and the Scientific Revolution* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 73-77.

Guillotte in 1749 was to remain a constant theme for almost all urban theorists of the second half of the century.[73]

The year 1749 is particularly interesting for the history of Parisian urbanism. The production of Guillotte's *Mémoire* coincides with the beginning of the first sustained debate on the planning of Paris. Spurred by two *causes célèbres*—the *dégagement* of the Louvre colonnade and the competition for the creation of the Place Louis XV—a major debate was launched in texts such as *L'ombre du grand Colbert*, by the art critic Etienne La Font de Saint-Yenne, and "Des embellissements de la ville de Paris," by Voltaire.[74] Guillotte was certainly aware of these developments, but, interestingly, his take on the question of *embellissement*, and in particular the model of intervention on the city that he proposed, were different. In both La Font de Saint-Yenne and Voltaire, for example, the reference, the model to go back to in order to jumpstart the urban renewal of Paris was the reign of Louis XIV and the policy of his master builder, Jean-Baptiste Colbert. Voltaire argued the case best in "Des embellissement de la ville de Cachemire," a fictional dialogue he wrote in 1749 between an enlightened Indian philosopher and a "bostangi," an obtuse government official. In his satire of present-day government short-

[73] In 1765, for example, Pierre Patte deplored how, in the previous fifty years, almost half of Paris had been rebuilt "sans qu'il soit venu dans la pensée de l'assujettir à aucun plan général." To procure an "embellissement total" of the city, he wrote, "il conviendroit d'abord de faire dessiner un plan général de cette capitale suffisamment détaillé." In a footnote he added: "L'architecte Bullet avoit commencé, le siècle dernier, un grand plan de Paris pour cet objet [...] Feu l'abbé de la Grive en avoit entrepris un autre très-développé par ordre de la Ville, lequel est resté à moitié fait. Rien ne seroit plus utile que de le faire continuer." PATTE, *Monumens érigés en France à la gloire de Louis XV*, 213, 221, 221nB. The call for a *plan général* would eventually be heeded with the work of Edme Verniquet in the late 1780s and with the Plan des Artistes, of 1794.

[74] [Etienne LA FONT DE SAINT-YENNE], *L'ombre du grand Colbert, le Louvre, & la ville de Paris, dialogue*, 2nd ed. (Paris: s.n., 1752); VOLTAIRE, "Des embellissements de la ville de Paris," ed. Mark Waddicor, *Œuvres complètes*, gen. ed. Ulla Kölving, vol. 31B (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1994): 213-33. On the explosion of publications on Parisian urbanism in the late 1740s, see Richard WITTMAN, "Architecture, Space, and Abstraction in the Eighteenth-Century French Public Sphere," *Representations*, no. 102 (Spring 2008): 1-26.

sightedness, Voltaire yearned for the late-seventeenth century, when "Il se trouva un sultan qui [...] à l'aide d'un bon vizir poliça, embellit et enrichit le royaume."[75] Behind the figures of the sultan and his vizier were, of course, Louis XIV and Colbert, held up as paragons for a policy of strong direct monarchical intervention on city planning—they had "policed, embellished, and enriched the kingdom." In Guillotte too one can read similar themes—after all, he too wanted a *bon vizir*, in the person of the Lieutenant Général de Police. But his emphasis was different: what mattered was not the presence of an autocratic leader but rather that of competent officers and administrators, experts like Delagrive, technocrats we would say. The difference between the two models of intervention are stark. For Voltaire and La Font de Saint-Yenne, the cornerstone of a policy of embellishment was the construction of *places royales* and model buildings; for Guillotte, it was the alignment of houses. For the advocates of enlightened despotism the question of leadership was paramount; for Guillotte what really mattered was the administrative system—the problem with Parisian urbanism had to do not so much with the character or vision of the city's leaders, as with perfecting the machine sustaining them, its movements, its gears.

The other urban problem that preoccupied Guillotte was the city's congestion. Nothing he proposed in the *Mémoire* to solve this problem was quite new, and for the most part he offered variations on police regulations that already existed, all

[75] VOLTAIRE, "Des embellissements de la ville de Cachemire," ed. Mark Waddicor, *Œuvres complètes*, 31B:250. Although published only in 1756, the text was probably written immediately after "Des embellissements de la ville de Paris," in early 1749. Waddicor suggests—correctly, I think—that the most likely candidate for the "bostangi" is Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, Comte de Maurepas et de Pontchartrain. Until his disgrace on 23 April 1749 Maurepas was secretary of state for the navy, secretary of state for the royal household, and Ministre de Paris (the unofficial title given to one of the four secretaries of state, generally the minister for the Maison du Roi, who had Paris within his department). The Lieutenant Général de Police reported to the Ministre de Paris, his hierarchical superior at Versailles. See, for example, the correspondence in Arthur-Michel de BOISLISLE, *Lettres de M. de Marville, lieutenant général de police, au ministre Maurepas, 1742-1747*, 3 vols (Paris: H. Champion, 1896-1905).

meant to rein in the city's *embarras*. The rationale of his recommendations was usually a combination of sanitation and safety concerns: butchers, for example, were to be prohibited from bringing their oxen into the city after 6 a.m. in the summer and 8 a.m. in winter. At times, the rationale seems to be a distaste for urban noise and confusion: "crieurs de vieille ferraille" and "crieuses de vieux chapeaux," Guillotte wanted them banned.

Once again, one of Guillotte's primary concerns was identification. The city's authorities had already introduced regulations for the identification of vehicles. In 1720 the municipality had required *voituriers* and *charretiers* to affix on their carriages "une planche ou plaque de fer blanc, sur laquelle sera marqué le numero qui leur a été ou sera donné & leur nom."[76] Nicolas Jean-Baptiste Ravot d'Ombreval, Lieutenant Général from 1724 to 1725, had issued in May 1725 a detailed police ordinance concerning *carrosses de place*, compelling owners to paint registration numbers on the back of vehicles "avec des grands chiffres peints en jaune en huile."[77] René Hérault, Lieutenant Général from 1725 to 1739, and his successor, Claude-Henri Feydeau de Marville, had continued the effort to establish a system for the registration of carriages: in 1740, for example, Marville reissued the 1725 ordinance

[76] Ordinance of the Prévôt des Marchands et Echevins, 5 Aug. 1720, *Traité*, 4:458 [VI.12.3].

[77] Police ordinance, 2 May 1725, AN AD/✠/790. The ordinance, among other things, prohibited double parking and forbade *cochers de place* to "insulter ou injurer les bourgeois, les passans & les commis à la regie du privilege" and to "user de menaces ni de voies de fait pour faire descendre ceux qui pourroient estre dans lesdits carosses," on pain of 300 livres and "punition exemplaire." In passing, we may note that taxi rides must have been bumpy affairs. The ordinance's first article required carriages to be "bien conditionnez, garnis de bonnes soupentes, même de doubles soupentes." (Locke, who had stayed in Paris in the 1670s, had noted in his journal, "Memo. *loop to hold fast in coaches*." John LOCKE, *Locke's Travels in France, 1675-1679, As Related in His Journals, Correspondence and Other Papers*, ed. John Lough (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 149 [9 June 1677].)

concerning *carrosses de place*.[78] Guillotte went one step further: not only should owners of *carrosses de place* paint on their vehicles the quartier letter, a number identifying the owner, and a letter identifying the driver; horses too should bear identifying signs and wear one of three horse collars, a different one depending on whether the horse was from the city, the *banlieue*, or the *généralité*. **[fig. 1.17-20]** Once again, a simple, 'painless' technical solution would solve several problems at a stroke: bad or rowdy drivers would be quickly identified and reprimanded, the overall quality of the taxi service would improve, "Plus d'émeutes, plus de saisies, plus de tumultes, plus de ces frais énormes, plus d'interruption dans le service des particuliers etc." In ending the description of his proposal, Guillotte insisted on the ease with which the new measures could be implemented and, almost inadvertently, voiced what is perhaps the ideological kernel of the police of early modern France: "Il est inutile de recourir à des moyens violents quand on peut aller à son but par des voies douces."[79]

The problem of city traffic offered Guillotte another occasion to exercise his ingenuity. Much of the *embarras*, he claimed, was caused by the too many *voitures* in the streets: we cannot reduce their number ("il est à présumer qu'elles sont toutes nécessaires"), but we certainly can shorten the time they stay parked in streets. For the most troublesome of these *voitures*—the multitude of carts that brought firewood into Paris—the solution was another machine, a "voiture à bois," a two-wheeled cart whose back would open up at the touch of a lever, tilting the cart backward and allowing the driver to unload its contents in no time. **[fig. 1.21-22]** Guillotte's

[78] Police ordinance, 9 Mar. 1740, AN AD/Ϟ/855.

[79] GUILLOTTE, *Mémoire*, 90.

voiture à bois was not much of an invention: it was, after all, merely a design variation on the *tombereaux*, the bascule carts used by street cleaners for the removal of the *boue*. What is notable, however, is Guillotte's attention to matters of cleanliness and circulation. For Guillotte the *embarras* was not just a minor disturbance in urban movement, a glitch merely slowing down the city's rhythms; it was, at least potentially, the sign of other, much more threatening sorts of disturbances, hazards that police administrators were not willing to risk. The *embarras* signalled the disruption of social order, it threatened the foremost goal of all government effort, that of creating and maintaining *une ville policée*. Social order and the control of traffic appeared to Guillotte not just closely related to one another but almost one and the same: if only people, carriages, and goods were to circulate without difficulty, if traffic jams, *embarras* and other street disturbances were to be handled properly, the city—and society itself—would run smoothly. Behind contraptions such as the *voiture à bois* and, in fact, behind all of Guillotte's technological and organizational inventions was the desire to remove from the city all its hurdles, circulatory and social, to contain and eliminate from the city all troubles, all hazards—all that interfered with the smooth function of urban life.[80]

Guillotte wanted the city to be proper, well ordered, and, above all, safe. But he also wanted it to be aesthetically sanitized. We have already noted his ideas, his

[80] This argument was best made by Paul Virilio: "Le pouvoir politique de l'Etat n'est donc que secondairement 'le pouvoir organisé d'une classe pour l'oppression d'une autre', mais plus matériellement *il est polis, police c'est-à-dire voirie* et ceci dans la mesure où, depuis l'aube de la révolution bourgeoise, le discours politique n'est qu'une série de prises en charge plus ou moins conscientes de la vieille poliorcétique communale, confondant l'ordre social avec le contrôle de la circulation (des personnes, des marchandises) et la révolution, l'émeute avec l'embouteillage, le stationnement illicite, le carambolage, la collision." Paul VIRILIO, *Vitesse et politique. Essai de dromologie* (Paris: Editions Galilée, 1977), 23-24. I should also note that Virilio's dromological analysis was indebted to Guillotte, whom he quoted. Ibid., 27.

obsession even, on street alignment. (As with virtually all urban utopias, regularity is the goal: all things out of true—jagged streets, building overhangs, etc.—are suspect.) In the last section of the *Mémoire* Guillotte tackled directly an aesthetic, architectural problem: the design of city roofs. With *combles* built the way they were, he said, streets had been turned into "les égoûts des maisons"; passers-by were doused by water falling from the gutters and were constantly in danger of being hit on the head by loose tiles. Guillotte presented a short history of roof design: the old ones he quite liked, but all subsequent variations, including Mansard's, were full of problems—all except one, which he found in, of all places, the Bible, in a prescription to build parapets around roofs.[81] Moses's parapet was good aesthetically (it could be given any form, be ornamented with pilasters, or transformed into a balcony), safe for passers-by (the parapet would catch any falling tile), and good for proprietors (roofs would be easily inspected for repairs; rain water being channelled in drain pipes, the risk of "pourriture du poitrail," the rotting of breastsummers, would be eliminated). **[fig. 1.23]**

Earlier in the text Guillotte had acknowledged, with more than a touch of false modesty, that his proposals might appear "un peu minutieuses." A review of the myriad police ordinances compiled by Delamare, he was quick to say, revealed that most of them also concerned minor, trivial issues, such as the correct design of shop signs or the proper way to clean the streets. "D'ailleurs," he added, "qu'est-ce que la police d'une ville sinon la surveillance d'un amas infini de petits objets minutieux

[81] Deut. 22:8.

sans laquelle les citoyens ne seraient ni sûrement ni commodément."[82] He was perhaps already echoing Montesquieu who, explaining the difference between laws and police regulations in *L'esprit des lois*, of 1748, had written:

> Les matières de police sont des choses de chaque instant, et où il ne s'agit ordinairement que de peu: il ne faut donc guère de formalités. Les actions de la police sont promptes, et elle s'exerce sur des choses qui reviennent tous les jours: les grandes punitions n'y sont donc pas propres. Elle s'occupe perpétuellement de détails: les grands exemples ne sont donc point faits pour elle. Elle a plutôt des règlemens que des lois.[83]

Trifling affairs, details: such was the business of police.

The vicissitudes of a *peuple policé*

Delamare, in an introductory chapter of the *Traité* entitled "Idée generale de la Police," had noted how equivocal the term police was. In its original sense, from the Greek πολιτεία (*politeia*), in turn derived from πόλις (*polis*), police stood for "Droit Public" and at times almost for government as such. But in its more limited and more common sense, the word "se prend pour l'ordre public de chaque Ville."[84] This restricted notion of police was the one that Delamare, and Guillotte after him, had discussed. Indeed, this notion of police as defined by Delamare would be a standard reference throughout the century. Adam Smith, for example, relied on it in his *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, part of the course of moral philosophy he taught at the University of Glasgow in the early 1760s. "Police, the word," he said,

[82] GUILLOTTE, *Mémoire*, 96.

[83] Charles de Secondat, Baron de MONTESQUIEU, *De l'esprit des lois*, in *Œuvres complètes*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, ed. Roger Caillois, 2 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1949-51), 2:775-76 [part 5, bk. 26, ch. 24].

[84] *Traité*, 1:2 [I.1].

> has been borrowed by the English immediately from the French, tho it is originally derived from the Greek πολιτεία signifying policy, politicks, or the regulation of a government in generall. It is now however generally confind to the regulation of the inferior parts of it. It comprehends in generall three things: the attention paid by the public to the cleanlyness of the roads, streets, etc; 2d, security; and thirdly, cheapness or plenty, which is the constant source of it.[85]

This last item, "cheapness or plenty," i.e., the problem of having markets well supplied with foodstuff and commodities, was what really interested Smith. Guillotte had instead looked at the two other "inferior parts" of police, at the intertwined problems of security and *voirie*. He had done so by examining the various authorities exercising police functions (Châtelet, Bureau des Finances, Bureau de la Ville, Maréchaussée, etc.) and by devising new police measures and the practical means to implement them. He had been concerned, in a word, with specific problems of policy, urban policy. And yet, during the eighteenth century other writers would use the word *police* in a less technical, less precise way, but also one far more intellectually expansive: discussing *police* alongside its cognate *politique* and the phonetically close *politesse*, they ultimately redefined the question of policing a nation or a city as a question of *civilisation*.[86]

[85] Adam SMITH, *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, ed. Ronald L. Meek, David Daiches Raphael and Peter G. Stein, *The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith*, vol. 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 331 [28 Mar. 1763]. In the same lecture, Smith made an interesting comparison between Paris and London: "The collection of the statutes on this head [the police] made by De La Marre makes four large folios, tho he went thro but a small part of the plan, so that the police there is a very burthensome part of the law, and which can be thoroughly understood by those only who are employed in the severall offices and courts regarding it, whereas the statutes made concerning the police of London could be read in an hour or two. We see indeed that there is much more occasion for it: hardly a night passes in Paris without a murther or a robbery in the streets, whereas in London there are not above 3, 4, or 5 murthers in a whole year." Ibid., 332.

[86] See Lucien FEBVRE, "Civilisation. Evolution d'un mot et d'un groupe d'idées," in Lucien Febvre et al., *Civilisation. Le mot et l'idée* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1930): 1-55, esp. 12-13; Emile BENVENISTE, "Civilisation. Contribution à l'histoire du mot," in *Eventail de l'histoire vivante. Hommage à Lucien Febvre*, 2 vols (Paris: A. Colin, 1953): 1:47-54, now in Emile BENVENISTE, *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, 2 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1966-74): 1:336-45, esp. 339; Jean STAROBINSKI, "Le mot civilisation," in *Le remède dans le mal. Critique et légitimation de l'artifice à l'âge des Lumières*

Diderot is a case in point. Most interesting, in this respect, is a group of texts he wrote during and shortly after the winter of 1773-74, which he spent in Russia at the invitation of Catherine II. In these texts (an extended commentary on Catherine's *Nakaz*; a plan for educational reform; and the so-called *mémoires*, a record of his part of the discussions he had with Catherine) Diderot advised the Russian empress on a variety of matters—politics, justice, economics, even urbanism. The texts are at times ambiguous and even contradictory, but they lay bare, especially when set alongside Guillotte's *Mémoire*, some of the stakes behind the eighteenth-century arguments on the police of nations and cities.

One of Diderot's *mémoires*, somewhat misleadingly titled "Essai historique sur la police," is in fact a history of French political institutions from the Middle Ages to the present and a critique of what Diderot believed to be dangerous authoritarian tendencies. The essay offers a short and rather unreliable history of France ending with the Maupeou coup, which, with its breakdown of the Parlements, had overturned the last institutional barrier against absolutism.

> Ce tableau démontre au moins le prodigieux avantage d'une nation qui tend à la police d'après un plan réglé, et d'une nation qui n'y arrive jamais parfaitement, parce qu'elle suit de siècle en siècle l'impulsion fortuite des circonstances qui donnent lieu à des institutions folles, absurdes, contradictoires. Institutions qui prennent, avec le temps, des racines si étendues qu'il devient impossible de les couper. D'où il arrive qu'un peuple paraît policé lorsqu'il est resté barbare et sans ressource.[87]

One can already note the subtle change that the word *police* and its adjectival use has undergone. For long, to call a people *policé* meant that that people had been

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(Paris: Gallimard, 1989): 11-59, esp. 26-30. See also Hélène L'HEUILLET, *Basse politique, haute police. Une approche philosophique et historique* (Paris: Fayard, 2001), 124-25.

[87] Denis DIDEROT, "Essai historique sur la police," ed. Maurice Tourneux, *Revue historique* vol. 25, no. 2 (July-Aug. 1884), 320. Franco Venturi rightly called Diderot's history of French political institutions "piuttosto fantasiosa." Franco VENTURI, *Settecento riformatore*, vol. 4, *La caduta dell'Antico Regime, 1776-1789* (Turin: Einaudi, 1984), 366.

subjected to laws. By mid-century, the semantic range of the term had been broadened: a policed nation was no longer simply a nation subjected to laws, but one on which laws had had a certain effect. It was in this sense that Diderot, in the *Encyclopédie* article "Beau," juxtaposed "l'homme policé" to the "sauvage."[88] Moreover, the effect of laws and police was no longer automatically or necessarily a positive one. This is why Diderot could say that France appeared to be a nation *policée* but in fact remained *barbare*: it appeared policed, well ordered and healthy, but deep down the system was anything but.

Of the texts written for Catherine, the *Observations sur le Nakaz* is the most important.[89] Inspired by Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois*, Cesare Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene*, and, as we saw earlier, the *Encyclopédie*, the *Nakaz* aimed at establishing modern institutional and legal frameworks and reforming the Russian empire along liberal lines.[90] But it stopped well short of such goals. Montesquieu, for example, had insisted on the role of intermediary bodies to divide power and limit absolute authority; the *Nakaz* too advocated for intermediary bodies, but they remained fatally dependent on the monarch. Catherine's proposed reforms, in short, suggested

[88] [Denis DIDEROT], "Beau (Métaphysique)," *Encyclopédie* (1752), 2:169-81 at 178.

[89] Denis DIDEROT, *Observations sur l'Instruction de l'Impératrice de Russie aux députés pour la confection des lois*, in *Œuvres politiques*, ed. Paul Vernière (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1963): 343-458. On this text, see the editors' notes in Denis DIDEROT, *Political Writings*, ed. and trans. John Hope Mason and Robert Wokler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), xxi-xxvii. Diderot began writing the "Observations" on his journey home, in March 1774, revised them over the next five years, but never published them. We may note that a first draft of the text, published by Maurice Tourneux in 1899 (a "mauvaise copie," according to Paul Vernière), was given to him by the Baron Pichon, who also owned Guillotte's *Mémoire*. Maurice TOURNEUX, *Diderot et Catherine II* (1899; Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), 562n1.

[90] Many articles of the *Nakaz* were lifted practically unchanged from *L'esprit de lois*, most notably some pertaining to the police. *Instruction de Sa Majesté Impériale Catherine II*, 194-95 [§§ 535-38]. Beccaria's influence is legible in the sections on the administration of justice: "on s'attachera moins à punir les crimes qu'à les prévenir: on s'appliquera plus à donner des mœurs, qu'à humilier les esprits en infligeant des supplices." Ibid., 26 [§ 83].

political liberalism, but the state envisioned would have conserved its authoritarian if not its despotic character. Diderot was quick to point out these limits, insisting, above all, on popular sovereignty ("Il n'y a point de vrai souverain que la nation; il ne peut y avoir de vrai législateur que le peuple"), on limited government (the idea that the monarch's authority derived its legitimacy from popular consent and hence the sovereign's power should be subject to limits), and on the two "sacred" principles of property and liberty.

The text is especially interesting for its commentary on political and economic questions, where Diderot confronted the ideas underpinning the policies of the French monarchy and the theories of the Physiocrats. He was familiar with their doctrine: the founding texts of Physiocracy, François Quesnay's articles "Fermiers" and "Grains," had appeared in the *Encyclopédie* in the mid 1750s, and through much of the 1760s Diderot had been a supporter of the *économistes*, of Turgot, Dupont de Nemours, Le Mercier de La Rivière, and Vincent "laissez faire, laissez passer" de Gournay. (In 1767, for example, Diderot had recommended Le Mercier de La Rivière to Catherine II and helped arrange his trip to Russia later that year.) Gradually, though, Diderot had begun to take issue with the Physiocrats and to criticize their belief in objective laws of nature and their arguments for enlightened despotism.

Diderot's change of mind can be attributed to several causes, but above all to a series of events that had undermined the cornerstone of the monarchy's traditional policy of social and economic regulation: the police of the grain trade. Guaranteeing the food supply of the nation, and especially the adequate provision of bread, was the basic precondition to any idea of police: the matter of provisioning constituted, as it were, the very essence of the police, the necessary condition of social order. Delamare was the foremost authority on these matters: the system of regulation

painstakingly compiled in the *Traité* (book five, on the subject of "Vivres," took up volumes two and three of the treatise, for a total of more than two thousand pages) defined the monarchy's official policy; it was the source to go to at each and every subsistence crisis, the much-feared but regularly reoccurring *disette*. It was such interventionist, "Delamarist"[91] policy that the Physiocrats challenged—successfully, at least for a time. In the early 1760s, the monarchy, in an ill-fated economic experiment, liberalized the grain trade, lifting many of the restrictions that police authorities had laboriously put in place over decades, if not centuries. The reform was short lived: the new policy of non-intervention, combined with a series of bad harvests, produced disastrous results (grain shortages, spiralling prices, and wide-spread rioting) and was abandoned in 1770. It is in this context—and in discussions with his close friend and the most vehement critic of the Physiocrats, the Abbé Galiani,[92] and among the "cotterie holbachique"[93]—that Diderot developed his ideas on police and political economy. In the *Observations sur le Nakaz*, after noting that books such as *L'ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques*, written by Le Mercier de La Rivière in 1767, should be put under the rubric of "Utopies," Diderot observed:

[91] I borrow the term "Delamarist"—as well as some arguments for my analysis in the following paragraphs—from Steven Kaplan, the best authority on the eighteenth-century grain trade and the period's political-economical debates. KAPLAN, *Bread, Politics and Political Economy in the Reign of Louis XV*, 2:604.

[92] One of the best critiques of physiocratic doctrine—and certainly the funniest—was Galiani's *La bagarre*, a parody of Le Mercier de La Rivière's 418-page tome *L'intérêt général de l'état, ou la liberté du commerce des blés*, of 1770. Sample line: "Dans une Société juste et bien constituée, cette liberté n'est ainsi qu'une conséquence naturelle et nécessaire des premieres Loix fondamentales, et si on me laissoit faire, je repéterois toujours les mêmes mots et la même pensée pendant 418 pages in 8º sans discontinuer." Steven L. KAPLAN, *La Bagarre: Galiani's 'Lost' Parody* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979), 99.

[93] The expression is Rousseau's, at his paranoid worst. ROUSSEAU, *Les confessions*, 493 [bk. 10].

> Il y a bien de la différence entre un peuple policé et un peuple à policer; la condition de celui-là me paraît pire que la condition de celui; l'un est sain et l'autre est attaqué d'un vieux mal presque incurable. Et puis, que penser d'un système où l'on ne fait point entrer en compte la folie et les passions, l'intérêt et les préjugés, etc.? Je regarde tous les ouvrages modernes comme une montre qui sortirait de la main d'un géomètre, qui n'aurait fait entrer en calcul ni les frottements, ni les chocs, ni la pesanteur. Les uns ont bien connu le mal et n'ont point indiqué le remède, les autres ont supposé la machine saine et toute neuve; ou s'ils en ont connu le vice, ils n'ont pas assez senti la difficulté d'y remédier; d'un côté, point de remède, de l'autre, nul moyen de l'appliquer.[94]

Diderot was here formulating a double critique: on one side an indictment of France, a nation apparently policed and healthy but fundamentally sick, "attacked by an old, almost incurable evil" (Russia, a new, young empire, would be in a different condition, it would be possible to police it, to civilize it); on the other, a critique of the Physiocrats, utopian thinkers who ignored the most basic facts of human nature. In these passages Diderot skirted the arguments for regulation of police theorists such as Delamare and the *laissez-faire* doctrine of the *économistes*: the former had grasped the problems but had been incapable of devising effective solutions; the latter had fantasized of society as too simple a machine.

Diderot's arguments were not without ambiguities. Interesting, in this respect, are a few passages where Diderot brought up the question of happiness. The eudemonistic principle (viz., happiness is the chief good) was a basic component of police ideology. Delamare had expressly stated that the sole object of the police was to "conduire l'homme à la plus parfaite felicité dont il puisse jouïr en cette vie."[95] Diderot added important caveats:

[94] DIDEROT, *Observations sur le Nakaz*, 365-66.

[95] *Traité* 1:[ii] ["Preface].

> Il faut d'abord que la société soit heureuse; et elle le sera si la liberté et la proprieté sont assurées; si le commerce est sans gêne; si tous les ordres de citoyens sont également soumis aux lois; si l'impôt est supporté en raison des forces ou bien réparti; s'il n'excède pas les besoins de l'Etat; et si la vertu et les talents y ont une récompense assurée.[96]

Again, Diderot touched on two very different and, to some extent, opposed visions of the role of government and, more generally, of the very nature of society: that of the police, on one side, with its desire to protect the public good via the institution of an ever-more comprehensive regulatory regime; and that of the champions of free trade on the other, the soon-to-be-called political economists. "Il n'y a qu'un moyen de favoriser la population," wrote Diderot,

> c'est de rendre les peuples heureux. On multiplie beaucoup, et l'on reste où l'on est bien; et l'on est bien où la liberté et la proprieté sont sacrées. La liberté et la proprieté sont sacrées où tous sont également soumis à la loi et à l'impôt, et où l'impôt est proportionné aux besoins de la société et sa perception aux fortunes; du reste, il ne faut se mêler de rien, tout s'ordonnera de soi-même et est suffisamment protégé.
>
> Un moyen de rendre un problème insoluble, c'est d'en augmenter les conditions: pas trop gouverner.[97]

"Do not govern too much": it was finally the motto of Physiocratic doctrine that carried the day. No matter that the *économistes* overlooked the key political problem of the matter of subsistence (viz., bread was not *any* commodity, the *bien public* was fundamentally dependent on the police of the grain trade). Despite the failure and

[96] DIDEROT, *Observations sur le Nakaz*, 403.

[97] Ibid., 407. As Paul Vernière observed (Ibid., 407n3), the do-not-govern-too-much principle predated the writings of the physiocrats. In 1754 the Marquis d'Argenson had written that he was working on a book based on the idea that "Pour mieux gouverner, il faudrait gouverner moins." René-Louis de Voyer, Marquis d'ARGENSON, *Journal et mémoires*, ed. Edmé Jacques Benoît Rathery, 9 vols (Paris: Mme ve Jules Renouard, 1859-67), 8:220 [9 Feb. 1754]. The book never materialized, but its ideas were known: d'Holbach noted that its title was *Bien gouverner, ne pas trop gouverner*. Paul Henri Thiry, Baron d'HOLBACH, *Ethocratie, ou Le gouvernement fondé sur la morale* (Amsterdam: Marc-Michel Rey, 1776), 14n8.

the ruinous consequences of the policy of liberalization, the ideas of the liberal reformers of the 1760s eventually overtook those of the ideologists of the *état policé*.

Diderot's political philosophy—but also his hesitations between competing systems of thought—are especially evident in the advice he gave Catherine on the subject of cities. In the note "De la capitale ou du véritable siège d'un empire" Diderot commented upon the maxim *divide et impera* so cherished by Guillotte, but gave it a radically different spin. When division is introduced into society, he said, "le lien général" breaks down, "la condition sauvage renaît." *Divide et impera* was now "la grande maxime de la tyrannie": "elle veut des individus et point de corps, des nobles et point de noblesse; des prêtres et point de clergé; des juges et point de magistrature; des sujets et point de nation; c'est-à-dire, par la plus absurde des conséquences, une société et des hommes isolés."[98] So far, the line was clear—a critique of the advocates of enlightened despotism, Voltaire most obviously: it was not a matter of helping the ruler rule better, but of protecting freedom. But, when Diderot touched on the subject of city limits, the perspective shifted. Guillotte, like Delamare and most all government officials, had insisted on the need to contain urban growth. Diderot thought otherwise: "Le ministère n'a pas besoin de veiller à ces formations," he wrote referring to the villages growing on the edge of the city, "Le besoin s'en acquitte pour lui." He doubted whether the government should set limits to the capital. "Ce cœur ne devient trop gros que quand le reste de l'animal est malade," he wrote. "C'est ainsi que s'engendre ce que l'on appelle la circulation intérieure qu'on ne gêne jamais par aucune institution, sans nuire à toute la

[98] Denis DIDEROT, *Mémoires pour Catherine II; texte établi d'après l'autographe de Moscou*, ed. Paul Vernière (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1966), 175.

machine."[99] In the note "Faire des rues," then, he argued pretty much the opposite: "Si d'un coup de baguette, Votre Majesté Impériale pouvait demain aligner tous les palais de sa capitale par des maisons, mon mot *faire des rues* serait bien beau." "Et puis," he continued, "quoi faire encore?"

> Des rues.
> Et comment en fait-on?
> J'en ai déjà indiqué deux moyens à Sa Majesté Impériale dans un autre feuillet.
> Ces deux moyens sont moraux.
> En voici un troisième qui est physique:
> Circonscrire la capitale.
> Lui donner une enceinte.
> Les abeilles entreront toutes au dedans de l'enceinte, et peu à peu les alvéoles de la ruche deviendront contiguës.
> Et il y aura une ruche, ou un grand nombre d'abeilles voisines et forcées de travailler conjointement au bien du tout pour leurs besoins réciproques, et de se civiliser par leur proximité.

To the "maîtres du monde jaloux de l'éternité de leur gloire," Diderot concluded, he would always recommend three things:

> Les grandes routes;
> Les monnaies;
> Les enceintes.[100]

At the end of the text on a capital city, Diderot reflected on the police of Paris, "une police," he wrote,

> qui enveloppe tous les sujets, comme dans une nasse immense qui les touche, qui les enlace sans qui'ils s'en aperçoivent; en sorte que dans cet amas incompréhensible d'atomes agités et voisins, il ne se fait pas un mouvement qui soit ignoré, soit qu'ils se mutinent, soit qu'ils s'approchent, soit qu'ils s'éloigent; toutes nos vies et moeurs sont écrites à la police. On y a la liste des honnêtes gens et des fripons, des bons et des mauvais citoyens; on y sait toutes nos actions et tous nos propos. Si le philosophe Denis Diderot allait un

[99] Ibid., 177-78.

[100] Ibid., 197-98. It is unclear to which *feuillet* Diderot was referring. One of the two "moral means" he mentioned was certainly the enfranchisement of serfs: "Pour obvier aux abus de la servitude, en prévenir les dangers, il n'y a qu'un moyen: c'est d'abolir la servitude et de ne commander qu'à des hommes libres." DIDEROT, *Observations sur le Nakaz*, 406.

> soir en mauvais lieu, M. de Sartine le saurait avant que de se coucher. Un étranger arrive-t-il dans la capitale, en moins de vingt-quatre heures on pourra vous dire, rue Neuve-Saint-Augustin, qui il est, comment il s'appelle, d'où il vient, où il demeure, avec qui il est en correspondance, avec qui il vit, et quelque soin qu'il se donne pour échapper, on le trouve: c'est qu'il avait fait cent lieues sous la nasse, avant que de s'en douter.[101]

In the note "De la police de la ville de Paris" Diderot remarked how the king, via the Lieutenant Général and the "grande nasse" that was the Paris police, knew everything that happened in the city: "Point de bijoux filoutés qui ne se retrouvent dans la huitaine."[102] With this image of the "grande nasse," a vast net that encompassed all citizens, we return to Guillotte, to his idea of the *certificat* as "une espèce de chaîne," to the utopia of the police as an all-seeing apparatus of surveillance. But the tone has changed. With Guillotte, the project of a pervasive and infinitely resourceful police control was straightforward. Not so with Diderot. By the time he wrote the *mémoires* for Catherine, he was friends with the Lieutenant Général de Police Antoine de Sartine and had probably been—as a guest—to his hôtel in the Rue Neuve-Saint-Augustin, which served as headquarters of the Lieutenance; he could then discuss the police with something of ironic detachment, with a tone at once concerned and lighthearted.

It is tempting to imagine that, when he wrote these lines on the Paris police, Diderot had in mind Saint-Aubin's frontispiece for Guillotte's *Mémoire*. **[fig. 1.1]** The title is framed by a wild rococo cartouche surrounded by a most playful group of putti: at left and right, they toy with a city map and a globe; at bottom, the children

[101] DIDEROT, *Mémoires pour Catherine II*, 183.

[102] Ibid., 192.

pet a lion, which in turn plays with a mouse; the poor mouse wants none of the games—it runs for dear life.

Chapter 2. The Police of Paris

> … et comme les magistrats politiques ont pour maxime que la meilleure police est de n'en avoir pas du tout, il ne faut pas s'étonner si elle est absolument perdue presque partout le royaume.
>
> Jean-Baptiste Colbert, "Mémoire sur la réformation de la justice," 1665.

Eulogies do not make for reliable history. If they cannot always be trusted as history, they can nevertheless be of value: they offer insights into the representations, the images and cultural constructions that societies produce to make sense of themselves.[1] Bernard de Fontenelle's commemoration of Marc-René de Voyer de Paulmy, Marquis d'Argenson, **[fig. 2.3]** Lieutenant de Police of the city of Paris from 1697 to 1718, is a case in point. As perpetual secretary of the Académie Royale des Sciences from 1699 to 1740, Fontenelle delivered eulogies for some sixty-nine academicians and other men of science—notables such as Vauban, Malebranche, Leibnitz, and Newton—thereby renewing a tradition that went back to classical antiquity and setting a new, impossibly high standard of rhetorical excellence. The eulogy of d'Argenson is not only one of Fontenelle's best, it is possibly the single best illustration of a grand narrative that, until very recently, has characterized many accounts of the history of the Paris police and its role in the construction of the modern state. Delivered in 1721, shortly after d'Argenson's death, the speech portrayed the man as a towering figure, a benevolent but firm minister presiding

[1] I use the term representation in the sense defined by Bronislaw Baczko: "Tout au long de l'histoire, les sociétés se livrent à un travail permanent d'invention de leurs propres représentations globales, autant d'idées-images au travers desquelles elles se donnent une identité, perçoivent leurs divisions, légitiment leur pouvoir, élaborent des modèles formateurs pour leurs membres, tels, par example, le 'vaillant guerrier', le 'bon citoyen', le 'militant dévoué', etc." Bronislaw BACZKO, *Les imaginaires sociaux. Mémoires et espoirs collectifs* (Paris: Payot, 1984), 8.

over the city of Paris with god-like omniscience. In a remarkable passage, Fontenelle compared the order of the police with that of the celestial bodies:

> Les Citoyens d'une Ville bien policée joüissent de l'ordre qui y est établi, sans songer combien il en coûte de peines à ceux qui l'établissent, ou le conservent, à peu-prés comme tous les hommes joüissent de la régularité des mouvemens célestes sans en avoir aucune connoissance; & même plus l'ordre d'une Police ressemble par son uniformité à celui des Corps célestes, plus il est insensible, & par consequent il est toûjours d'autant plus ignoré, qu'il est plus parfait. Mais qui voudroit le connoître & l'approfondir, en seroit effrayé.[2]

For Fontenelle, the stars and the police were both defined by uniform, regular, precise motions; they obeyed laws invisible to the eye; their true contemplation, the true understanding of both, would inspire the most awesome of feelings—sublime terror.

By 1721, the police of Paris, as it had developed under d'Argenson and, before him, Gabriel-Nicolas de La Reynie (who first held the office of Lieutenant de Police), was—or so we are told—a thing to behold. In the five decades since the founding of the institution, which was created by royal edict in March 1667, the Lieutenant de Police became one of the most powerful officials in the government of the city. According to mythology begun immediately after the 1667 reform, cemented by authors such as Fontenelle, and repeated—at times *telle quelle*—for almost three centuries, the Lieutenant was the head of a judicial and administrative institution that was the envy of Europe. Fontenelle described in vivid detail the extraordinary range of duties of the Lieutenant:

[2] Bernard de FONTENELLE, "Eloge de M. d'Argenson," in *Histoire de l'académie royale des sciences, année 1721* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1723): 99-108 at 102. Starting in 1708, the eulogies were collected in books: d'Argenson's eulogy is also in Bernard de FONTENELLE, *Eloges des academiciens, avec l'histoire de l'Academie royale des sciences en MDCXCIX*, 2 vols (The Hague: Isaac van der Kloot, 1740): 2:139-55; ID., *Eloges des academiciens de l'Academie royale des sciences, morts depuis l'an 1699*, 2 vols (Paris: Libraires Associés, 1766): 2:122-36.

> Entretenir perpétuellement dans une ville telle que Paris une consommation immense, dont une infinité d'accidens peuvent toujours tarir quelques sources; réprimer la tyrannie des marchands à l'égard du public, & en même tems animer leur commerce; empêcher les usurpations mutuelles des uns sur les autres, souvent difficiles à démêler; reconnoître dans une foule infinie tous ceux qui peuvent si aisément y cacher une industrie pernicieuse, en purger la société, ou ne les tolérer qu'autant qu'ils lui peuvent être utiles par des emplois dont d'autres qu'eux ne se chargeroient pas, ou ne s'acquitteroient pas si bien; tenir les abus nécessaires dans les bornes précises de la nécessité qu'ils sont toujours prêts à franchir, les renfermer dans l'obscurité à laquelle ils doivent être condamnés, & ne les en tirer pas même par des châtimens trop éclatans; ignorer ce qu'il vaut mieux ignorer que punir, & ne punir que rarement & utilement: pénétrer par des conduits souterrains dans l'intérieur des familles, & leur garder les secrets qu'elles n'ont pas confiés, tant qu'il n'est pas nécessaire d'en faire usage; être présent par-tout sans être vû; enfin mouvoir ou arrêter à son gré une multitude immense & tumultueuse, & être l'ame toujours agissante, & presque inconnue de ce grand corps; voilà qu'elles sont en général les fonctions du Magistrat de la Police.[3]

The Lieutenant de Police (or Magistrat de Police, as he was often called) was a formidable figure in the life of the city's "multitude immense & tumultueuse." The Duc de Saint-Simon, writing at the end of the seventeenth century on La Reynie, compared his office to "une sorte de ministère, et fort important par la confiance directe du Roi, les relations continuelles avec la cour et le nombre de choses dont il se mêle."[4] Mercier, in the *Tableau de Paris*, was to repeat both Fontenelle's description of the functions of the police magistrate (which he quoted practically in

[3] FONTENELLE, "Eloge de M. d'Argenson," 102-03. Fontenelle's account of the Lieutenant's functions is a classic reference in several studies of the police of early modern France. See, for example, Pierre CLÉMENT, *La police sous Louis XIV*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Didier, 1866), 334; Arthur-Michel de BOISLISLE, *Lettres de M. de Marville, lieutenant général de police, au ministre Maurepas, 1742-1747*, 3 vols (Paris: H. Champion, 1896-1905), 1:ii-iii.

[4] Louis de Rouvroy, Duc de SAINT-SIMON, *Mémoires*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, ed. Yves Coirault, 8 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1983-88), 1:356.

its entirety) and the Duc de Saint-Simon's trope: the Lieutenant de Police, he wrote, "est devenu un ministre important, quoiqu'il n'en porte pas le nom."[5]

The scope of the Lieutenant's remit was astounding. The police magistrate had authority over a number of domains in the urban administration, including public order and security, the city's food supply and its productive activities, and important elements of the *voirie*, that is, the city's urbanism. By the end of the century, a metaphor was to appear often in discussions of the Lieutenance: the machine. Jacques Peuchet, a young lawyer and future archivist of the Préfécture de Police, writing the two volumes on the police of the *Encyclopédie méthodique* between 1788 and 1790, spoke of the Lieutenant as "le centre de l'immense machine de la police," the prime mover of all the cogs of "cette étonnante machine."[6] Jean-Charles-Pierre Lenoir, who was Lieutenant from 1774 to 1785, used the same metaphor in his memoirs, written while he was in exile in the 1790s.

> Pour régir l'administration générale de la police de Paris, en régler le mouvement & l'ensemble suivant les tems & les circonstances, & enfin pour remonter cette belle & grande machine, il n'estoit besoin que d'un administrateur en chef qui soit très capable, & qu'il ait [sic] de bons atteliers & de bons ouvriers.[7]

When compared with Fontenelle's eulogy, the mechanistic nature of these images is telling. Fontenelle's picture of an official with quasi-plenipotentiary powers over the

[5] Louis-Sébastien MERCIER, *Tableau de Paris*, ed. Jean-Claude Bonnet, 2 vols (Paris: Mercure de France, 1994), 1:167 [ch. 63, "Lieutenant de police"]. Mercier's excerpt from Fontenelle's portrait of d'Argenson is at 2:361-66 [ch. 632, "D'Argensons"].

[6] Jacques PEUCHET, *Encyclopédie méthodique. Jurisprudence*, vols 9 and 10, *La police et les municipalités* (Paris: Panckoucke; Liège: Plomteux, 1789-91), 10:641.

[7] BmO 1422, fol. 892 [Title 13, "De la fonction et des progrès de la police administrative de Paris"]. The memoirs of Lenoir, which for some years have been available online at http://bibnumerique.bm-orleans.fr, have now been published in Vincent MILLIOT, *Un policier des Lumières; suivi de Mémoires de J. C. P. Lenoir, ancien lieutenant général de police de Paris, écrits en pays étrangers dans les années 1790 et suivantes* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2011). The passage on the "belle et grande machine" is on p. 897.

city remained a central element in all narratives attempting to describe the Lieutenant. By the end of the century, however, something new would appear, namely a marked emphasis on the sophisticated administrative apparatus that the Lieutenant controlled. During its 134-year history, the Lieutenance kept steadily expanding both its reach and its personnel. On the eve of the Revolution, when Paris numbered 600,000, the police employed over three thousand men.[8] Many, of course, were armed officers patrolling the streets of the capital; but half at least constituted a different kind of army, an army of administrative agents overseeing, among other things, child-care services, garbage collection, street lighting, building inspections, fire prevention—what today we would call public services. The Lieutenance, as it developed from 1667 to the Revolution, had evolved into a unique institution, an administrative and bureaucratic juggernaut that, by constantly adjusting its organizational structure and operational techniques, reached deeper and deeper into the life of the city. In the bureaux of the Lieutenancy, the "ouvriers" of the police conjured up a new way of managing the city.

The creation of the Lieutenance marks an important passage not only for the history of Paris but, more broadly, for the emergence and development of the so-called "administrative monarchy."[9] Beginning in the early-seventeenth century, with

[8] For the year 1788, Alan Williams gave the figure of 3,114 men. See Alan WILLIAMS, *The Police of Paris, 1718-1789* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 62-162, esp. table 2 at 68-69.

[9] On the administrative monarchy, see Pierre LEGENDRE, *Trésor historique de l'état en France. L'administration classique* (1968; Paris: Fayard, 1992), esp. 426-29; Michel ANTOINE, *Le Conseil du Roi sous le règne de Louis XV* (Geneva: Droz, 1970), esp. 630-34; ID., "Colbert et la révolution de 1661," in *Un nouveau Colbert. Actes du Colloque pour le tricentenaire de la mort de Colbert*, ed. Roland Mousnier (Paris: SEDES, CDU, 1985): 99-109; Roger CHARTIER, "Introduction," in *Histoire de la vie privée*, vol. 3, *De la Renaissance aux Lumières*, ed. Roger Chartier (Paris: Seuil, 1986): 22-25; Jean-Louis HAROUEL, "La monarchie administrative, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles," in Jean-Louis HAROUEL et al., *Histoire des institutions de l'époque franque à la Révolution* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1987): 395-558 passim; Stefano MANNONI, *Une et indivisible. Storia dell'accentramento*

the creation of new types of functionaries such as the Intendants in the provinces, the monarchy initiated a process of administrative centralization and of concentration of authority in the person of the king and his ministers. Although throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the political foundations of the kingdom remained, to some extent, unchanged, the monarchy, especially with the administration of Louis XIV and Colbert, began to *govern differently*. The administrative 'revolution' of the 1660s—and the creation of the Lieutenance de Police—brought about a shift in the way state power was conceived and exercised, namely a shift from a judicial to an executive exercise of power—an administration by governmental bodies exerting the executive powers of the state.

To be sure, what we now call the modern state, with its clear separation of legislative, judiciary, and executive powers, would only emerge much later, with the Revolution. Louis XIV and Colbert did not create this. Nor did they create the modern state apparatus. The social, political, and jurisdictional structures of the early modern France did not lend themselves to the establishment of a rational, efficient, impersonal bureaucracy—the type of organization which we call Weberian.[10] What the king and his chief minister did create, though, was a new way of conceiving the role of the state and the very business of government. The Lieutenance de Police is an instance, perhaps the clearest, of a new governmental

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amministrativo in Francia, 2 vols (Milan: Giuffrè, 1994-96), esp. 1:9-35; Luca MANNORI and Bernardo SORDI, "Science of Administration and Administrative Law," in *A Treatise of Legal Philosophy and General Jurisprudence*, vol. 9, *A History of the Philosophy of Law in the Civil Law World, 1600-1900*, ed. Damiano Canale, Paolo Grossi and Hasso Hofmann (New York: Springer, 2009): 225-61 at 232-34; Thierry SARMANT and Mathieu STOLL, *Régner et gouverner. Louis XIV et ses ministres* (Paris: Perrin, 2010), esp. 553-54.

[10] Weber's analysis of bureaucracy is in Max WEBER, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, trans. Ephraim Fischoff et al., 2 vols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968, 1978), 1:217-26, 2:956-1005.

rationality. The creation of the Lieutenance marks a critical moment in a sweeping historical process, a profound transformation in the workings of government and in the relation between the state and society—what Michel Foucault has called, memorably, "la 'gouvernementalisation' de l'Etat."[11]

To study the Lieutenance is thus to revisit the historiographical narratives of administrative centralization as well as the processes by which the early modern absolutist state restructured social and political life—the so-called 'disciplining' of society.[12] Moreover, to study the Paris police is to examine from up close the ways in which the city was actually managed and to trace the emergence of what may be called a new "rationality" of the city, a new way of understanding the urban condition and shaping its development. In order to grasp the nature of such rationality, it is necessary to go back to the establishment of the Lieutenance and, in particular, to the ideas, the debates, and the political maneuvering that were instrumental in its creation. How was the Lieutenance initially structured? How were the functions of the police magistrate defined? Why was the Lieutenance created in the first place? What measures did the Lieutenance devise to manage Paris? What kind of city did the police envision?

First, however, we need to clear some groundwork. Although Fontenelle gave details of the many functions of the police magistrate, when he wrote d'Argenson's

[11] Michel FOUCAULT, *Sécurité, territoire, population. Cours au Collège de France, 1977-1978* (Paris: Gallimard, Seuil, 2004), 112.

[12] On the disciplining of society, see Gerhard OESTRICH, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, ed. Brigitta Oestrich and H. G. Keonigsberger, trans. David McLintock (1969; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Michel FOUCAULT, *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975); Marc RAEFF, *The Well-Ordered Police State: Social and Institutional Change through Law in the Germanies and Russia, 1600-1800* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983); Karl HÄRTER, "Disciplinamento sociale e ordinanze di polizia nella prima età moderna," in *Disciplina dell'anima, disciplina del corpo e disciplina della società tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Paolo Prodi (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994): 635-58.

eulogy he did not really need to explain what police meant. For him, the police—the very term *police*—was a matter of course. Today, this is no longer the case. Over the past three centuries the term has gone through countless gyrations that have obscured its early modern meaning and, to some extent, stood it on its head. In the following section, I will explore the term's semantic range and offer some details on the institutions that, until the creation of the Lieutenance, excercised police powers. I will not offer any comprehensive philological and historical analysis: the twin histories of the term *police* and of police institutions do not always or necessarily overlap.[13] More simply, I will retrace the term's history in order to point out ideas and themes that are relevant to the analysis of the 1667 reform of the Paris police. Two basic questions, in particular, are important for understanding the terms of the debate that was to culminate in the creation of the Lieutenance: What is the nature of police power? Who should be entrusted with it?

'The Lesbian rule'

In early modern France, the term *police* encompassed a much broader range of meanings than it does today. Most important, it had not yet accrued the negative connotations that it often carries today. Until the end of the eighteenth century, for example, the expression *état policé* was never meant to evoke the specter of what today would be called totalitarianism. On the contrary, it described the condition of a state—but also of a people or a city—that was (well) governed, ordered, civilized.

[13] I heed here a remark by Marc Bloch on the problem of nomenclature: "les changements des choses sont loin d'entraîner toujours des changements parallèles dans leurs noms. Telle est la suite naturelle du caractère traditionaliste inhérent à tout langage, comme de la faiblesse d'invention dont souffrent la plupart des hommes." Marc BLOCH, *Apologie pour l'histoire ou Métier d'historien*, ed. Etienne Bloch (Paris: Armand Colin, 1993), 168.

Authors of all political persuasions used the term in this sense, routinely. Voltaire, for example, used it in his *Essai sur les mœurs* to distinguish western and eastern civilizations: "Les peuples les plus policés de ces vastes contrées," he wrote in a chapter on India, "n'ont rien de notre police; leurs arts ne sont point les nôtres."[14] Diderot, in the *Encyclopédie*, juxtaposed "l'homme policé" to the "sauvage."[15] The condition of a policed state was not something to be feared or avoided; rather, it was often construed as an ideal condition to be attained. This was the case with Nicolas Delamare and his followers: all eighteeenth-century police theorists (e.g., Lecler du Brillet, Guillotte, Fréminville, Lemaire, Des Essarts, Peuchet, and Lenoir) defined the *état policé* as the ultimate object of good government. But many other writers, even authors not usually associated with the discourse of police, employed the notion in a similar way. This can perhaps be best illustrated by a word coined by Rousseau: "impolice." In his abstract of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre's *Projet de paix perpétuelle*, Rousseau decried "l'état d'impolice et de guerre," the state of war and lack of police that plagued European affairs; he saw the international confederation of sovereign states imagined by the Abbé de Saint-Pierre as the only means of reaching a lasting state of peace and overcoming "l'état de guerre qui résulte de l'impolice Européenne."[16] Although no author seems to have taken up Rousseau's neologism,

[14] VOLTAIRE, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations et sur les principaux faits de l'histoire depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Louis XIII*, ed. René Pomeau, 2 vols (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1963), 2:321 [ch. 143, "De l'Inde en deçà et delà le Gange. Des espèces d'hommes différentes, et de leurs coutumes"].

[15] [Denis DIDEROT], "Beau (Métaphysique)," *Encyclopédie* (1752): 2:169-81 at 178.

[16] Jean-Jacques ROUSSEAU, "Extrait du projet de paix perpétuelle de Monsieur l'Abbé de Saint Pierre," in *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 3, *Du contrat social; Ecrits politiques*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, ed. Sven Stelling-Michaud (Paris: Gallimard, 1964): 563-89 at 587-88.

the term *impolice*, especially next to the term "war," gives a good idea of the vast semantic range that, by the mid-eighteenth century, was covered by police.

In early modern France, police embraced—and, to a large extent, was synonymous with—the public good.[17] In its broadest sense, the term was used to describe the way social life should be organized. Used as a noun, an adjective, and a verb, police referred both to the means to achieve the public good—for example, the measures put in place for securing a city's subsistence—and to the end of such means, public good as such.

The first recorded uses of the word police date back to the mid-thirteenth century.[18] Spelled then *pollice* or *policie*, the term did not designate any particular

[17] See Steven L. KAPLAN, *Bread, Politics and Political Economy in the Reign of Louis XV*, 2 vols (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976), 1:12.

[18] On the development of the notion of police from the middle ages to the early modern period, see Marguerite BOULET-SAUTEL, "Police et administration en France à la fin de l'ancien régime," in *Histoire comparée de l'administration, IVe-XVIIIe siècles*, ed. Werner Paravicini and Karl Ferdinand Werner (Munich: Artemis, 1980): 47-51; Jean-Louis MESTRE, *Introduction historique au droit administratif français* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985), 161-67; Luca MANNORI, "Per una 'preistoria' della funzione amministrativa. Cultura giuridica e attività dei pubblici apparati nell'età del tardo diritto comune," *Quaderni fiorentini per la storia del pensiero giuridico moderno* vol. 19 (1990): 323-504; ID., "Centralisation et fonction publique dans la pensée juridique de l'Ancien Régime: justice, police et administration," in *L'administration territoriale de la France, 1750-1940*, ed. Michel Pertué (Orléans: Presses universitaires d'Orléans, 1998): 247-57; Albert RIGAUDIÈRE, "Les ordonnances de police en France à la fin du Moyen Age," in *Policey im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Michael Stolleis, Karl Härter and Lothar Schilling (Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann, 1996): 97-161; Bernard DURAND, "La Notion de Police en France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle," in *Policey im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit*, 163-211; Hélène L'HEUILLET, *Basse politique, haute police. Une approche philosophique et historique* (Paris: Fayard, 2001); Giorgia ALESSI, "La comparsa di una polizia 'moderna'," in *La polizia in Italia nell'età moderna*, ed. Livio Antonielli (Soveria Mannelli, Catanzaro: Rubbettino, 2002): 33-39; Michel SENELLART, "Raison d'Etat et science de la police: deux technologies de l'ordre," in *Le pouvoir réglementaire: dimension doctrinale, pratiques et sources, XVe et XVIIIe siècles*, ed. Alain J. Lemaître and Odile Kammerer (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2004): 107-18; Vincent MILLIOT, "Histoire des polices: l'ouverture d'un moment historiographique," *RHMC* vol. 54, no. 2 (Apr.-June 2007): 162-77; ID., "Mais que font les historiens de la police?" in *Métiers de police. Etre policier en Europe, XVIIIe-XXe siècle*, ed. Jean-Marc Berlière et al. (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008): 9-34; François SAINT-BONNET and Yves SASSIER, *Histoire des institutions avant 1789*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Montchrestien, 2008), 405, 418-20. By far the best analyses of the notion of police are the writings of Paolo Napoli. See especially Paolo NAPOLI, "'Police': la conceptualisation d'un modèle juridico-politique sous l'Ancien Régime," *Droits*, no. 20 (1994): 183-96, no. 21 (1995): 151-60; ID., "Le discours de la police et de l'arithmétique politique, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle," in *Histoire raisonné de la philosophie morale et politique. Le bonheur et l'utile*, ed. Alain Caillé, Christian Lazzeri and Michel

force established for the protection of public order but the regulation of the *métiers*, the urban trades, the guilds and corporations of medieval cities. It was in this sense that the term appeared in a *ban* issued around 1250 by the Echevins of the city of Douai.[19] Even before indicating the particular means with which an urban economy might be regulated, police encompassed all the material activities that contributed to the life of the city. This is how we may read, for example, the *Livre des métiers*, a compilation of the statutes and regulations affecting the trades of Paris written in the 1260s by Etienne Boileau, the city's Prévôt, the chief judge for the urban trades. Although the term police did not appear in Boileau's *Livre*, the area on which police insisted was precisely that of the *métiers*, the material activities that were necessary for the proper functioning of the city, the health of its economy, and its overall well-being. The statutes and regulations concerning workers, artisans, and merchants—for example, who could excersise a certain *métier*, how activities such as the preparation and sale of foodstuff should be performed, what taxes should be levied on goods entering the city—constituted the very basis of police.[20] The notion of police covered the entire material reality of the medieval city: police, we could say, subsumed that reality.

Senellart (Paris: La Découverte, 2001): 281-92; ID., *Naissance de la police moderne. Pouvoir, normes, société* (Paris: La Découverte, 2003); ID., "Police e territorio nella Francia di Ancien Régime. Mezzi e strategie," in *Organizzazione del potere e territorio. Contributi per una lettura storica della spazialità*, ed. Luigi Blanco (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2008): 57-80.

[19] See Francesco SICCARDO, *'Police': Profilo di una parola nella storia della lingua francese* (Genoa: E.C.I.G., 1979), 8.

[20] The *Livre des métiers* did not elaborate on general notions of government or police of the city, but mostly listed, in a straightforward manner, the rules for the proper exercise of the trades. The opening lines of the article on the corporation of masons are an example: "Il puet estre maçon a Paris qui veut, pour tant que il sache le mestier et qu'il oevre as us et aus coustumes du mestier, qui tel sunt: Nus ne puet avoir en leur mestier que 1 aprentis [...]" *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris. XIIIe siècle. Le livre des métiers d'Etienne Boileau*, ed. René de Lespinasse and François Bonnardot (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1879), 88.

Throughout the long history of the notion, this original meaning of police as the material reality of a city was never entirely lost and, in fact, remained a fundamental component until the eighteenth century. Significantly, Nicolas Delamare was to give a prominent place to Boileau and the *Livre des métiers* in his history of the Paris police. For Delamare, the *Livre des métiers*, which he knew in manuscript form as one of the so-called *Livres de couleur* (the oldest registers of city ordinances kept in the archives of the Châtelet), marked a fundamental passage in the emergence and development of the Paris police.[21] The Prévôt de Paris, Delamare was to write in 1705, in the first volume of his *Traité de la police*, was the first official to be put "en possession de toute la Police de cette Capitale."[22]

Thus, from the first, police indicated a portion of reality, an order of things, a spectrum of activities that made urban life possible, and most notably everything that concerned the provisioning of a city. For centuries, this remained the quintessential nature of police: in Fontenelle's eulogy of d'Argenson, the first function of the police magistrate was to "entretenir perpétuellement dans une ville telle que Paris une consommation immense." (Well into the eighteenth century, the specter of *disette* remained one of the most pressing threats to the life of the city.) Gradually, beginning in the late Middle Ages, the semantic range of police began to broaden. By the fourteenth century, the term was employed in an extended sense, with directly political connotations. Police referred not only to the order inherent in a community but also to the idea of an action instituting that very order, shaping and

[21] See Alexandre TUETEY, *Inventaire analytique des livres de couleur et bannières du Châtelet de Paris* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1899), esp. x-xi, where Tuetey listed the volumes that Delamare consulted while writing the *Traité*.

[22] *Traité*, 1:113 [I.8.1].

directing it. Initially associated with the managing and maintaining of the public good in a city, police came to embrace the governmental intervention over larger communities and the state as a whole. It became a synonym of government.

This fundamental transformation can be traced in the writings of the fourteenth-century philosopher Nicole Oresme and, in particular, in his *Livre de politiques d'Aristote*, a translation and commentary of the *Politic* which Oresme wrote in the 1370s. Oresme translated Aristotle's πολιτεία (*politeia*) with "policie" and used it to mean both form of government and political organization or constitution. Next to monarchy and aristocracy, the "commune policie" was one of the three basic Aristotelian forms of political power: "Et quant une multitude vit et seigneurist ou gouverne au commun conferent ou au commun profit tele policie est appellee par le nom commun et dite *policie*." Just as tiranny and olygarchy were the corrupted forms of monarchy and aristocracy, democracy was "transgression de policie."[23] Oresme also used *policie* in a broader sense, to refer not only to a specific form of government but also to political organization and to the measures taken by rulers to maintain the state. A passage in the manuscript's proem is revealing:

> Politique est celle qui soustient la cure de la chose publique et qui, par l'industrie de sa prudence et par la balance ou poies de sa justice et par la constance et fermete de sa fortitude et par la pacience de son attrempance, donne medicine au salut de tous [...] Et ainsi comme par la science et art de medicine lez corps sont mis et gardés en sanité selon la possibilité de nature, semblablement par la prudence et industrie qui est expliquee et descripte en cest doctrine les policies ont esté instituees, gardees et reformees et les

[23] Nicole ORESME, "Le livre de politiques d'Aristote; Published from the Text of the Avranches Manuscript 223, with a Critical Introduction and Notes by Albert Douglas Menut," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* vol. 60, part 6 (1970): 1-392 at 128 [bk. 3, ch. 8]. "When the multitude govern the state with a view to the common advantage, it is called by the name common to all the forms of constitution, 'constitutional government' [...] Deviations from the constitutions mentioned are tyranny corresponding to kingship, oligarchy to aristocracy, and democracy to constitutional government." ARISTOTLE, *Politics*, Loeb Classical Library, trans. Harris Rackham (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932), 207 [III.5.3-4] [1279a38-1279b6].

> royalmes et princeys maintenus tant comme estoit possible. Car les choses humaines ne sunt pas perpetuelles. Et par celle scet l'en comment l'en doit disposer les gens a tres bonne policie et faire les bons a ce par nature et par accoustumance et par discipline. Et de ceulz qui ne peuvent estre telz ou qui ne sunt tels, l'en sceit par elle comme l'en les doit gouverner par autres policies au mieux que il est possible selon la nature des regions et des peuples, et selon leur meurs.[24]

Oresme's own understanding of police can be read most clearly in his glosses to the *Politics*. Commenting on Aristotle's argument, in book three, that when a constitution changes so does the state, Oresme glossed:

> Car les hommes ou les gens sunt la matiere de la cité, mes l'ordenance et la gubernacion de elle, ce est la forme de elle. Et policie, ce est l'ordenance dez habitans de la cité [...] Et donques une autre raison ou question est, assavoir mon se ce toute foiz que la policie est muee l'en peut dire que la cité est muee et faicte autre.[25]

Especially interesting is a passage in which Oresme commented on Aristotle's championing, in book four, of the 'middle' constitution, to be preferred according to the principle that virtue is always a middle course, a mean. After translating the end of Aristotle's passage as "Car policie est vie de cité,"[26] Oresme wrote: "Pource que aussi comme quant la vie de le homme est faillie et perie, il n'est plus homme, semblablement se policie estoit ostee de la cité, ce ne seroit plus cité, mes seroit

[24] ORESME, "Le livre de politiques d'Aristote," 44 [Proheme].

[25] Ibid., 119 [bk. 3, ch. 3]. "For inasmuch as a state is a kind of partnership, and is in fact a partnership of citizens in a government, when the form of the government has been altered and is different it would appear to follow that the state is no longer the same state." ARISTOTLE, *Politics*, 185 [III.1.13] [1276b1-3].

[26] "For if it has been rightly said in the *Ethics* that the happy life is the life that is lived without impediment in accordance with virtue, and that virtue is a middle course, it necessarily follows that the middle course of life is the best—such a middle course as it is possible for each class of men to attain. And the same criteria must also necessarily apply to the goodness and badness of a state, and of a constitution—for a constitution is a certain mode of life of a state." Ibid., 327 [IV.9.2-3] [1295a35-1295b1].

comme chose morte."[27] Without elaborating further Oresme's reading (and perhaps mis-reading) of Aristotle, this last passage is telling: were police to be taken away from a city, Oresme argued, the city would simply not be; a city without police would be "comme chose morte," a dead thing.

Throughout the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, the two main meanings or dimensions of the notion of police existed side by side. On one hand, police was used to indicate a certain state or condition of a community, as when, for example, royal ordinances referred to the "bon estat de la police" in the kingdom: police, in this sense, was something *inherent in* a community. On the other hand, police also indicated something that was *given to* a community: in this sense, police encompassed notions of government and administration, the idea of exercising power over something, of instituting or establishing a particular order within a city or a state. Examples of this fundamental and almost constitutive ambiguity of the term police could be multiplied. When Rabelais, in the *Quart livre* (1552), wrote of Pantagruel who, after meeting the inhabitants of the imaginary island of Ruach, commended "leur police et maniere de vivre,"[28] he was employing the term in all its polisemy: Pantagruel, that is, praised the people's *mœurs*, their customs and way of life, but also the governance that had established that very way of life. (This, we may note, is the same constitutive ambiguity underpinning the English word *constitution*, which indicates both the law establishing the basic organizing principles of a state and the very structure of that state. As with police, a constitution is at once

[27] ORESME, "Le livre de politiques d'Aristote," 185 [bk. 4, ch. 15].

[28] François RABELAIS, *Œuvres complètes*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, ed. Mireille Huchon (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 640 [*Quart livre*, ch. 44, "Comment petites pluyes abattent les grans vents"].

something inherent in an object—as when we speak, for example, of constitution as the structure, the build of a person's body—and something that is given to an object.)

The broadening of the term police to encompass ideas of government and administration can be read in early modern dictionaries. Robert Estienne, in his 1539 French-Latin dictionary, defined police as "le fait & gouvernement d'une rep[ublique]. *Politia*," adding, as example of usage, the expression "Citez bien policees, & ou il y a une bonne police, *Bene morate & bene constitutae civitates*."[29] Jean Nicot took up this definition of police as "le fait & gouvernement d'une republique" in his French-Latin dictionary, of 1614.[30] More important, he used it in his *Thresor de la langue francoyse*, the first modern dictionary of the French language, published in 1606:

> Police, f. penac. Est reglement d'un estat & communauté, soit monarchique, aristocratique, ou democratique, en denrées, habits, commerce, & autres choses concernants le bien de tous. Il vient du Grec πολιτεία, extraict de πόλις, Cité, par ce que la Cité a esté le premier subject de tel reglement, qui en est emané ausdits estats, chascun desquels consiste en plusieurs villes.
>
> Police, le fait et gouvernement d'une Republique, *Politia*.
>
> Policer une ville.
>
> Citez bien policées, & où il y a bonne police, *Bene morate & bene constitutae civitates*.[31]

Nicot's definition is a good illustration of the expansiveness of the notion of police and of the very difficulty of defining it in precise terms. The term police possessed an extraordinary degree of elasticity: it could be, and in fact was stretched in all sorts of domains, to mean conduct, constitution, administration, policy, government. A

[29] Robert ESTIENNE, *Dictionnaire francois latin contenant les motz et manières de parler francois, tournez en latin* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1539), s.v. "Police."

[30] Jean NICOT, *Le grand dictionnaire françois latin* (Paris: Nicolas Buot, 1614), s.v. "Police."

[31] Jean NICOT, *Thresor de la langue francoyse, tant ancienne que moderne* (Paris: David Douceur, 1606), s.v. "Police." In the definition, "penac" is short for *penacutus*, i.e., the accent is on the penultimate syllable.

curious example is offered by Montaigne. In a chapter of the *Essais* (1580) criticizing the abuses of rhetoric, he told the story of his encounter with an Italian man who served as "maistre d'hostel" or butler to Cardinal Carlo Caraffa. Prodded by Montaigne to describe his job, the man proved to be something of a rhetoretician and spoke eloquently of different kinds of appetites and the ways to pique them, of the best salads to serve in any particular season and how best to present them. Discussing the "science de gueule" with a gravity as if he were speaking of theology, the man even lectured Montaigne on the "police de ses sauces."[32]

The polisemy of the term police and the vagueness as to its jurisdiction were reflected in a fundamental ambiguity about the powers of police: Who had the right or power to police a city or a community? How was that power exerted? What was its scope? Although offices and institutions had been created to see to the police, including, for example, the Prévôt de Paris and the corps of armed officers known as the Guet, throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern period, there was no clear distinction between justice and police. The Prévôt de Paris, for example, was a civil and criminal judge as well as a police magistrate with power to issue regulations. The right of police, in fact, was always included within the right to judge.[33] For centuries, feudal seigneurs, in addition to being responsible for the administration of justice in their seignories, also had powers of police, that is, they were responsible for the promotion of the material well-being of their communities.

[32] Michel de MONTAIGNE, *Les essais*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, ed. Jean Balsamo, Michel Magnien and Catherine Magnien-Simonin (Paris: Gallimard, 2007), 326 [bk. 1, ch. 51, "Des la vanité des paroles"].

[33] A remark by François Olivier-Martin illustrates this situation: reflecting on the relationship between law and justice in early modern France, he wrote that "juger, administrer, légiférer ne sont que les aspects divers, mal différenciés, de la fonction publique." François OLIVIER-MARTIN, *Les lois du roi* (Paris: Loysel, 1988), 164-65.

The lack of precision in the attribution of police powers was a constitutive feature in the administration of early modern France. This stemmed from the vastness of the domain covered by police—everything from public safety to, say, the control of weights and measures. It was also a product of the very complexity of early modern society, with its jumble of hundreds of layered, overlapping jurisdictions, a thicket which, over time, had become practically unentangleable. A useful illustration of this state of affairs is the royal ordinance of November 1577 "sur le faict de la police générale" of the kingdom. The text dealt with a variety of subjects, including subsistence and provisioning (e.g., rules for the commerce of grain, bread, hay, and meat), the *métiers* (e.g., regulations for the various *corps marchands*), and urban sanitation (e.g., obligations for building owners to clean the portion of the street in front of their buildings)—police measures that had been established for the city of Paris and which the king wanted to extend to all other cities in the kingdom. At the end of the lengthy text, the ordinance also included instructions for the execution of the police measures.

> Ledict Seigneur veult & ordonne que les officiers du Roy, & des corps, communautez, & seigneuries de ce Royaume, ausquels compete & appartient la direction du faict de police, soit à cause de leurs offices ou seigneuries, soit par attribution specialle, ayent à vacquer soigneusement & diligemment, toutes autres choses laissees, à l'observation, entretenement & execution du contenu cy dessus, sur peine de privation de leurs offices, s'ils sont officiers dudit Seigneur, & quant aux Seigneurs & communautez sur peine de privation de leurs droicts de Iustice & Police.[34]

Although the ordinance included some provisions for the selection of officers to be entrusted with "la direction du faict de police," it remained generic. As the passage

[34] *Ordonnance du roy sur le faict de la police generale de son royaume, contenant les articles & reiglemens que sa majesté veult estre inviolablement gardez, suyvis & observez, tant en la ville de Paris, qu'en toutes les autres de sondict royaume* (Paris: Federic Morel, 1578), 62-63. NYPL gen. res. SER p.v. 26, no. 2.

above shows, throughout the kingdom the police was exercised by a multitude of officers belonging to the many corporate bodies that constituted the early modern society. In practice, in so fragmented a jurisdictional landscape, the police was often the work of various kinds of local assemblies, namely, community meetings. Usually, these occurred at the level of the quartier, where police officers and bourgeois notables practiced a kind of self-regulation. The system, however, was anything but seamless.

> Es lieux où il y aura diversité d'officiers de Police, sera estably certain lieu, & ordonné certain iour le mois pour s'assembler avec les bourgeois esleuz par les quartiers ou paroisses, & illec rapporter ou conferer ce qui aura esté faict d'une part & d'autre, & le conformer ensemblément à mesmes train & façon de Police, sans entrer en aucune diversité ou conrarieté.[35]

Although the local-assembly model must have worked, at least to some extent, jurisdictional conflicts remained the norm; the king's attempt to legislate on the matter ('Do not disagree with each other') seems to have been not much more than wishful thinking. The establishment of a uniform police rule throughout the kingdom was not possible.

Paris itself was a complicated jurisdictional environment. The functions of police were exercised by several institutional actors, including the Parlement and the Hôtel de Ville. Above all, the police of Paris was the province of the magistrates at the Châtelet. Built in the twelfth century, the Grand Châtelet was originally a fortress guarding entry into the city from the *rive droite*, at the Pont au Change. **[fig. 2.4]** (On the left bank, at the Petit Pont, was a smaller building, the so-called Petit Châtelet.) The military function of the Châtelet eventually gave way to a judicial function. Although the building retained its fortress-like, forbidding character (heavy

[35] Ibid., 66.

walls, smallish doors and windows, a *donjon* flanked by *tourelles*, an internal maze of tortuous corridors and badly-lit rooms) and served also as a prison, the Châtelet became the seat of a royal jurisdiction that judged civil and criminal cases for the Ville, Vicomté et Prévôté of Paris: it was the largest tribunal of early modern France. The nominal chief of the Châtelet was the Prévôt de Paris, although his office, at least since the sixteenth century, was mostly honorific. Real power rested with his two lieutenants, the Lieutenant Civil and the Lieutenant Criminel, who were aided by a corps of officers known as Commissaires-Enquêteurs-Examinateurs. Jurisdictional conflicts between the many institutions with police powers were constant, even within the Châtelet itself. A longstanding dispute between the two Lieutenants over who had ultimate authority on matters of police, for example, was settled only in 1630 by the Parlement of Paris, who ruled in favor of the Lieutenant Civil.[36]

The source of many of these conflicts was a difficulty, both practical and theoretical, in distinguishing justice and police, that is, judicial and administrative or executive functions. Founded on the medieval doctrine that saw judicial power as the sole legitimate form of power, the basic nature of the French state was judicial. Not only was the king the supreme judge of the kingdom, all other monarchical bodies were judicial bodies. The officers of the king were judges who acted via *arrêts de justice*, namely, judgments, sentences, rulings. Justice and police were not different functions, but different fields in which the same type of jurisdictional authority was exerted. Police power was exercised as a portion of jurisdiction: all those who

[36] On the history of the seventeenth-century Paris police, see Paolo PIASENZA, *Polizia e città. Strategie d'ordine, conflitti e rivolte a Parigi tra Sei e Settecento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990), 43-99; ID., "Juges, lieutenants de police et bourgeois à Paris aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles," *Annales* vol. 45, no. 5 (Sept.-Oct. 1990): 1189-215, esp. 1189-96. On the workings of the Châtelet, see Yvonne LANHERS, "Châtelet," in Michel ANTOINE et al., *Guide des recherches dans les fonds judiciaires de l'ancien régime* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1958): 163-220, esp. 166-78.

possessed jurisdiction also had the power to make regulations, a power that derived directly from their authority as magistrates. The separation between judicial and executive branches of government, which today obtains in most democratic states, was in unknown in the early modern period. (That separation was not formally established until the Revolution, when power was no longer conceived as a matter of jurisdiction—i.e., arbitration between competing interests and ultimate means for the preservation of a given order—but as the expression of a collective will. It was only then that the notion of *police* was replaced by the modern notion of *administration*. Although clearly modeled on police, administration was conceived as separate from jurisdiction, as a technical, executive activity based on the law.)

The blurring between justice and police began to be addressed, at least in point of theory, in the late-sixteenth century. What were the fundamental differences between jurisdiction and police? Who had the right to *ius dicere* and say what the law was? Who could render justice? Who had the right to issue police regulations? How did police regulations differ from laws? Jean Bacquet was one the first jurists to tackle these problems and propose a functional distinction between justice and police. In his *Traité des droits de justice*, of 1587, he acknowledged that both activities were often exercised by the same authorities, but also asserted that "le droict de Iustice ne contient en soy le droict de Police, mais sont droictz distinctz & separez." Building on the theory of sovereignty formulated by Jean Bodin in his *Six livres de la république*, of 1579, Bacquet then claimed that "estant certain que l'exercice de la Police contient en soy la conservation & entretenement des habitans d'une ville, & du bien public d'icelle: on ne peult dire, que le droict de Police

appartienne à autres que au Roy."[37] The argument was taken up by the jurist Guy Coquille in his *Institution au droict des françois*, of 1607. "L'un des principaux droicts de la Majesté & auctorité du Roy," he wrote, "est de faire loix & ordonnances generales pour la police universelle de son Royaume."[38]

The jurist Charles Loyseau took up and developed Bacquet's perception: the province of police was not so much jurisdiction as regulation; more than judging between competing rights, police was a way to organize things and discipline people's conduct. Loyseau was the author of a series of treatises that were fundamental in defining a coherent doctrinal framework for the early modern state: the *Traité des seigneuries*, the *Traité des ordres et simples dignitez*, and the *Traité des offices*, all published between 1608 and 1610. In the *Traité des seigneuries* he defined police (the "droict de police") as a special branch of law, distinct from civil or criminal law. "Comme πόλις signifie aussi la Cité," he wrote, "aussi πολιτεία, que nous disons Police, signifie le reglement de la Cité."[39] The "droict de Police," he continued,

> consiste proprement à pouvoir faire des reglemens particuliers pour tous les Citoyens de son distroit & territoire: ce qui excede la puissance d'un simple Juge qui n'a pouvoir que de prononcer entre le demandeur & defendeur: & non pas de faire des reglemens sans postulation d'aucun demandeur, ni audition d'aucun defendeur, & qui concernent & lient tout un peuple: ainsi ce pouvoir approche & participe davantage de la puissance du Prince, que non

[37] Jean BACQUET, *Cinquiesme traicté de Iehan Bacquet … Des droits du domaine de la couronne de France, concernant les droicts de iustice, haute, moyenne, & basse* (Paris: Sebastien & Robert Nivelle, 1587), 448 [ch. 28, § 3, "Que le droict de Iustice, & de Police, n'ont rien de commun l'un avec l'autre"].

[38] Guy COQUILLE, *Institution au droict des françois* (Paris: Abel l'Angelier, 1607), 3.

[39] Charles LOYSEAU, *Cinq livres du droict des offices, avec le livre des seigneuries, et celui des ordres*, 2nd ed., 3 vols (Paris: Chez la veuve Abel l'Angelier, 1613), 2:88 [*Traité des seigneuries*, ch. 9, § 1].

> pas celui du Juge, attendu que ces reglemens sont comme loix & ordonnances particulieres, qui aussi sont appellées proprement Edicts.[40]

Loyseau also pointed out a further distinction, the difference between issuing police regulations and executing them.

> Somme qu'en toutes les parties de la Police, il faut soigneusement distinguer le droict de faire reglemens politiques (en quoy seul consiste le vray droit de Police) d'avec l'execution & cognoissance des contraventions à ces reglemens, qui dépend sans doute de la simple & ordinaire justice. Tout ainsi que faire les loix, est un droict qui n'appartient qu'au souverain, mais les executer & faire entretenir est de la charge des Juges.[41]

The jurist Cardin Le Bret, another major thinker of sovereignty and absolutism, developed some of Loyseau's ideas. "I'appelle icy police," he wrote in his *De la souveraineté du Roy*, of 1632,

> les Loix & les Ordonnances que l'on a de tout temps publiées dans les Estats bien ordonnez, pour reigler l'œconomie publique des vivres, que les anciens appelloient *Annonam*, pour oster les abus & les monopoles que l'on pourroit commettre dans le commerce; pour empescher la corruption des bonnes mœurs; pour retrancher le luxe, & bannir des villes les brelans [card games] & les jeux illicites. Ce qui a merité ce nom particulier de police, d'autant qu'il seroit impossible qu'aucune Republique peust long temps subsister si toutes ces choses n'estoient utilement reiglées.[42]

After discussing the rights of the sovereign on matters of police (for example, the right to establish weights and measures and the right to regulate commerce and the *métiers*), Le Bret added:

> L'on doit enfin observer en faict de police, que bien que l'une des proprietez de la Iustice soit d'estre ferme & constante en ses Ordonnances & ses Decrets, neantmoins cette reigle ne s'observe point pour ce qui est des reglemens generaux de la police, sinon en ce qui concerne les bonnes mœurs, car pour le

[40] Ibid., 2:88-89 [ch. 9, § 3].

[41] Ibid., 2:93 [ch. 9, § 45].

[42] Cardin LE BRET, *Les œuvres de Messire C. Le Bret* (Paris: Veuve Toussaint Dubray, 1643), 342 [*De la souveraineté du roy*, bk. 4, ch. 16, "Qu'il n'appartient qu'au Roy de faire des reglemens generaux de la Police"].

> regard des autres choses, ils ne passent iamais en force de choses jugée, mais il se changent & se varient selon les diverses rencontres des temps.[43]

Thus Le Bret further distinguished between justice and police: the role of justice was "to be firm and constant in its ordinances"; police regulations could not have the same status of laws, for they needed to change constantly so as to adapt to the "diverses rencontres des temps." There existed a fundamental difference between justice and police, between law and regulation. Although justice and police might share the same ultimate goals with respect to where society should be headed, their modes of operation were distinct. Whereas the former was—in fact, needed to be—firm, constant, inflexible, the latter must always adjust to an ever-changing, fickle reality.

One way to consider the difference between justice and police may be by way of some philosophical speculations made by Montaigne in the *Essais* (1580) and then developed, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, by his friend Pierre Charron. After noting that there existed "des vices legitimes, comme plusieurs actions, ou bonnes, ou excusables, illegitimes," Montaigne remarked that, "La justice en soy, naturelle et universelle, est autrement reglée, et plus noblement, que n'est cette autre justice speciale, nationale, contrainte au besoing de nos polices."[44] Montaigne's insight, the idea that one should distinguish between two kinds, or two different modes of justice, was elaborated by Charron in his *De la sagesse*, first published in 1601. Following Montaigne almost to the letter, Charron claimed that there existed a "double justice":

[43] Ibid., 350.

[44] MONTAIGNE, *Les essais*, 836 [bk. 3, ch. 1, "De l'utile et de l'honneste"].

> une naturelle, universelle, noble, Philosophique; l'autre aucunement artificielle, particuliere, Politique, faite & contraincte au besoin des polices & estats. Celle-là est bien mieux reglée, plus roide, nette & belle, mais elle est hors l'usage, incommode au monde tel qu'il est.[45]

The first kind of justice he compared to "la regle de Polyclete inflexible, invariable," a reference to the *Canon*, the treatise on art written by the Greek sculptor Polikleitos. The other kind, "plus lasche & molle, s'accommodant à la foiblesse & necessité humaine & populaire," Charron compared to "la regle Lesbienne & de plomb, qui ploye & se tort, selon qu'il est besoin; & que le temps, les personnes, les affaires, & accidens le requierent." Here he was referring to the *Nicomachean Ethics*, where Aristotle had used the image of a mason's rule of lead, which could be bent to fit the curves of a molding, to make an argument about equity—namely that since law cannot always secure justice, it is often necessary to use flexibility.[46] For Charron, the two kinds of justice functioned differently:

> Ceste-cy permet au besoin & approuve plusieurs choses, que celle là rejecteroit & condamneroit du tout. Ell'a plusieurs vices legitimes, & plusieurs actions bonnes illegitimes. Cette la regarde tout purement la raison, l'honeste; cette cy considere fort l'utile, le joignant tant qu'elle peut avec l'honesteté.[47]

Charron developed these ideas in order to reconcile the medieval notion of the state as founded on the principle of justice with the emerging doctrine of *raison d'état*. He was not necessarily endorsing Machiavelli and his followers to claim that the art of

[45] Pierre CHARRON, *De la sagesse* (Bordeaux: Simon Millanges, 1601), 566 [bk. 3, ch. 5, "De la iustice en general"]. On Charron and the "éclatement du concept de justice," see SAINT-BONNET and SASSIER, *Histoire des institutions avant 1789*, 300-01.

[46] "For what is itself indefinite can only be measured by an indefinite standard, like the leaden rule used by Lesbian builders; just as that rule is not rigid but can be bent to the shape of the stone, so a special ordinance is made to fit the circumstances of the case." ARISTOTLE, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, Loeb Classical Library, trans. Harris Rackham (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934), 317 [V.10.7] [1137b29-32].

[47] CHARRON, *De la sagesse*, 567.

government be completely freed from the dictates of morality; rather, he argued that the art of government could and should be inscribed within a discourse of justice, whereby the object of politics would not be the preservation of the state for its own sake but the promotion of the *bien public*, the public good that was the traditional aim of the *état de justice*.

The figure of the 'Lesbian rule' employed by Charron to authorize a more supple or pliant form of justice—the idea that, at times, it was legitimate to use expedient means that may not necessarily be just—that figure also proves an apt metaphor for understanding the early modern notion of police. The trajectory of police paralleled the development of the discourse of *raison d'état* and the concurrent changes in the way the monarchy governed.[48] Entrusted for centuries with the task of safeguarding justice, the state gradually expanded its interests and took on new roles and responsibilities. The logic of *raison d'état* fostered a shift in the way state power was conceived: from a state defined by the ideal of justice, namely, the state as the ultimate arbiter of conflicts, whose main duty was to render justice, to a state legitimized not only to restore order when things went off course but also to intervene directly over society and to act pre-emptively—the state as an instrument of social development. The notion of police played a critical role in this shift. Police became the name of the governmental practices by which the state expanded its reach into the economy and the material life of the country. Through

[48] On the relation between *police* and *raison d'état*, see FOUCAULT, *Sécurité, territoire, population*, 320-36; Alain GUÉRY, "L'Etat. L'outil du bien commun," in *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. 3, *Les France*, part 3, *De l'archive à l'emblème*, ed. Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard, 1992): 818-67, esp. 841-42; ID., "Entre passé et avenir: le bien commun, histoire d'une notion," in *Le bien commun comme réponse politique à la mondialisation*, ed. Olivier Delas and Christian Deblock (Brussels: Bruylant, 2003): 11-32, esp. 18-23; NAPOLI, "Le discours de la police et de l'arithmétique politique," 287; Michel SENELLART, "Raison d'Etat et science de la police: deux technologies de l'ordre," in *Le pouvoir réglementaire*, 107-18; SAINT-BONNET and SASSIER, *Histoire des institutions avant 1789*, 419-20.

the police—a form of power defined by its ability to adapt to the contingencies of reality—the state increasingly tried to manage all social life. Although to some extent the practices of police continued to be informed by the ideal of justice and police continued to be excercised as a judicial form of power, more and more police was construed as a new type of activity, one no longer aimed solely at the defense of the law and the maintenance of a given order but dedicated to promoting and instituting a better, more productive order.

Charron's image of an actual working tool, an instrument capable of measuring objects of whatever form or shape, captures well both the general character of police—an essentially practical, pragmatic, concrete activity—and what Le Bret recognized as the most distinctive trait of police, namely its capacity to adjust to the vagaries of an ever-changing reality. Charron's words can also shed light on a basic, unresolved tension underpinning the notion of police and the exercise of police power. The second, 'political' kind of justice, wrote Charron, "considere fort l'utile, le joignant tant qu'elle peut avec l'honesteté." The basic principle, the true rationale of this form of justice was not so much *honesteté* (probity, justness) as utility (usefulness, expediency). The same might be said of the moral calculus of police. In the search for the *bien public*, police—an eminently 'political' form of power—was to remain precariously poised between the just and the useful, between morality and expediency.

Colbert and the Conseil de Police

The police of Paris was reorganized in the mid 1660s, as part of a sweeping project of institutional reform carried out by Louis XIV. The project was engineered almost

single-handedly by the king's chief minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert **[fig. 2.1]**, the veritable *éminence grise* behind both the creation of the Lieutenance de Police and, significantly, the passage of an important legal reform with the promulgation, in 1667 and 1670, of two major ordinances concerning civil and criminal procedure. The questions of justice and police were deeply intertwined; they need to be examined together.

Colbert began to think of reforming the kingdom's legal system as soon as he was installed as Intendant des Finances, in 1661. He was probably prompted by his uncle, the Conseiller d'Etat Henry Pussort. In September 1661, Pussort had written to his nephew that he had "effleuré le travail que je vous avois proposé, concernant les ordonnances," and noted that it was "un ouvrage d'une prodigieuse estendue et d'épineuse discussion."[49] Although the preparation of such "ouvrage" had begun as early as 1661, it was only four years later that Colbert decided to move forward. On 15 May 1665 he presented to the king a mémoire for the reform of justice:

> Sa Majesté nous ayant donc dit qu'elle veut réduire en un seul corps d'ordonnances tout ce qui est nécessaire pour establir la jurisprudence fixe et certaine et réduire le nombre des juges, comme le seul moyen qui n'a point encore esté tenté jusqu'à present d'abréger les procès, il ne nous reste qu'à expliquer nos sentimens.[50]

The problem, Colbert claimed, was that the law itself was uncertain, and judges felt authorized to interpret it much too broadly. The solution was to re-found the law by reducing all past ordinances into one single body of law, a code that would finally

[49] PUSSORT to Colbert, 6 Sept. 1661, in Jean-Baptiste COLBERT, *Lettres, instructions et mémoires*, ed. Pierre Clément, 10 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1861-82), 6:361.

[50] Jean-Baptiste COLBERT, "Mémoire sur la réformation de la justice," in Ibid., 6:5-12 at 6.

establish French jurisprudence on a firm basis.[51] In the same mémoire, after explaining how the reform of the legal system could be carried through and insisting, for example, on the work of information, documentation, and analysis that would be needed, Colbert brought up the question of police. "A l'égard de la police du royaume," he wrote,

> comme c'est assurement la plus importante partie de la vie civile, et qui produit bien plus d'avantages aux sujets, il faut aussy prendre garde que tous ceux qui seront nommés pour cette matière ayent plus de force et de probité qu'aucuns, et leur ordonner de commencer par Paris, qui estant la capitale du royaume, donne facilement le mouvement à toutes les autres; et comme les magistrats politiques ont pour maxime que la meilleure police est de n'en avoir pas du tout, il ne faut pas s'étonner si elle est absolument perdue presque partout le royaume.[52]

In a couple of sentences, Colbert laid out the rationale behind the reforms. First, he linked the questions of justice and police: the reform of the legal system needed to be accompanied by a rethinking of the system of police, "the most important part of civil life"; the two issues were only different facets of a single, overarching project of reform. Second, he saw the reform of the Paris police as the essential first step towards a larger goal: Paris would serve as model for a transformation that would eventually affect the entire kingdom. Colbert's memo to the king also laid out the political stakes behind the project. Arguably, when Colbert wrote that the police was

[51] On the legislative activity of Louis XIV and Colbert and the reform of the legal system, see Henry Anselm DE COLYAR, "Jean-Baptiste Colbert and the Codifying Ordinances of Louis XIV," *Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation* vol. 13, no. 1 (1912): 56-86; François OLIVIER-MARTIN, *Histoire du droit français des origines à la Révolution* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1984), § 274; ID., *Les lois du roi* (Paris: Loysel, 1988), 227-40; Marguerite BOULET-SAUTEL, "Colbert et la législation," in *Un nouveau Colbert. Actes du Colloque pour le tricentenaire de la mort de Colbert,* ed. Roland Mousnier (Paris: SEDES, CDU, 1985): 119-32; Marc BOULANGER, "Justice et absolutisme: la Grande Ordonnance criminelle d'août 1670," *RHMC* vol. 47, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar. 2000): 7-36; Peter A. J. van den BERG, *The Politics of European Codification: A History of the Unification of Law in France, Prussia, the Austrian Monarchy and the Netherlands* (Groningen: Europa Law Publishing, 2007), 132-40.

[52] COLBERT, "Mémoire sur la réformation de la justice," in COLBERT, *Lettres*, 6:10.

"absolutely lost almost everywhere in the kingdom," he may have indulged in a rhetorical flourish, but he was not really overstating his case. We should remember the context of the reform, that is, the aftermath of the Fronde. Although the political struggle between the monarchy and the Parlements was longstanding, the Fronde and the period of great civil unrest that had followed it brought the confrontation to a climax. Much of Colbert's activity throughout the 1660s and 1670s can be read as an attempt to re-establish the prerogatives of the monarch in matters of government, to reaffirm the principles of sovereignty and finally rein in the aristocracy and the magistrates in the Parlements.

Colbert's arguments were persuasive. On 30 May 1665, Louis XIV announced to his Conseil that he wanted to proceed to the reform of justice. As a first step, the king asked the advice of the Conseillers d'Etat, who responded within a month. The decision was then made to set up an ad-hoc committe that would work out the reform and eventually produce a new ordinance on civil law. The first meeting of what would be named the "Conseil de Justice" took place on 25 September 1665, at the Louvre, in the presence of the king. The committee, chaired by Pierre Séguier, the Chancellor of France, comprised about a dozen men, drawn almost exclusively from the Conseillers d'Etat and the Maîtres de Requêtes (government officials who prepared the documentation for the cases brought before the king's councils)—all men beholden to the king.

When Nicolas de Villeroy, the Maréchal de France, proposed that the reform of justice be submitted to the Etats du Royaume, the king settled the question offhandedly: "on pourroit bien, les choses estant resolues et avant d'en donner

l'exécution, leur en faire quelque part."[53] While the Estates General might at some point be informed of the reform, there was no question of actually seeking their advice: the prerogatives of the sovereign in all matters of justice had to be maintained; the king was to have sole responsibility for the reform and did not need the advice of any other body. Here was the crux of the matter. Not only had Louis dismissed the option of consulting the Estates General, he had also excluded from the committee on the reform of justice the very people that were responsible for rendering such justice, that is, the judges themselves; the judges of the Paris Parlement had not been invited to sit on the committee. This was not an oversight but a calculated political move: sovereign power could not be subjected to the approval of any intermediary body; the reform of justice would emanate directly from the king and his Conseils.

Further clues to the rationale behind the project of reform can be gleaned from a note that Colbert drafted on 10 October 1665, a "Discours pour le Conseil de Justice." If the king's project in establishing the committee, Colbert wrote, was simply to reform the administration of justice, the work would be relatively easy: it would simply be a question of examining one by one certain problems, including, for example, the length and costs of trials, and eventually devise adequate remedies. "Mais si Vostre Majesté," Colbert continued,

> s'est proposé quelque plus grand dessein, comme seroit celuy de réduire tout son royaume sous une mesme loi, mesme mesure et mesme poids, [...] il est

[53] "Procès-verbal des conférences tenues devant Louis XIV pour la réformation de la justice," in Ibid., 6:369-91 at 371.

> certain que pour y parvenir il est nécessaire d'un grand concours, d'une grande chaleur, d'une grande application, d'une grande fermeté.[54]

The project was a "grand dessein." Were the king to pursue it, Colbert argued, he would do something that none of his predecessors had been able to do. It was not so much a question of adjusting and correcting the existing legal system as of re-founding it. The goal was to "bring the kingdom under one law" and thereby overcome one of the key difficulties of French jurisprudence: the plurality of sources of law. France had no written constitution; the legal system was defined by a mixture of sources—royal legislation, customary laws, local statutes, feudal charters, and the countless ordinances and *arrêts* issued by sovereign courts such as the Parlements and the many other jurisdictions that existed throughout the kingdom. The reform would finally untangle the intractable legal morass, simplify the workings of justice and, for example, speed up trials by codifying a standard legal procedure that would replace the many different *styles* that each law court employed.[55] The project, moreover, had an eminently political goal, namely to reduce as much as possible any latitude that the magistrates might have in interpreting the law; it was intented to curb their role and any pretention they might have to meddle with the prerogatives of the crown.

The Conseil de Justice met twice again, on 11 and 25 October 1665, also in the presence of the king. Interestingly, the third session was attended by Gabriel-Nicolas de La Reynie, a relatively young man (he was not yet forty) whose career was soon to take a momentuous turn. **[fig. 2.2]** Trained as a lawyer, La Reynie had served as a

[54] Jean-Baptiste COLBERT, "Discours pour le Conseil de Justice," in Ibid., 6:14-15.

[55] On the diversity of judicial styles, see OLIVIER-MARTIN, *Les lois du roi*, 79.

magistrate at the Parlement of Bordeaux, had sided with the crown during the Fronde, and was now working as a Maître des Requêtes, an office he had purchased in 1661. Although the extent of the collaboration between the two men is not entirely known, it is certain that by 1665 La Reynie had become one of Colbert's most trusted assistants.

In 1666, while a group of lawyers continued the work that had been started by the Conseil de Justice, namely the drafting of a new code of civil procedure, Colbert decided to set up a second ad-hoc committee which would see to the reform of the police. The reasons behind the establishment of what was to be called "Conseil de Police" are not all clear. Certainly, Colbert saw the matters of justice and police as intertwined and may have wanted to use a similar strategy for implementing both reforms. One need not look very far, however, to understand the urgency of such reform. The *police* of Paris—the city's general state, its very order—was in dire condition. By all accounts, not only was Paris impossibly crowded, dirty, and polluted, the city was also manifestly unsafe. Murders were daily occurrences. In fact, the decision to proceed with the reform of the police was triggered by one particular murder. On 24 August 1665 the brothers François and René Toucher, two petty criminals, broke into an *hôtel particulier* on the Quai des Orfèvres and killed its 72-year-old owner and his wife. The news spread immediately. In their botched attempt at robbery, the Touchers had killed Jacques Tardieu, the Lieutenant Criminel at the Châtelet. Tardieu's murder was no mere *fait divers*, but a crime that shook the city. Tardieu had served as Lieutenant Criminel since 1635 and had thus been for more than three decades the city's highest official in the repression of crimes. If he could be killed in his own house, no one in the city was safe. The authorities responded with all their might. Normally, the brothers, who had been

apprehended right away after a failed attempt at escape through the rooftop, would have been prosecuted by the Châtelet, but killing a high magistrate was deemed a crime of *lèse majesté*, that is, a crime that undermined the security of the state itself. It was decided that the Parlement would try them. The procedure was speedy, a matter of days. The sentence had to be exemplary: a simple hanging would not do; the Touchers were "rompus vifs."[56]

The vacancy at the Châtelet opened up a unique opportunity: Colbert could not only replace the Lieutenant Criminel with someone of his own choice, he could seize the moment to rethink the organizational structure of the Châtelet and the ways in which police powers were exercised in the city. Colbert decided to move on matters of police just as he was doing with respect to justice, namely, work out a reform through a small committe of trusted advisers.

The so-called "Conseil de Police" met from September 1666 to the summer of 1667, once a week, generally on Thursdays.[57] (Records have survived only for sixteen

[56] The execution took place three days after the murder, on 27 August. The brothers Toucher were put on the scaffold at six in the afternoon; they were dead by nine. The story is recounted in Arlette LEBIGRE, *Les dangers de Paris au XVIIe siècle. L'assassinat de Jacques Tardieu, lieutenant criminel au Châtelet, et de sa femme. 24 août 1665* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1991).

[57] The original minutes of the Conseil de Police appear to have been lost. We have, however, two copies to go by. One, at BnF ms. fr. 8118, fols. 1-124, was probably made by one of Delamare's clerks. (At the end of the manuscript, fols. 125-39, are also three mémoires on the reform of the police—no doubt important, but unfortunately barely legible to me.) A copy of Delamare's copy, at BnF n.a.f. 2017, fols. 1-122, is also useful—its author had much better penmanship than the copyist of ms. fr. 8118. Additional information on the Conseil de Police is at BnF ms. fr. 16847: fols. 9-61 are an incomplete copy of the minutes; most important are fols. 104-05, "Estat de distribution a Messieurs les commissaires departi pour la reformation de la police de la ville de Paris des matieres concernant lad. police." Ms. fr. 16847 also contains the 4 Oct. 1666 "Memoire pour travailler a la reformation de la police de la ville fauxbourgs et banlieu de Paris," fols. 108-09, and a print of the 5 Nov. 1666 arrêt of the Conseil d'Etat, "par laquelle le Roy ordonne que la police generale de la ville, faux-bourgs & banlieuë de Paris sera faite par les officiers du Chastelet, avec defenses à tous autres juges de s'en entremettre," fols. 148-51. Two volumes in the collection of the police commissioner Guillaume-Boniface Dupré, assembled in the 1740s and 1750s, contain other relevant documents. BnF ms. fr. 8049, fols. 90-94, is a list of the subjects discussed at the Conseil de Police, with references to the pages of ms. fr. 8118 and to the folios of another manuscript, very likely the original. (Dupré, or a clerk of his, noted: "Ms chez M. Le Cler du Brillet. Item a St. Germain des prez." Lecler du Brillet, who

sessions of the Conseil, from 28 October 1666 to 10 February 1667.[58]) **[fig. 2.5]** The meetings took place at the *hôtel particulier* of Chancellor Séguier, who presided the Conseil.[59] Its composition was remarkably similar to that of the Conseil de Justice. In addition to Séguier, Colbert, and Pussort, the Conseil de Police included two Intendants des Finances, three Maîtres des Requêtes, and ten Conseillers d'Etat—seventeen members in all, twelve of whom sat also on the Conseil de Justice.[60] Over

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continued Delamare's work on the *Traité de la police*, must have found Delamare's copy wanting and borrowed the original minutes at the library of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.) BnF ms. fr. 8057, fol. 164, lists the documents that were appended to the original minutes: a 17 Sept. 1665 *avis* of the Prévôt des Marchands on the Feb. 1664 letters patent accorded to Nicolas Rebuy for the establishment of slaughterhouses outside Paris; an *état* of the quartiers, of the commissioners there distributed, and of the tax on *boues*; a proposal for street cleaning by the commissioner Etienne Gallyot; and the 4 Oct. 1666 mémoire. (The copyist noted: "mettre ces 2 pieces en teste du procez verbal des assemblées tenues pour la reformation de la police.")

There exists no proper study of the Conseil de Police. Two historians have investigated how the committee dealt with two subjects, namely street lighting and the control of the book trade: Auguste Philippe HERLAUT, "L'éclairage des rues à Paris à la fin du XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles," *MSHPIF* vol. 43 (1916): 129-265 at 134-39; Henri-Jean MARTIN, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVIIe siècle, 1598-1701*, 2 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1969), 2:678-81. Brief remarks on the Conseil de Police are in *Traité*, 1:127 [I.8.4]; *Traité*, 4:229-30 [VI.7.2]; Jacques SAINT-GERMAIN, *La Reynie et la police au grand siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1962), 25-26, 71-72; WILLIAMS, *The Police of Paris*, 19-20, 22-25. Valuable analyses of some of the Conseil's discussions are in Nicole DIAMENT, "Recherches sur la police parisienne sous Louis XIV à travers l'œuvre et la carrière de Nicolas Delamare," thesis (Ecole des chartes, 1974), 45-47, 329-39, 469-72; Nicole DYONET, "Le commissaire Delamare et son *Traité de la police*, 1639-1723," in *Entre justice et justiciables: les auxiliaires de la justice du moyen âge au XXe siècle*, ed. Claire Dolan (Laval, Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2005): 101-19 at 106-08.

[58] #1 (Th. 28 Oct. 1666), #2 (Tu. 2 Nov.), #3 (Wed. 10 Nov.), #4 (Th. 11 Nov.), #5 (Th. 18 Nov.), #6 (Wed. 24 Nov.), #7 (Th. 2 Dec.), #8 (Fri. 10 Dec.), #9 (Th. 16 Dec.), #10 (Fri. 24 Dec.), #11 (Th. 30 Dec.), #12 (Th. 6 Jan. 1667), #13 (Th. 13 Jan.), #14 (Th. 20 Jan.), #15 (Th. 27 Jan.), #16 (Th. 3 Feb.), #17 (Th. 10 Feb. 1667).

[59] Séguier's hôtel, in the Rue de Grenelle, near the Louvre, was an important venue in the political and intellectual life of seventeenth-century Paris, above all because the Académie Française met there. The hôtel no longer exists; it would have been at the corner of today's Rue du Louvre and Rue Coquillère. Descriptions of the hôtel are in Henri SAUVAL, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, 3 vols (Paris: Charles Moette, 1724), 2:194-99; [Germain BRICE], *Description nouvelle de ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans la ville de Paris*, 2 vols (Paris: Nicolas Le Gras, 1684), 1:97-101.

[60] The Conseil de Police was composed as follows: Pierre SÉGUIER* (1588-1672, Chancelier de France); Jean-Baptiste COLBERT* (1619-1683, Contrôleur Général des Finances); Louis BOUCHERAT* (1616-1699, Conseiller d'Etat); Etienne D'ALIGRE* (1592-1677, Conseiller d'Etat); Louis de MACHAULT* (1592-Mar. 1667, Conseiller d'Etat); Pierre PONCET* (1600-1681, Conseiller d'Etat); Henry PUSSORT* (1615-1697, Conseiller d'Etat); François de VERTHAMONT* (1597-Oct. 1666, Conseiller d'Etat); Vincent HOTMAN de Fonteney* (?-1683, Intendant des Finances); Nicolas de Neufville, Duc de VILLEROY* (1598-1685, Maréchal de France, Chef du Conseil Royal des Finances); Gabriel-Nicolas de LA REYNIE* (1625-1709, Maître des Requêtes); Louis Laisné de LA MARGUERIE (1615-1680, Conseiller d'Etat); Antoine Barillon de MORANGIS (1599-1672, Conseiller d'Etat); Nicolas Lefèvre de LEZEAU (1580-1680, Conseiller d'Etat);

the next nine months, the committee examined the many police problems that plagued the city, often inviting to its sessions other officials with police responsibilities, including the Prévôt des Marchands and officers from the Châtelet such as the Lieutenant Criminel de Robe Courte and the Commissaires. The result of such deliberations were a series of edicts and *arrêts du conseil* that redefined the workings of the police of Paris and the organizational structure of the Châtelet.

The work of the Conseil de Police had been prepared at least since the spring of 1666, when Colbert had approached the officers at the Châtelet and the Lieutenant Civil, Dreux d'Aubray. On 7 June, d'Aubray had written to Colbert that,

> les ordres du Roy, qu'il vous a plu me faire entendre, sur le nettoyement de la ville et autres choses concernant la salubrité de l'air, ont esté reçus avec une joye publique, tous les Ordres de la ville estant informés que cette police procède du soin que vous avez du public.[61]

During the spring and the summer of 1666 the personnel at the Châtelet had been alerted to the king's intention to reform the police and put order, as it were, in the management of the city. The effects of these first initiatives were noted early on. An entry in the diary of Olivier Lefèvre d'Ormesson, dated 24 September, is revealing:

> L'on commence à tenir des conseils, pour la police de Paris, chez M. le chancelier, où toute la discussion des propositions va à M. Pussort. L'on croit

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Alexandre de SÈVE (ca. 1605-1673, Conseiller d'Etat, former Prévôt des Marchands); Denis MARIN (1600-1678, Intendant des Finances); François MENARDEAU (1627-1698, Maître des Requêtes). (I note with an asterisk the members who also sat on the Conseil de Justice.)

Both Conseils were also attended by a M. VOISIN, whom I could not identify with certainty. Joseph Foucault, who served as scribe in the second round of meetings of the Conseil de Justice and eventually published a transcript of the discussions, listed him as a Maître des Requêtes. See Joseph FOUCAULT, *Procez verbal des conférences tenues ... pour l'éxamen des articles de l'ordonnance civile ... et de l'ordonnance criminelle*, 2nd ed. (Louvain: Claude de Montauban, 1700), 3. I should note that Voisin was also the last name of the Prévôt des Marchands, Daniel VOISIN (?-1693), in office from 1662 to 1668. The Prévôt des Marchands attended a few sessions of the Conseil de Police; in the minutes, he was referred to by his title.

[61] D'AUBRAY to Colbert, 7 June 1666, in COLBERT, *Lettres*, 6:392. Pierre Clément attributed this letter to d'Aubray's son—mistakenly, I believe. I should note, however, that although Dreux d'Aubray died in September 1666 and not, as Clément held, in January, Clément may still be correct: Antoine d'Aubray may have taken over the office during his father's illness.

> que c'est pour le mettre en possession de la charge de lieutenant civil par celle de la police. Il y a des conseillers d'Estat commis, MM. Poncet, Boucherat, La Marguerie, et les commissaires font nettoyer les rues, oster toutes les pierres anciennes pour monter devant les portes, les boutiques des savetiers, ravadeuses, fruitières, et toutes les avances. Cela fait murmurer le petit peuple.[62]

Throughout September and October, in particular, the operations of street cleaning were revised and new efforts were made to better enforce the existing regulations on the subject. On 15 October, the Lieutenant Criminel issued a police ordinance renewing the dispositions that governed the matter of *nettoiement*, namely an *arrêt* issued in 1663 by the Parlement, which included, among other things, instructions on how the tax that paid for street cleaning should be assessed and collected, rules for the *entrepreneurs* contracted to do the cleaning, and, in article eighteen, an obligation for the citizens to clean the portion of the street in front of their houses.[63] The new efforts apparently succeeded. By the end of October, Guy Patin could write to his friend André Falconet, a medical doctor in Lyon, that "On travaille diligemment à nettoyer les rues de Paris, qui ne furent jamais si belles."[64]

Significantly, in September or the beginning of October there were also some personnel changes at the Châtelet: the office of Lieutenant Criminel, vacant since the death of Tardieu, was entrusted to Jacques Defita; a second vacancy, opened on 10

[62] Olivier Lefèvre d'ORMESSON, *Journal*, ed. Adolphe Chéruel, 2 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1860-61), 2:475-76.

[63] Police ordinance, 15 Oct. 1666, BnF ms. fr. 21686, fol. 182; arrêt, Parlement de Paris, 30 Apr. 1638, BnF ms. fr. 16847, fol. 116; *Traité*, 4:225-29 [VI.7.2].

[64] PATIN to Falconet, 30 Oct. 1666, in Guy PATIN, *Lettres*, ed. Joseph-Henri Reveillé-Parise, 3 vols (Paris: J.-H. Baillière, 1846), 3:624. See also Alfred FRANKLIN, *Estat, noms et nombre de toutes les rues de Paris en 1636 … précédés d'un Etude sur la voirie et l'hygiène publique à Paris depuis le XIIe siècle* (Paris: Léon Willem, 1873), 42; ID., *La vie privée d'autrefois*, vol. 7, *L'hygiène* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1890), 122.

September 1666 by the death of Dreux d'Aubray, was filled, at least provisionally, by his son Antoine.[65]

By the autumn of 1666 the reform of the police was well afoot. Chancellor Séguier had taken charge of devising a working strategy. Two memos of his, drafted at the beginning of October, throw light on such strategy. The first step had been to gather as much information as possible on the actual state of the police in Paris. This had been accomplished primarily through the commissioners at the Châtelet, who had been asked to provide a variety of information on their quartiers: What was the state of security there? How was the police at the markets enforced? Were there printers or booksellers trading in illegal books? Did lodging-houses rent to suspicious people? In what conditions were the streets and the *pavé*? How many street lanterns existed? The commissioners, in particular, had been asked to give precise reports on the state of *nettoiement* in their quartiers and provide information on the contractors charged with the work, the number of *tombereaux* that were employed, and the cost of the service.[66]

[65] Dreux d'Aubray died after being poisoned by his daughter, Marie Madeleine, the infamous Marquise de Brinvilliers. Her story (the prelude to the *affaire des poisons*, a scandal that gripped the French aristocracy from 1676 to 1681) is rocambolesque—and too juicy not to be retold. The Marquise's lover, the army officer Gaudin de Sainte-Croix, whom her father had had imprisoned in 1663, had learned at the Bastille how to make poisons, and taught her the art. In order to continue their affair and secure the family fortune, the Marquise poisoned first her father and then, in 1670, her two brothers. In 1672, after the death (of natural causes) of Sainte-Croix, she fled to England. She remained a fugitive for four years, and was finally found in 1676 in a convent in Liège. Brought back to Paris to stand trial, she denied all charges but was nevertheless sentenced to death. The Marquise was beheaded on the afternoon of 17 July 1676. In the morning, she had admitted her crimes—after she was put to the question. The best literary account of the story is Alexandre DUMAS, "La marquise de Brinvilliers," in *Crimes célèbres*, 8 vols (Paris: Administration de la Librairie, 1839-40): 1:61-180. For more dispassionate analyses, see Frantz FUNCK-BRENTANO, *Le drame des poisons. Etudes sur la société du XVIIe siècle et plus particulièrement la cour de Louis XIV, d'après les archives de la Bastille*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1900), 1-91; Anne SOMERSET, *The Affair of the Poisons: Murder, Infanticide, and Satanism at the Court of Louis XIV* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003), 6-40.

[66] "Memoire pour travailler a la reformation de la police de la ville fauxbourgs et banlieu de Paris," 4 Oct. 1666, BnF ms. fr. 16847, fols. 108-09.

The second step had been to divide tasks and responsibilities among the members of the committee.[67] Colbert, Pussort, and Morangis were charged with examining the matters of *nettoiement* and street lighting and exploring ways to "faciliter l'administration de la justice criminelle, suppreimer celle des justice seigneurialles de la ville et fauxbourgs de Paris leur conservant la civille et leur donnant quelque indemnité," and finally to examine "quelle regle peut estre proposée pour la conduite de tous les magistrats et officiers qui auront la direction et l'execution de la police." Poncet and Boucherat were to examine the question of public security and the problem of arms. Hotman, Machault, Verthamont, and the Prévôt des Marchands were to look into public fountains (how to make them "plus abondants" and increase their number) and into ways to ease navigation on the river. La Marguerie and La Reynie were to see to "la police qui doit estre sur le pain, vin, viande de boucherie, volaille, gibier et autre vivres" and figure out "quel expedien l'on pourroit prendre pour en fixer le juste prix." Finally, eight Conseillers d'Etat were assigned responsibility for two quartiers each: they were to meet with the quartiers' *anciens* and coordinate with them the work on the ground. (Each quartier was manned by two or more Commissaires; the *ancien*, generally the one with seniority, supervised the work of the others.)

Séguier's memos provide a good idea of the number of problems that the Conseil de Police faced: street cleaning and lighting, food and water provisioning, criminal justice and the suppression of seigneurial justices, public security and the question of arms bearing. In the course of the debates, the Conseil also confronted

[67] "Estat de distribution a Messieurs les commissaires departi pour la reformation de la police de la ville de Paris des matieres concernant lad. police," 5 Oct. 1666, BnF ms. fr. 16847, fols. 104-05.

other problems, including the control of the press and several questions concerning the *voirie*. Each one of these matters presented its own difficulties, and all too often the various problems of police were entangled with one another. To read the minutes of the Conseil de Police is to plunge into the midst of a complex and at times spirited debate on how to disentangle these matters. Unlike the debates at the Conseil de Justice, which had proceeded rather methodically, at the Conseil de Police there seems to have been no precise agenda: in all meetings, the many, overlapping matters of police were discussed in no regular order. Moreover, if the debates at the Conseil de Justice involved primarily discussions of legal procedure and were, to some extent, necessarily formal or theoretical, the discussions of the Conseil de Police were eminently practical. Remedies had to be sought not for abstract problems of jurisprudence but for very concrete problems of police.

Until the beginning of December, most of the meetings were devoted to the subject of *nettoiement*. By all accounts, the city's sanitation was in an appalling state. Foreign visitors, in particular, were repelled by the city's filthiness. James Howell, for example, described it vividly in his *Familiar Letters*, an epistolary novel he published between 1645 and 1655.

> I am now newly com to *Paris*, this huge Magazin of men, the Epitome of this large populous Kingdom, and rendezvouz of all the Forreners. The structures here are indifferently fair, though the Streets generally foul all the four Seasons of the yeer. [...] Hence comes it to passe, that this Town [...] is alwayes dirty, and 'tis such a dirt, that by perpetual Motion is beaten into such a thick black onctious Oyl, that wher it sticks no art can wash it off of some colours, insomuch, that it may be no improper comparison to say, That an ill name is like the *Crot* (the dirt) of *Paris*, which is indelible; besides the stain this dirt leaves, it gives also so strong a sent, that it may be smelt many miles off, if the wind be in ones face as he comes from the fresh Air of the Countrey: This may be one cause why the Plague is alwayes in som corner or other of

> this vast Citie, which may be call'd as once *Scythia* was *Vagina populorum*, or (as mankind was call'd by a great Philosopher) a great Mole-hill of Ants.[68]

Although Howell visited Paris in the early decades of the seventeenth century, the state of affairs he described was chronic. If anything, by the 1660s, the situation had only gotten worse.

At the Conseil de Police, *nettoiement* proved to be one of the most difficult problems to solve and, significantly, the most contentious. At the risk of becoming inundated in the minutiae of street cleaning and urban sanitation—and, I'm afraid, at the risk of enduring the tedium which then too seems to have been the distinctive trait of board meetings—it may be useful to follow closely the committee's discussions on *nettoiement*.

The problems of *nettoiement* and urban sanitation were raised at the first meeting of the Conseil for which we have a record, on 28 October. Pussort argued that "les tueries causoient une grande infection dans Paris" and proposed that slaughterhouses be moved outside the city. The Lieutenant Civil agreed, but the Prévôt des Marchands thought differently: "les tueries devoient estre continuées les lieux accoutumés de cette ville."[69] The dispute could not be solved there: letters on the question had already been sent to the Parlement; the Prévôt des Marchands and the corporation of butchers had opposed them; the *affaire* was now in the hands of the Parlement.

[68] James HOWELL, *Epistolae Ho-Elianae: Familiar Letters Domestic and Forren, Divided into Six Sections, Partly Historicall, Politicall, Philosophicall, Upon Emergent Occasions* (London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1645), 27-28. I owe this reference to Karen NEWMAN, *Cultural Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 82.

[69] BnF ms. fr. 8118, fol. 4. The scribe of the Conseil de Police did not transcribe the sentences as they were actually spoken but rendered all discussions in the third voice ('Mr. so-and-so said that ...'). In many of my quotations, the tenses are a bit off.

Although the skirmish between Pussort and the Prévôt des Marchands was small, it sheds light on some of the political lines that traversed the Conseil. The presence of slaughterhouses within the city created practical and sanitary problems which had been decried for a long time: the passage of animals through the city was a source of traffic jams and of frequent and often deadly accidents; most important, the blood of slaughtered animals was often disposed of in the streets, with easily imaginable effects on the city's already precarious sanitary conditions. The Lieutenant Civil at the Châtelet regularly issued ordinances to curb such practices: as recently as 1 June 1666 a police ordinance had prohibited butchers and *charcutiers* to "laisser couler par les ruës le sang de leurs abbatis."[70] Previous efforts by the crown and the Parlement to remove the slaugtherhouses from the urban center had remained a dead letter: costs were simply too high. In 1664, a bourgeois named Nicolas Rebuy had proposed to build four slaughterhouses outside the city, at his expense, and the king, with letters patent, had granted him the right to do so.[71] The corporation of butchers, however, had raised objections and ultimately succeeded in stalling Rebuy's project.[72] The skirmish at the Conseil de Police was but a repetition

[70] Police ordinance, 1 June 1666, BnF ms. fr. 21686, fol. 180.

[71] Letters patent, 21 Feb. 1664, AN AD/✠/370.

[72] In 1664 the butchers produced a mémoire to oppose the removal of slaughterhouses from the city; it included a surprisingly convincing summary of the arguments of their opponents: "Ils disent que le sang des bêtes que les bouchers font abattre en leur échaudoir sort par leurs éviers dans les rues et se mêle avec les ordures des tripailles et des boues, et que cela donne de l'horreur et fait soulever le cœur aux passants, pour ne pouvoir souffrir une si grande puanteur qui se multiplie et s'augmente en telle sorte que l'air en est tout infecté principalement durant le temps de l'été, ce qui cause des maladies populaires; que ce sang puisé dans l'eau par les porteurs d'eau fait mal aux chevaux aux abreuvoirs, que ce sang coule par caillots et se fige dans la rivière; et que les bêtes nouvellement tuées, encore toutes chaudes, attire[nt] et s'imbibe[nt] de cette infection, et auparavant qu'elle [la viande] soit froide, elle est à demi empoisonnée et prend un très mauvais goût; et finalement que le long des murs et dans les fentes, entre les pierres du pavé des échaudoirs il s'y fait un mastic de sang corrompu, accumulé de plusieurs années qui met puanteur sur puanteur." The butchers' mémoire is quoted in Pierre-Denis BOUDRIOT, "Essai sur l'ordure en milieu urbain à l'époque pré-industrielle. De quelques réalités

of that confrontation, with the Prêvôt des Marchands defending the prerogatives and privileges of Parisian corporations. That basic opposition would surface again and again in the meetings of the Conseil: the key difficulty was that of intervening in a social reality crisscrossed with competing, entrenched interests.

Colbert opened the session of 2 November on the subject of *nettoiement*. Three proposals, he said, had been put forward. One, submitted by someone named Juillard, had been tested a few months earlier; at a cost of 200,000 livres, however, it was unaffordable. A cheaper proposal had been submitted by a captain of the Swiss guards, who had also suggested that public security be entrusted to them; this solution too was not workable, "n'estant pas raisonnable de soumettre la seureté de Paris à une justice etrangere."[73] For the same price, however, Etienne Gallyot, a Commissaire in the Marais, had offered to do the same job. This proposal pleased the Conseil: it was decided that Gallyot would begin testing his system at the Quai des Gesvres.

At the end of the session, after discussing briefly other matters, including arms in the city (too many), street lanterns (too few), and the problem of vagabonds ("Quant aux bohemes, [ils] seroient saisis et mis à la châine sans aucune forme ny figure de proces"[74]), the Conseil adopted an important resolution:

> Que la police generalle se faira par les officiers du Chatelet privativement a tous autres officiers et neanmoins que les seigneurs haut justiciers pourront

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écologiques à Paris aux XVII et XVIIIe siècles. Les déchets d'origine artisanale," *HES* vol. 7, no. 2 (1988): 261-81 at 264. The original document is at BnF ms. fr. 21655, fol. 283.

[73] BnF ms. fr. 8118, fol. 5.

[74] Ibid., fol. 7.

> rapporter leur titres et leur pretendus privileges et cependant l'arrest du Conseil executé.[75]

This was the Conseil's first direct intervention in the problem of police jurisdiction. The city of Paris was not a homogenous territory: the very ground of the city was fragmented into multiple, overlapping territories, each one with its own administration. There survived, for example, dozens of seigneurial and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, including the archbishopric at Notre-Dame, the Palais-Royal, and the Temple—enclaves within the city with their own privileges, their own justice, their own police. So fragmented a jurisdictional landscape was a major obstacle to the proper enforcement of police regulations. Authority had to be centralized.

On 5 November, the Conseil d'Etat issued an *arrêt*: the "droit de faire Police generale" in the city and the *banlieue* belonged solely to the Prévôt de Paris and his two lieutenants.[76] The *arrêt* stated that a reform of the police had been started, but the officers at the Châtelet had been "troublez" in the execution of their orders by the "concurrence de plusieurs officiers desdites justices particulieres." This went contrary to the "bien du public" and would "empechêr le fruit d'une réformation si utile & si necessaire par la multiplicité & la confusion de toutes sortes d'officiers, aux ordonnances desquels les bourgeois se trouveroient en peine d'obeir dans la difference des justices." Through his Conseil, thus, the king ordered that the exercise of the *police générale* would be entrusted solely to the commissioners. They were to have access to all "maisons, hostels, colleges, communautez" and other places of the

[75] BnF n.a.f. 2017, fol. 7v.

[76] Arrêt, Conseil d'Etat, 5 Nov. 1666, BnF ms. fr. 16847, fols. 148-51. See also *Traité*, 1:127-28 [I.8.4]. In a marginal note, Delamare remarked that the *arrêt* was addressed to the Lieutenant Criminel, the charge of Lieutenant Civil remaining vacant. Although Antoine d'Aubray had inherited his father's office, the functions of police, at least through the autumn and winter of 1666-67, were probably entrusted solely to the Lieutenant Criminel.

city and the *banlieue*, notwithstanding any privileges such places may have; their powers would trump any prerogative of the officers of seigneurial justices. The act prohibited all officers of the "seigneurs-hauts justiciers," including the Lieutenant of the Prévôt de l'Hôtel and the Bailli of the Palais, "d'entreprendre de faire ladite police generale, ny donner aucun trouble ausdits officiers du Chastelet."

Colbert returned to the subject of *nettoiement* the following week. Gallyot, he argued, should continue the street-cleaning trial together with his fellow Commissaires who, he added, should be "départis dans les quartiers avec plus d'egalité."[77] At the next session, the Conseil decided that the commissioners should actually reside in the quartiers they were assigned to. The committee also decided to convene the Commissaires and notify them that Gallyot had received orders to "faire une visite generalle de touttes les ruës et prendre compte de l'estat du nettoyement."[78] In essence, the commissioners would have to "concourir conjontement aux nettoyement" and, under the direction of Gallyot, enforce the existing regulations on the subject.

On 11 November, some representatives of the police commissioners were present. The Chancellor told them that street cleaning had begun well, but "cella n'avoit pas suivi de mesme," it was necessary to "s'y appliquer sans relachement." If the commissioners did their job properly, "le public pourroit avoir la satisfaction de voir marcher le Roy à pied par les ruës pour temoigner à sa majeste celle qu'il en receuvoit."[79] The Châtelet, indeed, took action. On 13 November, the Lieutenant

[77] BnF ms. fr. 8118, fol. 10.

[78] Ibid., fol. 12.

[79] Ibid., fol. 14.

Criminel issued an ordinance reiterating the dispositions of article eighteen of the 1663 *arrêt*: all Parisians were ordered to "faire nettoyer au ballay devant leurs maisons selon toute leur étendue," every morning, at seven o'clock in the summer, eight in the winter.[80]

In the following sessions, the discussion on *nettoiement* continued. Money, for example, was discussed on 2 December. The so-called *taxe des boues*, which paid for street cleaning, was difficult to collect. Although the 1663 *arrêt* was quite clear on the matter ("Tous les particuliers habitans de ladite ville & faubourgs, tant privilegiés que non privilegiés, seront tenus de payer par avance de six mois en six mois, même les communautez tant ecclesiastiques que autres"[81]), many property owners claimed *privilèges* and exemptions, while others delayed or refused payment altogether. The problem, however, did not seem insurmountable. Colbert said that "il ne falloit pas trop presser les gens insolvables, que l'intention estoit de faire quelque chose d'utile et qu'il n'y a rien à esperer d'eux."[82]

The reform of the system of *nettoiement* seemed to proceed well: new contractors were hired; the existing contracts were renegotiated; the operations of street cleaning were carried out with more regularity and greater efficiency. The work of reform, however, had given rise to some tensions with the police commissioners. A letter by Guy Patin is again informative. On 2 November, after writing to Falconet that, as part of the reform of the police, some regulations concerning the *voirie*, namely certain prescriptions on the size of shops' awnings,

[80] Ordinance, Lieutenant Criminel, 13 Nov. 1666, BnF ms. fr. 16742, fols. 7-8; BnF ms. fr. 21686, fol. 186.

[81] Arrêt, Parlement de Paris, 30 Apr. 1638, in *Traité*, 4:225 [VI.7.2].

[82] BnF ms. fr. 8118, fol. 33.

were now being enforced by the commissioners at the Châtelet, Patin added that "il y en a même deux d'interdits de leurs charges pour n'y avoir pas vaqué avec assez d'exactitude."[83] The commissioners must have resented the reform. The new policy undoubtedly added to their workload; it also forced them to devote a greater part of their time to functions which, literally, did not pay. In addition to receiving, like all venal officers, interest on the money they had initially paid to purchase their office, the commissioners's income depended on performing civil functions for which citizens paid them fees. Functions such as the *apposition des scellés* (i.e., the sealing of properties after someone's death) were lucrative; the functions of police (e.g., overseeing the work of street-cleaning *entrepreneurs* or issuing a fine to a shop owner with too big an awning) were not. Although the commissioners would try to take care of this problem by contributing part of their income to a common fund that was then redistributed among all, it is very likely that some, if not most of the commissioners did not perform their police functions wholeheartedly.[84]

On 10 December, these tensions exploded. Pussort brought news that the commissioners had rebelled: thirty-seven of them (out of a total of forty-eight) had met on their own and had drafted a statement opposing the committee's decision to empower Gallyot with street cleaning. After the statement was read aloud, the Conseil's response was immediate. For Colbert, the commissioners must respect the

[83] PATIN to Falconet, 2 Nov. 1666, in PATIN, *Lettres*, 3:625.

[84] The workings of the commissioners' *bourse commune* in the years before and immediately after the reform of 1667 are not entirely clear. In 1673 Delamare, shortly after purchasing the office of commissioner, was put in charge of the *bourse*. See BnF ms. fr. 21566, fol. 406, quoted in DYONET, "Le commissaire Delamare et son *Traité de la police*," 109. The community of commissioners formally established its statute and internal regulation in 1688. See Steven L. KAPLAN, "Note sur les commissaires de police à Paris au XVIIIe siècle," *RHMC* vol. 28, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1981): 669-86 at 673-75.

committee's decision: "il faut que le public soit servi," he said; if the commissioners disobeyed the orders, "il y a de l'argent à l'espargne pour leur reimbursement,"[85] that is, he could buy their offices and revoke them from their functions. Colbert was furious: the commissioners should never have dared oppose a decision of the Conseil, "cella ne se devoit pas souffrir." The Chancellor redoubled: the commissioners' private meeting was a "cabale." Colbert pressed on: their "hardiesse" was "tres punissable"; it may in fact warrant that "leur charges fussent esteintes et supprimées." After Colbert's fulmination, everybody else jumped in: Pussort called the commissioners' deliberation "seditieuse"; Morangis declared it "une espece de conspiration."[86] The representatives of the commissioners, who had been waiting outside the room, were finally called in. The Chancellor addressed them and "leur fit entendre qu'ils ne pouvoint estre assez blamés de leur entreprise et du manque de respect qu'ils avoint eü pour les ordres du conseil." The fact that their deliberation had alluded to "le service du Roy et du public" was just a meager excuse: "sous pretexte du bien public," theirs was but "une pure cabale pour eluder le pouvoir qui avoit esté donné au commissairere Gallyot."[87]

The intensity of these exchanges may seem suprising. The dispute, however, struck at the very basis of the early modern social order. The Commissaires-Enquêteurs-Examinateurs at the Châtelet formed a community, a corporate body with its own statutes, its rules, and its *privilèges*. Despite their official title, the Commissaires did not serve on the basis of a commission, as was the case, for

[85] BnF ms. fr. 8118, fol. 43.

[86] Ibid., fols. 44-47.

[87] BnF n.a.f. 2017, fol. 49.

example, with provincial Intendants. As with most other offices in the plethora of institutions of early modern France, the office of Commississaire at the Châtelet was venal.[88] The commissioners, in a word, were not modern-day functionaries at the service of the government, but members of a corporate body that prized its own independence and autonomy.

The confrontation between the Conseil de Police and the commissioners was not only a question of status. Nor was it a sign of any fissure or weakness in the hierarchical system of the early modern society: the king and his Conseils could readily trump the prerogatives of inferior corporate bodies, however ancient or well established they may be. In fact, the *affaire* of the commissioners was resolved in a matter of days. As Pussort explained to the Conseil on 16 December, the rebel officers had gone to Saint-Germain-en-Laye, where the king resided, "pour supplier tres humblement sa Majesté de le leur vouloir pardonner."[89] The commissioners had repented rather quickly; the threat of punishment was lifted and the Conseil d'Etat issued immediately an *arrêt* with which "sa Majesté commet Maistre Estienne Gallyot pour avoir l'inspection sur le nettoyement de la ville & fauxbourgs de Paris."[90] At stake in the dispute was something far more important than status. If the reform of the police was to be successful, the officers at the Châtelet needed to be submitted to a new kind of discipline; they were to become agents of a new sort. As

[88] On the venality of offices, see Roland MOUSNIER, *La vénalité des offices sous Henri IV et Louis XIII* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1971), esp. 665-68; Robert DESCIMON, "La vénalité des offices et la construction de l'État dans la France moderne. Des problèmes de la représentation symbolique aux problèmes du coût social du pouvoir," in *Les figures de l'administrateur. Institutions, réseaux, pouvoirs en Espagne, en France et au Portugal, 16e-19e siècle*, ed. Robert Descimon, Jean-Frédéric Schaub and Bernard Vincent (Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1997): 77-93.

[89] BnF ms. fr. 8118, fol. 56.

[90] Arrêt, Conseil d'Etat, 16 Dec. 1666, BnF ms. fr. 21686, fols. 194-95.

the *dénouement* of the dispute shows, the problem did not put into question the chain of command—the authority of the king's Conseils was undisputed. Rather, the controversy revealed a structural obstacle inherent in that chain, namely the limits of a governmental apparatus bound by the system of venality and by layers of institutions whose roots seemed, for all practical purposes, ineradicable.

At the Conseil, Colbert and his men often discussed this kind of organizational problem, for much of the difficulty in policing Paris stemmed both from a lack of co-ordination between the institutions with police authority and from the unwilligness of the various parties to give up the rights which they had accrued over time. Initially, the Conseil did not attempt to redefine the jurisdictional authority of the various institutional actors but focused on improving the effectiveness of the existing system of police. Indeed, one of the things that emerges most clearly from the minutes of the Conseil is that the primary task of the committee was not necessarily to devise new regulations or to come up with new ideas for solving police problems; rather, the Conseil's main goal was to see to a more efficient enforcement and execution of *existing* regulations. With regard to most subjects that the committee discussed, there appears to have been a general agreement that the current legislative and regulatory apparatus was more than sufficient. Certainly, some of it could be updated, but overall the measures advanced in the past by royal acts, parliamentary *arrêts*, or police ordinances were deemed good. Much of the work of the Conseil de Police involved a systematic effort to review and compile past legislation—a work spearheaded especially by Colbert.

Since he had assumed the charge of Intendant des Finances, Colbert had realized that, in order to manage the state effectively, he needed to have both up-to-date information on what was happening throughout the kingdom as well as reliable

historical documentation on what French rulers had done in the past. To this end, he worked steadily toward the construction of a centralized information system, for example commissioning the Intendants to provide detailed reports on the finances of the provinces. He hoped to assemble a body of knowledge on the state—what today we would call statistics—essential to governing the kingdom effectively. Colbert also labored at what his uncle had called "un ouvrage d'une prodigieuse estendue et d'épineuse discussion." With the assistance of Etienne Baluze, who served as his librarian, and La Reynie and Joseph Foucault, both Maîtres des Requêtes and both, by all appearances, erudite jurists especially well suited for archival and historical work, Colbert proceeded to a methodical research and a systematic compilation of the laws and ordinances that had been issued since the Middle Ages on the questions of justice and police.[91]

Lack of legislation was not necessarily the problem. The real difficulty was implementation. There existed plenty of legislative and regulatory measures already, but they were not—or could not be—put in practice properly or efficiently. Colbert was adamant on this. At the session of 2 December, he did something rather theatrical: "ouvrant le livre des ordonnances de la police"—probably one of the compilations he had produced with the help of Baluze, Foucault, and La Reynie—he read the first article, an injunction to the merchants of grains, hay, and charcoal to

[91] For an example of such work of historical compilation, see Jean-Baptiste COLBERT, "Table sur le fait des ordonnances royales fait par nos rois pour le réglement de la justice, police, finances et milice du royaume," in COLBERT, *Lettres*, 6:361-67. On the relationship between Colbert and Baluze, see BOULET-SAUTEL, "Colbert et la législation," in *Un nouveau Colbert*, 121n9; Jacob SOLL, "The Antiquary and the Information State: Colbert's Archives, Secret Histories, and the Affair of the *Régale*, 1663-1682," *FHS* vol. 31, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 3-28, esp. 15-22; ID., "Jean-Baptiste Colbert's Republic of Letters," *Republic of Letters*, vol. 1, no. 1 (May 2009), http://rofl.stanford.edu/node/28, esp. 5-6. On Colbert's construction of a "centralized state information system" and his work with Baluze, Foucault, and La Reynie, see Jacob SOLL, *The Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert's Secret State Intelligence System* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009).

sell their wares within three days of receiving them, after which period the goods would be "mises au rabais," that is, sold at a discount. "Cet article bien executé," said Colbert, "pourvoiroit à toutte chose." The old ordinances, he continued, were "fort bonnes"; "le tout dependoit de l'executtion."[92]

Such insistence on execution, on the idea that the key to the reform was ultimately a matter of implementation, can be read in one of the Conseil's discussions about the provisioning of Paris. What truly mattered, Colbert said on 16 December, was to "attirer l'abondance"; in order to do this, "il falloit prendre le contrepied de ce qui avoit esté cydevant pratiqué, en ce que l'on avoit faict une infinité de nouveaux reglemens, mais qu'aucun d'iceux n'avoit esté executé."[93] This is not to say that the Conseil did not entertain new proposals or think up new methods for solving problems of police. Innovation had to be measured with respect to both the existing institutional arrangements and the existing legislative and regulatory apparatus. The Conseil did eventually come up with solutions that were radically new, for instance the creation of a city-wide service of street lighting. But in most cases, when the Conseil explored ways that reached too far, the proposals were dropped quickly.

An example of failed innovation was an idea that the Conseil entertained during the first two sessions of January 1667, namely the possibility of establishing "des magasins publics" to store reserve grain.[94] Such proposal would have altered radically the existing state of affairs but, not surprisingly, it proved to be unfeasible,

[92] BnF ms. fr. 8118, fol. 34.

[93] Ibid., fol. 63.

[94] Ibid., fols. 83-93; BnF n.a.f. 2017, fols. 88-97v.

primarily because of a stauch opposition by the Parisian merchants. Experience showed, Colbert argued, that in any twenty-year period there always occurred times of "grandes sterilités." The king, he continued, had been "touché" by the disorders of 1662, the dramatic result of the kingdom-wide subsistence crisis that followed the harvest of 1661, the worst in recent memory. To avoid a repeat of those troubles, Louis wanted public granaries to be built; they were to store 100,000 *sétiers* of grain, enough to feed Paris for three months.[95] The king, however, would not pay for the *magasins*: the expense should be borne by the public; it should be the work of the municipality. Colbert argued forcefully for the proposal: we should learn from the "fascheux exemple" of 1662, he said, and prepare for the next *disette* by building public granaries; after all, he argued, this was the policy "à Rome, à Venise et par tout ailleurs dans les etats les mieux policés." The Prévôt was not convinced: such a proposal, he said, was "contre les interest des marchands"; he would have "de la peine à s'y resoudre." Colbert insisted: the thing was difficult, but it had to be done: "le dessein que l'on propose est grand, juste et utile"; Louis himself wanted it—as "le père commun de ses peuples," the king "doit ses soins à leur conservation." Colbert used all sorts of rhetorical appeals: "plusieurs affaires qui ont paru d'abord impossibles ont reussy dans leur execution"; there are mountains, he continued, "lesquelles etonnent à leur premiere veue, mais que l'on mesure et aplanit petit à petit." Certain mountains, however, could not be leveled. The following week, the Prévôt discussed the proposal with some of the merchants but, "quoy qu'il leur ait pu dire," he could not get them to agree. He told them that "il falloit qu'ils y pensassent

[95] The *sétier* was a unit of capacity. The twelfth part of a *muid*, a Parisian *sétier* was equivalent to a volume of 1.56 hectoliters.

mieux," that they should think the matter over and come back to him, but they did not: "il n'en falloit rien esperer." Colbert did not seem discouraged: if the merchants could not be convinced, other ways should nevertheless be explored; "il falloit songer a bastir des magazins." In the end, however, the proposal came to nought: public granaries were not built; up to the Revolution, Paris was to remain sorely prone to subsistence crises and bread riots.[96]

Back to *nettoiement*. The idea that many of the problems of police were in the end problems of implementation can also be read in one of the first outcomes of the Conseil de Police, a royal edict issued in early December that shaped into law the 'new' policy on street cleaning.[97]

> Les plaintes qui nous ont esté faites du peu d'ordre, qui estoit dans la police de nostre bonne ville de Paris, & fauxbourgs d'icelle, nous ayant obligé de rechercher les causes dont ces deffauts pouvoient proceder, nous aurions fait examiner en nostre Conseil les anciennes ordonnances, & reglement de police, que nous aurions trouvés si prudemment concertés, que nous aurions estimé qu'en apportant l'application, & les soins necessaires pour leur execution, elle pourroit estre aisément restablie, & les habitans de nostre bonne ville de Paris en recevoir de notable commodité.

As we saw with Colbert's remark on the regulation of market sales, the existing legislative and regulatory apparatus was thought to be good: the point was not to rewrite police regulations or come up with new ones, but to "re-establish" them. The edict renewed the Parlement's 1663 measures on *nettoiement* as well as other

[96] The idea would be entertained again throughout the eighteenth century, but public granaries were never built. A partial solution was found in the late 1720s, with a community granary system. See Steven L. KAPLAN, "Lean Years, Fat Years: The 'Community' Granary System and the Search for Abundance in Eighteenth-Century Paris," *FHS* vol. 10, no. 2 (Autumn 1977): 197-230.

[97] Royal edict, Dec. 1666, BnF ms. fr. 16742, fols. 11-17. See also *Traité*, 1:128-31 [I.8.6]; François-André ISAMBERT, DECRUSY and Alphonse-Honoré TAILLANDIER, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises* 29 vols (Paris: Belin-Leprieur; Verdière, 1821-33), 18:93-94.

regulations concerning public safety, notably a royal declaration of 1660 which prohibited the sale and carrying of arms in the city.[98]

Louis XIV himself was to insist on this idea of a re-establishment of police. In 1667, in his *mémoires* for the instruction of the Dauphin, he wrote:

> Pour remédier aux désordres qui arrivaient ordinairement dans Paris, j'en voulus rétablir la police; et après m'être fait représenter les anciennes ordonnances qui ont été faites sur ce sujet, je les trouvai si sagement rédigées, que je me contentai d'en rétablir plusieurs articles abolis par la négligence des magistrats; mais j'y ajoutai quelques précautions pour les faire mieux observer à l'avenir, principalement sur le port des armes, sur le nettoiement des rues, et sur quelques autres point particuliers, pour l'exacte observation desquels je formai même un conseil exprès.[99]

The edict of December 1666 is significant in other respects. A passage of the long preamble is especially telling:

> Bien que le grand concours d'habitans, de carrosses & harnois, & la disposition des ruës eust fait croire que le nettoyement n'en pouvoit estre bien fait, & que quelque exactitude que l'on y eust pû apporter, il estoit impossible que les bouës n'incommodassent les gens de pied; neantmois *comme nous n'estimons rien au dessous de nostre application*, & que *nous voulons bien descendre iusques aux moindres choses lors qu'il s'agit de la commodité publique*, les ordres que nous y avons fait apporter ont fait voir en bien peu de jours, & *sans qu'il aye esté necessaire d'augmenter les taxes*, que dans la saison de l'année la plus incomode, le nettoyement a esté fait avec tant d'exactitude, que chacun par son experience s'est detrompé de cette opinion.[100]

Nothing, not even the prosaic matters of the *boue*, was "beneath" the king: when the *commodité publique* was at stake, the king was willing to "reach down to the tiniest

[98] Royal declaration, 18 Dec. 1660, listed in Guillaume BLANCHARD, *Table chronologique, contenant un recueil en abregé des ordonnances, édits, déclarations, et lettres patentes des rois de France* (Paris: Charles de Sercy, 1688), 506-07.

[99] LOUIS XIV, *Mémoires pour l'instruction du Dauphin*, ed. Pierre Goubert (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1992), 210. The passage where the king commented on the goodness of old police ordinances read "je les trouvai si sagement digérées"; as Goubert noted, it is almost certainly a typo for "rédigées." Ibid., 270n210.

[100] Royal edict, Dec. 1666, BnF ms. fr. 16742, fols. 12-12v. (The emphasis is mine.) On this passage, see NAPOLI, *Naissance de la police moderne*, 47.

thing." Certainly, one could read this passage as nothing more than a piece of royal propaganda (a kind of early modern political pandering, so to speak: 'Look how well we did, and without raising taxes'). In fact, this passage not only signaled an important shift in the way the king defined his role as sovereign and presented himself to his subjects; it also laid bare, in a disarmingly straightforward manner, the ultimate nature of the business of police. Long portrayed as the supreme guarantor of justice, the king was now assuming a different posture, the role of the benevolent administrator constantly looking after the well-being of the public. From now on, the rhetoric of *commodité publique* would increasingly define royal policy: for the sake of the public good, the sovereign would intervene ever more deeply into the life of his subjects. The true logic of the police is all there, in that relentless attention to the details of everyday life. Nothing was too minute or too trivial: all things could always be adjusted, ameliorated, reformed, perfected—policed, in fact.

'By small instances of obedience'

The Conseil de Police's empowerment of Gallyot for *nettoiement* had given rise to another problem, one possibly even thornier than the *affaire* of the commissioners. At the session of 10 December, Pussort reported that there had been complaints against the Bailli of Saint-Germain, the officer with jurisdiction over the *baillage* of the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, which covered much of the faubourg Saint-Germain. He was accused of having threatened to imprison the contractors that Gallyot had hired for street cleaning. Gallyot confirmed the accusation: it was "veritable." He had sent some *tombereaux* in the quartier, but the Bailli and the faubourg's former contractors had protested. The Bailli, who had been convened at

the Conseil, tried to explain. Things were complicated: the *entrepreneurs* charged until then with the work did not want to lose their contracts; moreover, "il n'y a point de recette plus difficile a faire que celle du faubourg Saint-Germain, estant rempli de monasteres et de bonnes maisons."[101] (Ecclesiastical institutions and the households of important families often claimed exemptions from the tax.) Colbert asked for details: How much was the revenue from the tax? What did each *tombereau* cost? The Bailli answered all financial questions as best he could, but money was only part of the problem. Once again, the real problem was another. For the reform of the police to actually work, the city of Paris had to be subjected to one single jurisdictional measure. Apparently, the *arrêt* of 5 November, which entrusted the right of police to the officers of the Châtelet, had not been sufficient. For the time being, the Conseil could only entertain a provisional solution to the dispute between the Bailli and the commissioners. On 24 December, Pussort told the committee of an idea that had been put forth by the First President of the Parlement, who proposed to "maintenir le pouvoir de parties dans la police generale tant du faubourg Saint-Germain que des autres lieux" and leave to the Bailli "la police particuliere."[102] For the time being, this stop-gap would have to do, but eventually the problem of the diversity of jurisdiction, and in particular the survival of seignories, would have to be sorted out.

Jurisdictional conflicts also arose in many of the Conseil's discussions on the *voirie*, one of the domains that were traditionally subsumed under the notion of

[101] BnF ms. fr. 8118, fols. 49-50.

[102] Ibid., fol. 68.

police.[103] As with police, and perhaps even more so, the attributions of *voirie* were the object of countless controversies.[104] Beginning in the late-fifteenth century, several royal ordinances had entrusted the *entretien* of streets and roads to the Trésoriers de France, a corps of officers which had originally been established for the financial administration of the royal domain. (In each *généralité*, the Trésoriers were grouped into so-called Bureax des Finances.) Their attributions often clashed with those of the seigneurs, who since the Middle Ages, based on customary laws, claimed that competences on *voirie*, like those on *police*, were part of their rights. In Paris, the Trésoriers also clashed with the Voyer de Paris, an office which existed since the Middle Ages, incorporated within the Prévôté de Paris. A step to resolve such conflicts and establish a governmental administration specifically devoted to the management of the *voirie* was taken by Henry IV, who created in 1599 the office of Grand Voyer de France and entrusted it to Maximilien de Béthune, Duc de Sully, who, in 1603, also purchased the charge of Voyer de Paris. A royal edict of December 1607 further specified the competences of the Grand Voyer, who would henceforth be responsible for the *voirie* of cities and *grands chémins*—he would be in charge of what today we could call infrastructural and urban policy. Before any construction, one was to obtain an alignement permit from the Grand Voyer, who would see that, as the 1607 edict stated, "les ruës s'embellissent & élargissent au mieux que faire se pourra." The experiment, however, was short-lived. After the fall of Sully, in 1611, the

[103] Loyseau, for example, wrote that "la police consiste principalement en trois poincts, dont il faut traiter separément, sçavoir est aux denrées, aux mestiers, & aux ruës & chemins." LOYSEAU, *Cinq livres du droict des offices*, 2:90 [*Traité des seigneuries*, ch. 9, § 16].

[104] On the jurisdiction of *voirie*, see *Traité*, 4:638-782 [VI.15.1-8]; Gérard MELLIER, *Code de la voyerie*, 2 vols (Paris: Prault pere, 1735), 1:1-142; Jean-Louis HAROUEL, *L'embellissement des villes. L'urbanisme français au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Picard, 1993), 21-53.

office of Grand Voyer remained vacant, while that of Voyer de Paris passed to Sully's son, the comte d'Orval. In 1626, after years of lobbying, the Trésoriers persuaded the crown to suppress the office of Grand Voyer, reunite it with the royal domain, and entrust to them the *grande voirie*. In 1635, then, the charge of Voyer de Paris was also suppressed, and eventually the capital's so-called *petite voirie* too was entrusted to the Trésoriers.[105] Despite the new institutional arrangement, however, jurisdictional conflicts pitting the Trésoriers against the seigneurs and the officers at the Châtelet did not abate.

At the Conseil de Police, jurisdictional *querelles* over the *voirie* often came up. On 28 October, the committee discussed an ordinance concerning *auvents* and *enseignes* which had been issued two days earlier by the Trésoriers.[106] The Châtelet had immediately contested it, and the Conseil asked that both parties submit briefs arguing their prerogatives. The committee returned on the matter in the following weeks and finally confirmed the Trésoriers' ordinance: awnings would henceforth be placed "à dix ou douze pieds du rez de chaussée, de trois pieds par haut dans les grandes ruës et deux pieds et demy dans les petites"; *enseignes* would be "attachées sur une mesme ligne, touttes de quinze pieds d'hauteur."[107]

[105] Royal edicts, May 1599, Dec. 1607, Feb. 1626, and May 1635; Ordinance of the Prêvôt de Paris, 22 Sept. 1600, in *Traité*, 4:687-94, 702-07 [VI.15.4]; Joseph-Hippolyte PERROT, *Dictionnaire de voierie* (Paris: Prault, Onfroy, Belin, l'Auteur, 1782), 457-64, 467-72, 484-85; ISAMBERT, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises*, 15:222-24, 239-45, 335-41, 16:164; *Manuel des lois du bâtiment*, 2nd ed., 5 vols (Paris: Ducher et Cie, 1879), 2:10-32. See also SAUVAL, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, 2:401.

[106] Ordinance of the Trésoriers de France, 26 Oct. 1666, BnF ms. fr. 8103, fols. 241-45; BnF ms. fr. 16847, fol. 146. See also the 19 Nov. 1666 arrêt of the Conseil du Roi which confirmed the ordinance of the Trésoriers, Ibid., fol. 135.

[107] BnF n.a.f. 2017, fol. 17v; BnF ms. fr. 8118, fol. 17.

It is unclear how this particular jurisdictional dispute between the Trésoriers and the Châtelet was eventually solved. (In fact, the two institutions would continue to fight for decades over their respective competences.) For our purposes, however, those controversies are beside the point. By all appearances, the conflicts over the *voirie* did not stem from any real disagreement about urban policy. More banal, the conflicts boiled down to questions of status (no institution would willingly cede a right it deemed its own and thereby risk losing influence and power) and especially to questions of money, that is, which institution should administer the various fees and *contraventions* pertaining to the *voirie* (say, the fees that property owners had to pay to obtain an alignment permit, the fines issued to contractors who disposed improperly of building materials, or the tickets that shop owners got when their stalls encroached on the street).[108] Despite the almost perpetual fights, all the institutions responsible for the *voirie* seem to have pursued the same basic goal, namely that of a safe, clean, and uncongested urban environment. Practically all the measures that were issued on the *voirie* aimed at the same things, in particular for all that concerned the regulation of streets. Indeed, the urbanistic policy advanced through those measures can ultimately be reduced to one basic proposition: the street of the *ville policée* was to be well paved, clean, unencumbered, and as wide and well aligned as possible.

The rationale for the measures regulating the *voirie* was always a combination of sanitary and safety preoccupations. Health appears to have been a primary concern. By the 1660s, the idea was generally accepted that the *boue*, the

[108] The 1607 edict, for example, while empowering the Grand Voyer with a general supervision over the *voirie*, had been careful to confirm that the other authorities maintain certain rights: disputes involving penalties of up to ten livres were to be judged by the Chambre du Trésor; disputes for penalties above ten livres would be the province of the Prévôt de Paris.

immondices and other kinds of urban refuse 'corrupted' the air.[109] The fear of putrefaction, of pestilence, of infection, was what prompted the attempt to remove from the city center polluting activities such as slaughterhouses. Anxieties over urban hygiene were also behind the Conseil's relentless attention to the problem of *nettoiement* and to the state of the *pavé*. Through the autumn and winter of 1666-67, the Conseil de Police inquired regularly about the *pavé* of Paris and issued several orders to the commissioners and the Trésoriers requiring that they see to the paving of the many streets and quais that were still unpaved. Such concern for the *pavé* is indicative of how the problems of *voirie*, urban sanitation, and public safety were almost always looked at as problems of circulation. Circulation—or, better, the easing of various kinds of circulation—appears to have been the chief goal of all the institutions with authority on the *voirie*: air should circulate as freely as possible through the streets, so as not to be corrupted by any pestiferous fluid; similarly, people and carriages should be able to circulate smoothly and unimpeded, lest other kinds of corruptions, other kinds of troubles occur. All the measures issued on the *voirie* shared this preoccupation with circulation, with preventing blockages and *embarras*, with smoothing out urban flow.

Rarely were the measures on *voirie* issued with explicit aesthetic purposes. The rules approved by the Conseil on shop signs and awnings, for example, were dictated not by aesthetic concerns but by the much more prosaic need to maintain

[109] On the early modern preoccupations with urban hygiene, see Alain CORBIN, "L'hygiène publique et les 'excreta' de la ville préhaussmannienne," *Ethnologie française* vol. 12, no. 2 (Apr.-June 1982): 127-30; ID., *Le miasme et la jonquille. L'odorat et l'imaginaire social, XVIIIe-XIXe siècles* (Paris: Flammarion, 1982, 2008), esp. 133-56; Pierre-Denis BOUDRIOT, "Essai sur l'ordure en milieu urbain à l'époque pré-industrielle," *HES* vol. 5, no. 4 (1986): 515-28, vol. 7, no. 2 (1988): 261-81; ID., "Les égouts de Paris aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Les humeurs de la ville préindustrielle," *HES* vol. 9, no. 2 (1990): 197-211; Rodolphe EL-KHOURY, "Polish and Deodorize: Paving the City in Late-Eighteenth-Century France," *Assemblage*, no. 31 (Dec. 1996): 6-15.

the street as unobstructed as possible. Eventually, of course, some of those rules would produce aesthetic results—in this case, more regular street frontages, with shop signs all aligned at the same height—but *embellissement*, at least in the sense of actual embellishment or aesthetic improvement, was a by-product. The seventeenth-century notion of *embellissement* was almost always predicated on functional, utilitarian grounds.

Measures to control the proliferation of elements protruding over the streets would continue to be issued regularly by the Trésoriers and, more and more, by the Châtelet, especially after the 1667 reform. In many ways, those regulations offer the best example of the early modern approach to urbanism. To regulate the *voirie* meant primarily to issue precautionary measures that would ward off safety hazards and keep at bay all that could trouble the circulation of air, goods, and people. Police authorities did not really attempt to define master plans for the development of the city: they had neither the resources, the personnel, or the vision to do so. Rather, they worked at instituting an ever-more comprehensive regulatory regime that would curb practices deemed dangerous for the well-being of the city.

To understand the logic of that approach, it may be useful to recall a remark made at the end of the century by Martin Lister, an English physician who visited Paris in 1698. In his extraordinary account of the late-seventeenth-century city, Lister wrote also on the policy on shop signs, with no small degree of amazement:

> 'Tis pretty to observe, how the King disciplines this great City, by small instances of Obedience. He caused them to take down all their Signs at once, and not to advance them above a Foot or two from the Wall, nor to exceed such a small measure of square; which was readily done; So that the Signs

> obscure not the Streets at all, and make little or no Figure, as tho' there were none; being placed very high, and little.[110]

Lister's remark may well be the single best illustration of the logic of the early modern police. To police Paris meant ultimately to discipline the city and its population by way of a multitude of tiny and only seemingly trivial measures—"by small instances of obedience." Social and urbanistic control were not conceived as two different activities, each governed by its own rationale. In the eye of government and police administrators, social control and urbanistic management were part and parcel of the same project—the same desire to rein in the city. Throughout the seventeenth century, the city was increasingly perceived *as a problem*. That is, the city—understood at once as a physical thing (streets, squares, bridges, houses, etc.) and as a social thing (the sum total of its population, what Fontenelle would call "an immense and tumultuous multitude")—appeared as an object, a phenomenon that, if left on its own, would inevitably spiral out of control, with potentially catastrophic consequences. Police was the name of the governmental practice developed to control that phenomenon and parry the dangers of a city perceived as chronically fraught with chaos and disorder—a city always on the verge of social and urban disaster.

Such understanding of the city—and, more generally, the very notion of police—was premised on an ideology that was essentially paternalistic. To police the city was to protect the people's welfare, the idea being that the citizens' happiness was not antithetical to police control but actually depended on it. The city and its citizens could not be left to their own devices; instead, they constantly needed to be

[110] Martin LISTER, *A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698*, ed. Raymond Phineas Stearns (Urbana, Chicago, and London: University of Illinois Press, 1967), 17.

educated and disciplined and thus steered toward the public good. This was the same father-knows-best ideology that justified, for example, the censorship of books, another domain that fell under the province of police. Colbert spelled out a key principle underpinning the notion of police precisely during a discussion about the control of the Parisian book trade. "C'est une mauvais raison," he said,

> de dire que lors qu'il s'agit de reformation de la police et du retranchement de ceux qui en causent l'abus, ce seroit les mettre au desespoir et en faire des voleurs, que sy lorsque le Roy prendra resolution d'oster les dorures des carosses et emmeublemens l'on fairoit reflection sur les plaintes que pouroient faire quantité d'artisans à qui ces superfluitez font gagner la vie, mais il faut s'arrester au bien public dans le quel le bien particulier se trouve toujours.[111]

Colbert used this argument to support his decision to reduce the number of Parisian printers. He was perfectly aware that such a measure would have put many artisans out of business, and yet the logic of police control of both the economy and the *mœurs* justified the passage of such a measure. As with sumptuary laws, government officials believed that, whenever the public good was at stake, they had a duty to curb private interests. "Il faut s'arrester au bien public dans le quel le bien particulier se trouve toujours": the focus of government could only be the *bien public*, which always encompassed the *bien particulier*. In this sentence, Colbert articulated in its purest form the ideology of the police: the public good ought to always trump private interests.

Lister's observation on the policy on shop signs is also helpful to understand the way in which, under the notion of police, the various and seemingly disparate concerns for urban infrastructure, public safety, social order, and public morality were routinely combined. Social and urbanistic considerations—the moral and

[111] BnF n.a.f. 2017, fol. 121v.

physical realms—were fundamentally entangled. The *ville policée* was at once an urbanistic ideal (that of a city devoid of obstructions, whose very form guaranteed that obstructions and *embarras* would never occur) and a social ideal (that of a city inhabited by a disciplined, civilized, and ultimately docile population). In the eye of police administrators, there was no solution of continuity between the project of 'embellishing' the city and that of disciplining its population. The logic was, essentially, circular: a well-designed city would prevent social troubles and help fashion good citizens; a well-disciplined population would surely build a good city.[112] The champions of the *ville policée* thought of good social order and good urban form as essentially entangled, in what they surely imagined was a virtuous circle. To keep that movement going, to encourage that virtuous circularity, it was necessary to labor regularly, relentlessly, at details such as how much shop signs encroached on the street—to pay attention to the countless little things that were perceived as dangerous or simply troublesome, the minutiae of everyday life that needed to be monitored, contained, controlled, managed, disciplined, for they disturbed the *police*, the very order of the city.

At the Conseil de Police, Colbert was especially proactive with respect to the problems of the *voirie*. He had taken a special interest in all that could contribute to

[112] It would be tempting to read in this logic a kind of proto-behaviorist principle (viz., good urban form necessarily produces good people). To my knowledge, however, no one had thought yet of *embellissement* and urban renewal in quite those terms. A direct relation of cause and effect between the environment and society would be postulated only toward the mid-eighteenth century, in particular after the emergence of so-called sensationalist philosophy. The best example would certainly be the urban utopias that Morelly envisioned in his *Basiliade* (1753) and *Code de la nature* (1755). On Morelly and the philosophy of sensations ("the primitive machine of behaviorism") see Anthony VIDLER, "The Scenes of the Street: Transformations in Ideal and Reality, 1750-1871," in *On Streets*, ed. Stanford Anderson (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1978): 28-111, now in *The Scenes of the Street and Other Essays* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2011): 16-127, esp. 21-35. See also Frances D. FERGUSSON, "Morelly and Ledoux: Two Examples of Utopian Town Planning and Political Theory in Eighteenth-Century France," *French Studies* vol. 33, no. 1 (Jan. 1979): 13-26.

the *embellissement* of the city and, in fact, he appears to have relished the spearheading of projects of urban renewal. This can be seen in a brief exchange at the session of 16 December. Boucherat brought up the issue of a few houses that needed to be "retranchées" in order to enlarge the street leading to the Place Royale, next to the Hôtel Carnavalet. The buildings' owners had already agreed to the initiative, and the Prévôt des Marchands already had the money for compensating them. They were waiting for the go ahead, and Colbert gave it at once: "il ne restoit plus que d'executer promptement."[113] In the majority of cases, however, the affairs of *voirie* could not be dealt with that quickly, for they usually presented all sorts of complications, typically a combination of issues jurisdictional and financial.

Colbert pronounced often on matters of jurisdiction, but overall he appears to have been somewhat impatient with those kinds of hurdles, as if they were annoying impediments or, perhaps, distractions from the true goals of the reform. On 6 January 1667, for instance, the question came up of who should pay for and who should have jurisdiction over the construction of some "batardeaux," masonry structures that were to be built under an arch of one of the city's bridges. Colbert dealt quickly with the matter and summed up nicely his basic approach to jurisdictional complications: "il ne falloit point que les jurisdictions entreprissent les unes sur les autres."[114]

Another example may be useful to understand Colbert's position. On 10 February, Boucherat reported that the residents of the Ile Notre-Dame had requested

[113] BnF ms. fr. 8118, fol. 58.

[114] BnF n.a.f. 2017, fol. 84. The minutes are unclear as to where such "batardeaux" were to be built. I have been unable to find any other useful information.

that they be assigned the "peage" that was charged on the Pont de Bois, the bridge connecting the Ile Notre-Dame to the Ile de la Cité. Colbert made it clear that he did not want to lose much time on the matter: the residents could sort things out with Boucherat; above all, "il falloit faire en sorte d'oster les maisons qui restent sur le pont"; this, he said, would be "un embellissement pour la ville."[115] This exchange captures well the key dynamic in the Conseil's discussions over the *voirie*: annoyed by the petty disputes over money and jurisdictions, Colbert frequently cut short those discussions and, most important, shifted the debate by advancing ambitious urban ideas. As with his proposal to build public granaries, Colbert's project to demolish the houses built over the bridges did not go very far (most Parisian bridges would be cleared of houses only much later, in the 1780s). Nonetheless, his proposal is a revealing sign of his vision: he saw the reform of the police as one, critical element of a far-reaching project of urban renewal.

Colbert had grand designs for the *embellissement* of Paris, many of which would eventually be realized over the following decade. Beyond the small, local problems of *voirie*, Colbert insisted that the Conseil tackle larger, city-wide issues. Fountains and the city's provision of water, for example, appear to have been a subject very dear to him. "La reformation des fontaines et la distribution des eaux," he said on 2 December, "devoit faire une grande partie de la police."[116] Colbert had apparently very detailed information on the subject, and very specific proposals. Instead of the existing twenty-two fountains, many of which, he said, were "à secq," fifty or sixty would be needed, and each should have greater capacity and be able to

[115] Ibid., fol. 119v.

[116] BnF ms. fr. 8118, fol. 36.

receive "huit ou dix muids d'eaux." The additional water could be used for street cleaning; in order to do so, it was necessary to install the new fountains at the highest points in each quartier and "reformer les pentes du pavé" so that water would flow easily downward. On 10 December, Colbert was even more specific—he had a plan worked out. The spring at Rungis, he said, brought twenty-one inches of water; those of Saint-Gervais and Belleville brought only fourteen, combined; "il n'y a rien de si mal distribué."[117] It was necessary to put order into that and build new fountains and new plumbing throughout the city; the project, he said, would not be too costly.[118]

The sessions of 27 January and 3 February were particularly interesting. Colbert was missing, no doubt because engaged in preparations for the Conseil de Justice, which had just resumed a second round of meetings. The Conseil examined various questions of *voirie*, all related to the streets and quais near the western end of the Ile de la Cité. **[fig. 2.6-7]** Poncet brought up yet another dispute, this time between the Trésoriers and the Prévôt des Marchands. It concerned "la connaissance de certaines echoppes appelées cabannes," which were installed along the Quai des Gesvres and, apparently, caused congestion. The Prévôt argued that the place belonged to the City, which rented the *cabannes* to "de pauvre gens," at 100 *sols* per *toise*; if they disturbed the public in any way, they could always be removed, but it was important not to involve the Bureau des Finances; the ground there was the domain of the City, not of the Bureau, and, in any case, it would be to Parlement to

[117] Ibid., fols. 51-52.

[118] In many of these discussions, Colbert appears to have been driven by a fundamental, irrepressible optimism. One of the arguments he made on 6 January *à propos* the provisioning of Paris may be worth recalling: "les choses mauvaises ont leur difficulté par elles mesmes," he said, "elles deviennent impossibles à succession de temps"; but "lors qu'il s'agit de propositions justes et utiles pour le public," "si elles paroissent difficiles d'abord, les bonnes intentions estant une fois <connues>, elles ne manqueroient jamais d'avoir leur effet." BnF n.a.f. 2017, fols. 92-92v.

judge the matter. Pussort noted that the Trésoriers had offered to produce their titles; if the Prévôt would do the same, the disagreement would be settled soon. Pussort, then, brought up another matter of *voirie*, one that had been first raised the week before. On 20 January, the session had ended with a decision concerning the Trésoriers: "les Trésoriers de France seroient avertis de visiter la place de Vallée de Misère à l'enceinte du Chastelet qui est en ruisne pour donner leur avis de ce qu'il peut y avoir à faire." (Vallée de Misère was the area of today's Quai de la Mégisserie.) Some "vendeurs de volailles" had set up shop there, and their business disturbed the public. Pussort wanted them moved to the Place Dauphine, a location that, he thought, would be "bien commode." Florists and sellers of plants could also be moved next the so-called *cheval de bronze*, at the western tip of the island; they would keep the place clean, and would not inconvenience the public as they did in their present location. There was a difficulty, though: the Place Dauphine was in the jurisdiction of the Baillage du Palais, and the Lieutenant Civil would suffer from the "retranchement de judication."[119]

On 3 February, the Conseil continued to discuss the *voirie*. Pussort reported on a *procès verbal* issued by the Trésoriers about the Pont Saint-Michel. The problem concerned a bread market that was installed on "estaux volans" in the small square at the end of the bridge. The market was held twice a week, and it caused all kinds of troubles. Adducing "la grande incommodité qu'en souffrent les passans" and "la decoration qu'en recevra la ville par le nettoyement de la dite place," the Trésoriers had proposed to move the market to the Quai des Augustins. Initially, the

[119] Ibid., fols. 104v-106. "Cheval de bronze" was the popular name for the statue of Henry IV installed in the 1610s at the western end of the Ile de la Cité. It was called thus even in city maps, including those of Jacques Gomboust (1652), Albert Jouvin de Rochefort (1672), and Pierre Bullet and François Blondel (1676).

community of the Augustins had been opposed to the location, arguing that carriages would no longer be able to "aborder leur eglise avec la mesme facilité" and that the market might inconvenience the clergymen when they held their general assembly. Eventually, however, it had agreed to the proposal, probably because of revenue gained (the "boullangers" would pay them "un sols pour place pour chacun jour de marché"). The community even offered to pay for the paving of some portions of the quai that were still unfinished. Pussort liked the proposal, which he judged "fort commode au public." The place had already been measured, it was larger than that on the bridge, the "chemins" would be "bien plus libres," and "tous les bourgeois d'un costé et l'autre y consentent." The Chancellor also approved of the proposal, but at the Conseil, without Colbert, nothing really got decided: the matter would be settled "au premier jour d'assemblée ou Mons Colbert se trouveroit."[120]

On 10 February, Colbert was back. After discussing items of public safety (and hearing some grim news from the Lieutenant Criminel de Robe Courte: "il s'estoit trouvé dans la riviere un enfant dans un sacq avec des pierres"), Pussort brought up the issue of the bread market and made the case for its transfer, again justifying the proposal with arguments on *commodité*. "Autre fois," he said, there were less people and less carriages, but "à present, les choses ont bien augmentés en toute maniere"; in its present location, the market inconvenienced both the residents and the passers-by; it should be moved to the Quai des Augustins. The one possible "inconvenient" were the "ordures" that the market would create; they could "gaster" the quai, but this was not, in Pussort's opinion, "de grande consequence."

[120] Ibid., fols. 108v-110.

Then Colbert spoke. The quais, he said, were "le grand embellissement des villes." If they were to install a market on the Quai des Augustins, "l'on gasteroit une des plus belles places de Paris, qui estoit la dessente d'un grand pont." The project that the others had carefully worked out over the previous weeks was scrapped, unceremoniously. "L'on n'a pas besoin des offres des Augustins," said Colbert, "pour un petit coin de pavé qu'il faut faire." Rather, "il faut penser qu'il faut jetter par terre toutes ces petittes maisons qui sont construites le long du quay de l'orloge du Palais," on the north side of the Ile. It would be much better to move the market to the Place Dauphine, "ou il n'incommodera personne," and the *marché au vollailes* should also be established there. Finally, "il n'estoit question que de conserver la jurisdiction aux officiers du Chastelet aux quels elle appartenoit."[121]

At the Conseil, Colbert's word was the king's word, and it was final. After his speech, no one discussed the case for moving the market to the Quai des Augustins: the Place Dauphine it was. As usual, once Colbert ruled on something, the yes-men would inevitably offer some kind of advice: Voisin spoke of an existing proposal to install a fountain in the Place Dauphine; it should be built, he said, but so that the new market "n'en seroit point incommodé." Unsurprisingly, everyone was agreed: "Tous Messieurs du mesme advis."[122]

[121] Ibid., fols. 118-118v.

[122] Ibid., fol. 118v. Voisin, who spoke rarely at the Conseil, had probably to make up for a *faux pas* he had made a month earlier. On 6 January 1667, when the committee discussed the old ordinances concerning provisions, Voisin had said that "les ordonnances estoient bonnes lorsque Paris n'estoit qu'un bicoque," but, "les choses ayant changé, ces reglemens dependoient de la prudence du magistrat qui se conformoit aux saisons." Apparently, Colbert had not been pleased with Voisin's remark, and replied brusquely: Paris, he said, had always been "une des plus grandes villes du monde"; "il falloit considerer le changement des ordonnancesces par d'autres considerations." BnF ms. fr. 8118, fol. 85.

What is most interesting in these discussions is not so much what they reveal of the power dynamic within the Conseil (it comes as no surprise that Colbert dominated the proceedings); I linger on these debates rather to point out how all members of the committee, Colbert included, buttressed their proposals with the same essential criterion: *commodité*. Arguably, *commodité* was a loose measure, yet practically every proposal was judged by that criterion, that is, by a proposal's alleged usefulness—the actual good that a certain initiative would bring to a neighborhood, for example the concrete advantages that a paved street would yield—and by the degree to which any one proposal reduced inconveniences to certain neighborhoods or communities. *Commodité*, in a word, was a negative principle: the best proposal was not the one that improved the most, but the one that inconvenienced the least. If we were to translate *commodité*, the most fitting word would probably not be usefulness, but expediency. More often than not, police and *voirie* measures were approved not because they were thought to yield actual convenience—or, for that matter, aesthetic improvement—but because they were seen as the most expedient.

Take, for example, Colbert's intervention in the affair of the bread market. Colbert appears to have been the Conseil's sole champion of *embellissement*, that is, the only member of the committee to see beyond the local, narrow scope of most problems of police and *voirie*, with a larger view toward the urban renewal of the city as a whole. At one moment, Colbert expounded upon *embellissement* ("we would ruin one of the most beautiful places of Paris—the approach of a great bridge"): the expediency of moving the market to the Quai des Augustins did not justify the possible damage to one of the city's best vistas. And yet, minutes later, the same Colbert approved his uncle's proposal to move the flower market to the *cheval de bronze*. Never mind that the place was by far the most visible and iconic spot of the

bridge—and, by all accounts, one of the most admired places of the entire city. Colbert went along with Pussort, who argued, rather feebly, that the florists would actually help keep the area clean and that "personne n'en seroit incommodé."[123]

I insist on the Conseil's repeated reliance on the criterion of *commodité* not to belittle Colbert and his men, but rather to emphasize the pragmatic, practical, 'political' nature of the business of police. Surely, one could point out a certain short-sightedness of those men and note, for example, how the Conseil hardly ever looked outside Paris for ideas about policing the city. In a few instances, comparisons were made with other nations, for example in a series of discussions concerning the control of the book trade.[124] In a few sessions, Venice and Rome were mentioned as well-policed cities. But, overall, comparisons with other cities were rare and somewhat perfunctory. London, the city that more than any other competed with Paris for prestige as the greatest European capital, was never mentioned. One would suspect that in discussing the *voirie* (a domain that traditionally encompassed issues of fire prevention) the members of the Conseil would have brought up the fire that

[123] BnF n.a.f. 2017, fol. 118v.

[124] As part of the reform of the police, the Conseil began an inquiry into the Parisian book trade. The Conseil's main preoccupation was how to better control and prohibit the printing of dangerous books. There were also, however, concerns about how to improve the quality of book printing and re-establish the pre-eminence of French printers vis à vis the Dutch. On 10 February, for example, Colbert said that "à present la Hollande a pris le dessus, les caracters y sont plus beaux, le papier meilleur et l'impression plus nette." BnF n.a.f. 2017, fol. 119v. On the Conseil's initiatives concerning the Parisian press, see MARTIN, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVIIe siècle*, 2:678-98. (Martin's analysis is magisterial, but I should correct one mistake, namely his claim that in 1666-67 Delamare had been one of the Commissaires appointed by the Conseil to see to the police of the book trade. At the time, Delamare was still a legal clerk: he purchased an office of Procureur at the Châtelet in 1668 and became Commissaire only in 1673. Martin was probably led astray by a mistake in a copy of the minutes of the Conseil de Police, where a list of the commissioners concerned with street cleaning included Delamare's name at the quartier of the Cité. The mistake had already been corrected by one of Delamare's clerks, who, in a marginal note, wrote of an "erreur d'anacronisme." BnF ms. fr. 8118, fol. 12. The anachronism is repeated in SOLL, *The Information Master*, 131.)

had ravaged London in early September, which eventually spurred a major project of urban renewal there; but this was not the case.[125]

The point to be made is not that the members of the Conseil de Police were unimaginative or short-sighted. (All in all, the committee members appear to have been an intelligent, dedicated, and well-informed lot.) The very object of the reform demanded that the Conseil focus carefully, narrowly perhaps, on the many small, concrete problems of police. And that 'narrow' focus is arguably the true import of the police as a governmental practice. The Conseil was not charged with defining any sort of comprehensive urban policy; its mission was to devise expedient solutions to mundane and absolutely critical problems of urban life. The Conseil was not concerned with what today we would call urban planning or urban design, but operated at a different scale and with a different set of goals. Understood through the lens of the police, urbanism was not a question of design (say, the design of a royal square or a monumental complex, the opening of a new thoroughfare, or any other grand architectural and urbanistic gesture). In the work of the Conseil, urbanism was construed as a question of management, that is, of rationalization of the administrative practices necessary for maintaining the *bien public*. In its effort to master the chronic, quasi-anarchic heterogeneity of the city, the Conseil worked at the seams, as it were, at fixing the prosaic things of sanitation and infrastructure on which urban life depended. *Commodité* was the controlling idea behind that work: the 'Lesbian rule' of the police measured degrees of expediency.

[125] News of the London fire had almost certainly reached the members of the Conseil de Police. Interestingly, for example, Olivier Lefèvre d'Ormesson wrote of that news in the same journal entry in which he noted that the meetings of the Conseil had begun. ORMESSON, *Journal*, 2:475 [24 Sept. 1666].

1667

The Conseil de Justice, after its first three meetings in 1665 presided by the king, continued working on the reform of the legal system and preparing a new ordinance on civil procedure. The work was done in relative secrecy by a small group of jurists close to Colbert. After more than a year of thrice-a-week meetings, when the work seemed complete, a problem emerged. In January 1667, Guillaume de Lamoignon, Premier Président of the Parlement, informed the king that he too had been working on a similar project of legal codification.[126] The king decided to convene a second round of meetings of the Conseil de Justice; this time, members of the Parlement would be invited. The meetings began on 26 January 1667, *chez* Séguier.[127] In addition to a core group of officials who also sat on the Conseil de Police, Lamoignon and two dozen other members of the Parlement now had a place at the table.[128] In

[126] Barthélemy Auzanet (1591-1673), an Avocat at the Parlement who collaborated with Lamoignon on his project of legal codification, had also been associated to the first round of meetings of the Conseil de Justice. See "Lettre de Me Barthelemy Auzanet, écrite à un de ses amis, touchant les propositions arrêtées chez Monsieur le Premier Président" (dated 1 December 1669) in [Guillaume de LAMOIGNON, Barthélemy AUZANET and Bonaventure de FOURCROY], *Arrestez de Mr le P. P. de L.* (s.l.: s.n., 1702), unpaginated. In the proceedings of the Conseil de Justice, Auzanet was listed as one of five "Avocats qui doivent servir à ladite reformation." See "Procès-verbal des conférences tenues devant Louis XIV pour la réformation de la justice," in COLBERT, *Lettres*, 377.

[127] The second round of discussions unfolded over fifteen meetings: #1 (Wed. 26 Jan. 1667), #2 (Th. 3 Feb.), #3 (Sat. 5 Feb.), #4 (Wed. 9 Feb.), #5 (Sat. 12 Feb.), #6 (Wed. 16 Feb.), #7 (Sat. 19 Feb.), #8 (Th. 24 Feb.), #9 (Sat. 26 Feb.), #10 (Th. 3 Mar.), #11 (Sat. 15 Mar.), #12 (Th. 10 Mar.), #13 (Sat. 12 Mar.), #14 (Th. 17 Mar.), #15 (Th. 17 Mar.). Six members of the Conseil de Police attended the meetings: Boucherat, Hotman, Morangis, Poncet, Pussort, and Voisin. See Joseph FOUCAULT, *Procez verbal des conférences*, 4-516. Colbert did not attend the meetings, although he surely maneuvered the proceedings from behind the scenes, primarily through his uncle Pussort.

[128] From the get go, the tone of the meeting was confrontational, so much so that even the seating arrangements proved to be problematic. Curious details about who sat where are in ORMESSON, *Journal*, 2:497-98. "Il y avoit une table longue couverte d'un tapis violet, sans chaire du roy au bout, toutes les chaises à bras et esgales pour tous les députés, M. le chancelier à la bonne place, et Messieurs du conseil par dessous; MM. de Morangis, d'Estampes, Poncet, Boucherat, Pussort, Voisin, Hotman et La Houssaye; de l'autre costé, M. le premier président, vis-à-vis de M. le chancelier, et tous les députés ensuite. D'abord les gens du roy se placèrent à l'encoingure de la chaire de M. le premier président; mais les derniers du parlement se trouvant trop esloignés pour entendre, ils convinrent de se mettre

fifteen excruciating sessions, all articles of the Ordonnance Civile were read aloud and commented upon. The debate was especially intense, for the ordinance was a direct attack on the magistrature. Beyond its stated intention to diminish the number of trials, shorten their length, and reduce their costs, it severely restricted the Parlement's rights in the registration of royal acts and proposed to reduce the function of the judges to the mechanical application of the law. Lamoignon tried to defend the prerogatives of the Parlement, but was powerless vis à vis Pussort, who argued the king's case.[129] At the end of the debates, the text of the ordinance was not much modified and, in April, the king presented his reform of civil procedure to the Parlement, which duly registered it.[130] "A l'égard du règlement général de la justice," wrote Louis in the *mémoires* for the Dauphin,

> voyant un bon nombre d'articles rédigés en la forme que j'avais désirée, je ne voulus pas plus longtemps priver le public du soulagement qu'il en attendait, mais je ne crus ni les devoir simplement envoyer au Parlement, de peur que l'on y fît quelque chicane qui me fâchât, ni les porter aussi d'abord moi-même, de crainte que l'on ne pût alléguer un jour qu'ils auraient été vérifiés sans aucune connaissance de cause. C'est pourquoi, prenant une voie de milieu qui remédiait à la fois à ces deux inconvénients, je fis lire tous les articles chez mon chancelier, où se trouvaient les députés de toutes les Chambres, avec des commissaires de mon Conseil; et quand, dans la conférence qu'ils y faisaient, il se formait quelque difficulté raisonnable, elle

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sur un second rang de chaires, derrière le premier président, et en mesme temps s'avancèrent. Les gens du roy, qui se trouvoient au dessus, furent surpris, et M. Talon se retira dans le cabinet en grondant, et MM. de Harlay et Bignon allèrent se mettre en bas, vers le bout de la table, avec chagrin. M. Talon revint ensuite, s'assit d'abord au dessus de M. de La Houssaye, et, en voyant qu'il n'estoit pas bien, se releva et s'alla mettre à la droite du procureur général, et ne dit mot durant toute la conférence."

[129] On the confrontation between Lamoignon and Pussort, see Jacques KRYNEN, *L'état de justice. France, XIIIe-XXe siècle*, vol. 1, *L'idéologie de la magistrature ancienne* (Paris: Gallimard, 2009), 156-57, 192-98. See also Jean-Louis THIREAU's entry on Lamoignon in the *Dictionnaire historique des juristes français, XIIe-XXe siècle*, ed. Patrick Arabeyre, Jean-Louis Halpérin and Jacques Krynen (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2007): 459-60.

[130] Ordonnance Civile, Apr. 1667, in ISAMBERT, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises*, 18:103-80.

> m'était incontinent apportée pour y pourvoir ainsi que j'avisais. Après laquelle discussion, j'allai enfin en personne en faire publier l'édit.[131]

The promulgation of the Ordonnance Civile was a significant victory for the new *dirigisme* of Louis XIV and Colbert. The political logic behind that reform—the will of the crown to assert and strengthen its prerogatives in judicial, legislative, and governmental affairs—was also at work in the reform of the police. The foremost result of that will—and the foremost accomplishment of the Conseil de Police—was the royal edict of March 1667, which created the post of Lieutenant de Police de la Ville, Prévôté, et Vicomté de Paris and entrusted the new office to La Reynie.[132]

In its opening sentence, the edict stressed the idea that justice and police were two facets of a single project of reform.

> Nôtre bonne ville de Paris étant la Capitale de nos Etats, & le lieu de nôtre séjour ordinaire, qui doit servir d'exemple à toutes les autres villes de nôtre Royaume, Nous avons estimé que rien n'étoit plus digne de nos soins, que d'y

[131] LOUIS XIV, *Mémoires pour l'instruction du Dauphin*, 211-12. Interestingly, Charles Perrault was to write something similar in his own *mémoires*, when he discussed his early training as a lawyer: "hors ce livre [Borkolten's edition of the Justinian *Institutes*], qui est très-bon pour fortifier le sens commun, les ordonnances et les coûtumes, qu'il seroit utile de réduire à une seule pour toute la France, si cela se pouvoit, de même que les poids et mesures, je crois qu'il seroit bon de brûler tous les autres livres de jurisprudence, digestes, codes, avec tous leurs commentaires, et particulièrement tous les livres d'arrêts, n'y ayant point de meilleur moyen au monde de diminuer le nombre des procès." Charles PERRAULT, *Mémoires de ma vie*, ed. Paul Bonnefon (Paris: Librairie Renouard, H. Laurens, 1909), reprinted, with an introduction by Antoine Picon (Paris: Macula, 1993), 121-22.

[132] Few records survive to document how the edict was actually produced. The members of the Conseil de Police dealt often with problems of organization and implementation, especially with regard to the role and functions of the commissioners. In the discussions that were transcribed in the minutes, however, they never bore on the organizational structure of the Châtelet or, for that matter, discuss the possibility of establishing a magistrate with sole authority over the police. The only thing we know for sure is that the key idea of the edict—to modify the office of Lieutenant Civil and establish at the Châtelet a new magistrate dealing with the police—was due to Séguier. In a letter dated 11 January 1667, Colbert wrote to him that Louis had approved Séguier's idea and had chosen La Reynie for the new office. See BOULET-SAUTEL, "Colbert et la législation," in *Un nouveau Colbert*, 129n35, and the remarks on p. 147 by Michel ANTOINE, who discovered Colbert's letter to Séguier, at BnF ms. fr. 17349, fols. 35-36.

> bien regler la Justice & la Police; & Nous avons donné nôtre application à ces deux choses.[133]

In a reference to the recent initiatives promoted by the Conseil de Police, the edict noted that "plusieurs defauts de la police" had already been corrected but, the text continued, "il est necessaire que la reformation que Nous y apportons soit soutenuë par des Magistrats."

> Et comme les fonctions de la Justice & de la Police sont souvent incompatibles, & d'une trop grande étenduë, pour être bien exercées par un seul officier dans Paris, Nous aurions resolu de les partager, estimans que l'administration de la Justice contentieuse & distributive, qui requiert une presence actuelle en beaucoup de lieux, & une assiduité continuelle, soit pour regler les affaires des particuliers, soit pour l'inspection qu'il faut avoir sur les personnes à qui elles sont commises, demandoit un Magistrat tout entier. Et que d'ailleurs la Police qui consiste à assurer le repos du public & des particuliers, à purger la Ville de ce qui peut causer les desordres, à procurer l'abondance, & à faire vivre chacun selon sa condition & son devoir, demandoit aussi un Magistrat particulier qui pût être present à tout.

After a century of speculation on the theoretical and juridical difference between justice and police, the edict recognized that, in practice, the two functions were often incompatible and could not be performed adequately by one officer: judicial and police functions had to be separated and entrusted to two different magistrates. The edict 'abolished' the office of Lieutenant Civil and created two new ones, both lieutenants of the Prévôt de Paris: one, to be named, again, Lieutenant Civil, would oversee the "justice contentieuse & distributive"; the other, to be named Lieutenant de Police, would have authority for all matters of police.

The edict listed the functions that would henceforth be exercised by the police magistrate:

> Et quant au Lieutenant de Police, il connoîtra de la sûreté de la Ville, Prevôté & Vicomté de Paris; du port d'armes prohibées par les ordonnances; du

[133] Royal edict, Mar. 1667, AN AD/✠/390. **{Appendix 1}** A compelling analysis of the edict is in MILLIOT, *Un policier des Lumières*, 144-50, 156-68.

> nettoyement des ruës & places publiques, circonstances & dépendances; donnera les ordres necessaires en cas d'incendie, ou d'inondation; connoîtra pareillement de toues les provisions necessaires pour la subsistance de la Ville, amas, magasins qui en pourront estre faits, du taux & prix d'icelles; [...]

The new Lieutenant would also be responsible for the control of markets and fairs, hostels and lodging-houses, "brelands, tabacs, & lieux mal-famez," and for all the other traditional functions of police, from the oversight of the *corps marchands* to the surveillance of the press and the censorship of "livres & libelles deffendus." "Le tout," the edict cautioned,

> sans innover ny préjudicier aux droits & jurisdictions que pourroient avoir, ou possession en laquelle pourroient estre les Lieutenans Criminel, Particulier, & nostre Procureur audit Chastelet, mêmes les Prevosts des Marchands & Echevins de ladite Ville, de connoistre les matieres cy-dessus mentionnées. Ce qu'ils continuëront de faire bien et dûëment, comme ils auroient pû faire auparavant.

Note the phrase, "sans innover ny préjudicier." The edict was not an innovation, in the sense that it called neither for a major reorganization of the Châtelet nor for an expansion of the scope of police functions. In many ways, the edict altered minimally the jurisdictional environment of the city. The only officer that was directly affected by the reform was the Lieutenant Civil, Antoine d'Aubray, who relinquished part of his remit to La Reynie and was compensated in the amount of 250,000 livres.[134] The functions and prerogatives of all other officers with police competences remained intact. Significantly, the Parlement was not even mentioned: none of its regulatory powers were curtailed.

[134] The Lieutenant Civil d'Aubray essentially maintained his title and position but would henceforth be responsible for civil matters only (contracts, wills, *tutelles*, *curatelles*, etc.). The functions of police were detached from his remit and entrusted to La Reynie, who assumed his office by reimbursing d'Aubray 250,000 livres.

It was a deft, almost stealthy political maneuver. All that had taken place was the transfer of some functions from one officer to another—a seemingly unremarkable shuffling that was to have important and long-lasting consequences.

However careful the wording of the edict, the creation of the Lieutenance de Police reconfigured the political dynamic of city government. The new Lieutenant did not necessarily subvert the institutional arrangement that had existed since 1630: the work of policing Paris continued to be done in a collaborative way, through the concerted action of the Châtelet, the Parlement, and the municipality.[135] As a magistrate at the Châtelet, the new Lieutenant was subject to the authority of the Parlement. For all practical puposes, however, he would act as an agent of the crown, answerable to the king and the ministers of state. This was a radical change in the balance of power. It would be an exaggeration to speak of a take-over of Paris on the part of the monarchy, but the fact is, through his new 'minister' the king reclaimed and asserted control over the city. The *frondeuse* Paris that had so terrified the young Louis XIV would henceforth be placed under royal tutelage.

Through the autumn and winter of 1666-67, the Conseil de Police had identified several obstacles to the re-establishment of order in the city, including the jurisdictional fragmentation of the territory, the overlapping of jurisdictions, and the lack of co-ordination between the various institutional actors. With the edict of 1667, the crown empowered the new Lieutenant to continue the reform spearheaded by the Conseil. Strictly speaking, La Reynie was not given any new power: he had merely

[135] This continued to be the case even in the eighteenth century. Notwithstanding the power that the Lieutenance de Police would accrue, collaboration remained the rule. All through the eighteenth century, the affairs of police would be decided by the so-called Assemblée de Police, a semi-regular bi-weekly meeting *chez* the Premier Président, who convened the Procureur Général, the Lieutenant Général de Police, and the Prévôt des Marchands. Unfortunately, most of the minutes have been lost. Records survive only for the years 1728 to 1740, at BnF ms. fr. 11356, fols. 62-428.

taken over some of d'Aubray's functions. The edict did not create a new administrative agency within the Châtelet, something we could call *the* police: *police* continued to be conceived as a set of functions rather than as an actual institution. La Reynie had no personnel of his own; he relied on the officers who already worked at the Châtelet (the Commissaires, the bailiffs, the clerks, the sergeants of the Guet, etc.) and 'shared' them with the other two Lieutenants. Yet, the creation of the Lieutenance marks an important moment for the professionalization of the police and for the emergence of a new form of governance.[136]

Two initiatives carried out by the Lieutenant in the summer of 1667 illustrate the new approach to city management: the clearing of the largest of the so-called Cours des Miracles and the creation of a service of street lighting.

Located near the Porte Saint-Denis, the Cour des Miracles was a space outside the law, an urban complex inhabited and ruled by thieves, petty criminals, and beggars of all sorts.[137] (It was named thus because the disabilities of the blind and crippled who lived there disappeared each night, as if by miracle.) The story goes that, shortly after his appointment, the Lieutenant de Police sent commissioners to the Cour on three occasions, but each time the men were dispatched by the residents, who threw rocks at them. The police magistrate then resolved to go there in person and, with the backing of a sizable number of armed officers, was finally able to "rase"

[136] La Reynie continued to operate through his thirty-year tenure without an administration of his own. The actual professionalization of the police—the development of the police as a bureaucratic 'machine'—began later, probably not earlier than 1708, when the Marquis d'Argenson (Lieutenant from 1697 to 1718) created forty posts of Inspecteur de Police. The professionalization was further developed in the second half of the eighteenth century, under the tenures of Antoine de Sartine (1759-74) and Jean-Charles-Pierre Lenoir (1774-75, 1776-85).

[137] The best description of the Cour des Miracles, as it existed in the 1660s, is in SAUVAL, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, 1:510-16.

the police-less space. The story is probably apocryphal. It is unlikely that any actual rasing ever took place; the Lieutenant was probably able to disperse the underworld that lived there, at least for a time; but the Cour des Miracles and its unruly citizens did not really disappear.[138] Whatever the truth of the story, it is significant that the police magistrate decided to mark his entrance into the city with so highly symbolic an initiative. By reclaiming an anarchic space for the city and for the law, La Reynie signaled to Parisians that he would no longer tolerate urban chaos and vice: the new Lieutenant would finally 'cleanse' the city, materially and morally.

The second initiative—the creation of a city-wide system of street lighting—was a far more complex operation, the result of months of preparatory work by the Conseil de Police.

Regulations concerning the duty of property owners to light a candle at night had existed since the sixteenth century. Public lanterns were eventually installed at street intersections, a service administered conjointly by the commissioners at the Châtelet and the bourgeois notables of each quartier. The results, however, were less

[138] Most nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians of the police have accepted at face value the story of La Reynie's clearing of the Cour des Miracles, even after Jacques Saint-Germain convincingly debunked what he called a "légende tenace." See SAINT-GERMAIN, *La Reynie*, 86-94. Cf. CLÉMENT, *La police sous Louis XIV*, 133-34; DIAMENT, "Recherches sur la police parisienne," 64. (The simplest proof of the survival of the Cour des Miracles is that it continued to be represented in city maps. See, for example, Albert Jouvin de Rochefort's map, of 1672, and Pierre Bullet and François Blondel's *plan-projet*, of 1676.) As a matter of fact, the legend continues to persist. As recently as 2005, Arlette Lebigre, while ackowledging that historical evidence may be murky, gave new purchase to the legend: "Si l'authenticité de tous les détails ne peut être garantie, reste que la cour des Miracles fut rasée, ses habitans dispersés (que devinrent-ils? Mystère) et que l'intervention se déroula sans qu'une seule goutte de sang ait été versée." Arlette LEBIGRE, "La genèse de la police moderne," in *Histoire et dictionnaire de la police du moyen âge à nos jours*, ed. Michel Auboin, Arnaud Teyssier and Jean Tulard (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2005): 147-217 at 171. I cannot resist pointing out that the episode of the Cour des Miracles was also featured in both prefaces in Auboin's *Histoire et dictionnaire de la police*, written by Dominique de Villepin and Nicolas Sarkozy, respectively former and then-current Secretary of the Interior—the institutional heirs of the seventeenth-century police magistrate. Dominique DE VILLEPIN, "Préface" and Nicolas SARKOZY, "Avant-propos," in Ibid., ii, x.

than satisfactory. By the 1660s, most of the quartiers were lit by only a few lanterns; at night, the city was dark and unsafe.[139]

From the very beginning, the Conseil de Police devoted significant time and resources to solving this basic problem of public safety. On 28 October 1666, the committee debated whether they should test "falots de graisse," and decided to install some at street intersections, "sur des pilliers," and to put in charge the Guet, the corps of soldiers responsible for public safety at night.[140] At first, the Conseil sought merely to ameliorate the existing system. Through November, they discussed problems such as the cost of candles and the frauds committed. Eventually, the Conseil decided to seek a more radical solution to the problem and to devise a new system that would allow for lighting the entire city. In order to do this, the Conseil had to confront two basic problems: first, how to produce a lantern with good illuminating power that would also be economical and easy to service; second, how to devise a financial arrangement that could pay for a city-wide service.

On 16 December, Pussort reported on a series of tests that he had ordered.

[139] On street lighting, see LISTER, *A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698*, 25; Pierre PATTE, *De la manière la plus avantageuse d'éclairer les rues d'une ville* (Amsterdam: s.n., 1766), 6-7; Adolphe TRÉBUCHET, "Recherches sur l'éclairage public," *Annales d'hygiène publique et de médecine légale* vol. 30 (1843): 5-27; FRANKLIN, *Etude sur la voirie et l'hygiène publique*, 55-63; HERLAUT, "L'éclairage des rues à Paris à la fin du XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles," 129-40; Louis HAUTECŒUR, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France*, 7 vols (Paris: Picard, 1943-57), 2:426-27; Daniel BONTEMPS, "Les lanternes d'éclairage public à Paris et dans les principales villes de province aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles," in Centre de recherches sur les monuments historiques, *Lanternes d'éclairage public, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles; Potences d'enseignes et de lanternes, du XVe au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Ministère de la culture et de la communication, Direction du patrimoine, 1986): i-xii; Wolfgang SCHIVELBUSCH, *Disenchanted Light: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Angela Davies (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 79-95; Craig KOSLOFSKY, *Evening's Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 128-40.

[140] BnF ms. fr. 8118, fol. 7.

He had tried two kinds of lanterns, one suggested by the Procureur du Roi at the Châtelet, the other by the commissioner Gallyot.[141] The first lantern was made of "quatre pilliers de bois de chesne et quatre carreaux de verre de chaque costé, croisée par un plomb fort delié, sans fond, et qui paroist fort transparent"; the other was made "toute de fer et d'une seule piece de verre à chaque costé." The price difference was considerable: the wooden lantern cost three to four livres; the iron one, nine to ten. Pussort had also had tests made on the candle that would be used. He had contacted a *chandelier*, who offered to provide, at the current market price, candles that would last eight hours. "Il faudroit essayer," Pussort continued, "de doubler les lanternes." This would certainly be costly, but funds could be found, he said, "dans le revenant bon des bouës."[142] The Chancellor was not convinced; he argued that there remained other extraordinary expenses for street cleaning and wondered "s'il estoit apropos de divestir le fond des bouës à un autre usage." Pussort insisted: "le nettoyement, les lanternes et la seureté avoient beaucoup de rapport."[143] For him, it made sense to combine the matters; he urged the Conseil to move on his proposal and draft an *arrêt* that would specify how to collect and handle the new tax.

The question of lantern design was settled, as usual, by Colbert: "des aujourd'hui," he said on 16 December, they should start building the iron lanterns and negotiate new contracts with the *chandeliers*. When it came to figuring out

[141] We know almost nothing about Etienne Gallyot. The fact that the Conseil de Police gave him a leading role in the two most important initiatives of the reform (i.e., street cleaning and street lighting) would warrant further study. Maybe he was just a good and very obedient Commissaire, but I wouldn't be surprised if Gallyot proved to be another *faiseur de projets*, an entreprising tinkerer in the mold of François-Jacques Guillotte. It would be worth digging into the boxes AN Y/14253 to 14369, which contain records of Gallyot's service at the Châtelet.

[142] BnF n.a.f. 2017, fols. 60-60v.

[143] BnF ms. fr. 8118, fols. 60-61.

where to find the money, however, Colbert had doubts. He was skeptical of his uncle's idea of paying for street lighting with the tax on the *boues*. Once more, Colbert opened one of his compilations of past ordinances and recalled a 1551 regulation "qui enjoignoit à chascun de mettre une chandelle à sa fenestre." (Boucherat confirmed and added that "c'estoit l'usage d'Angleterre.") Initially, Colbert wanted to explore an arrangement whereby individual households would be responsible for installing and operating their own lantern. This solution, however, proved to be unworkable, especially considering the scale of the proposed service: Pussort had argued that the city needed "plus de mil lanternes." By the end of December, everyone agreed that street lighting should be financed with a portion of the funds destined to *nettoiement*. Again, it was Colbert who gave the go ahead: they should immediately "faire marché avec quantité de ferruriers et vitriers" and issue an *arrêt* ordering the collectors of the street-cleaning tax to "remettre incessament entre le mains du Sieur Faure les deniers dont ils se trouveront reliquataires pour le fait de leur compte."[144]

The Conseil eventually abandoned the idea of installing the lanterns "sur des pilliers" and opted instead for suspending them over the middle of the streets. (They were to be raised and let down via ropes secured in iron boxes attached to the street walls.) The first new lanterns were installed in January 1667, and by the summer most of the work was complete: Paris was now lit by more than two thousand lanterns, a first for European cities.[145] The workings of the new service were detailed

[144] Ibid., fols. 69-70. Faure was one of the Receveurs Généraux de Paris, that is, one of the chief municipal tax collectors. See HERLAUT, "L'éclairage des rues à Paris à la fin du XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles," 138n1.
[145] I have had trouble finding period images of the lanterns. Many authors had admiring words for the service of street lighting, but apparently few artists drew it. The best image I could find is an engraving

in a police ordinance issued by La Reynie on 2 September 1667.[146] It specified who should pay for the service ("les proprietaires des maisons [seront] tenus chacun de contribuer à la dépense"), who should light and maintain the lanterns (the bourgeois residents of each street were to elect "des personnes capables de prendre le soin de mettre lesdites lanternes et chandelles"), and the operating hours of the service (the lanterns were to be lit from November through February, every night, even during "le clair de lune").

Although the lanterns were not spaced closely and probably had limited illuminating power, they changed radically the life of the city. Most important, street lighting made the city safer. As stated in the preamble of the September ordinance, the primary rationale of the initiative was "la seureté publique," namely the concern for "la quantité de vols et meurtres" which occurred during the long winter nights. The introduction of street lighting also dramatically affected the everyday life of Parisians. Overnight, the day got longer: it was now possible to alter and control the rhythms of urban life that for centuries had been unmercifully dictated by nature—

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by Antoine Humblot titled "Rue Quinquempoix en l'année 1720," which shows relatively clearly the basic workings of the system. **[fig. 2.8]** There exist many copies of this engraving, which circulated widely throughout Europe. A Dutch version, "De Regte Aſbeelding der Wind Negotie Gehouden in de Straat van Quinquempoix tot Parys," is in the Baker Library's "South Sea Bubble Collection," at http://www.library.hbs.edu/hc/ssb/collection.html. Cornell University Library has a German copy, "Abbildung des auf der Strasse Quincampoix in Paris entstandenen so berühmten Actien-Handels," at http://library24.library.cornell.edu:8280/luna/servlet/allCollections.

The popularity of this image had nothing to do with street lighting. The engraving became popular for it depicted the dramatic unfolding of a major international financial crisis: the collapse of the so-called *système de Law*. At the death of Louis XIV, the chronically moneyless crown granted the Scottish financier John Law the right to open a bank that would issue paper money against metal currency and then lend the metal to the state. Law's Banque Générale opened in 1716, with headquarters in the Rue Quincampoix. To keep the scheme going, in 1717 Law created the Compagnie d'Occident, which was granted a monopoly on all commerce with Louisiana, and whose stock certificates could be subscribed with *billets* issued by the Banque. It was the beginning of a speculative bubble: the stock of the Compagnie skyrocketed, and the Banque issued more and more *billets*. Law eventually merged the Banque and the Compagnie and, in early 1720, he was appointed Contrôleur Général des Finances. Soon afterwards, however, the bubble burst and Law's system went bankrupt. The image depicted the run on the bank.

[146] Police ordinance, 2 Sept. 1667, in TRÉBUCHET, "Recherches sur l'éclairage public," 13-15.

work hours could be extended and new forms of leisure could be imagined. Street lighting was a revolutionary innovation, and was soon copied by cities throughout Europe—first Lille (1667) and Amsterdam (1669), and then, over the next two decades, a series of cities including Hamburg, Turin, Berlin, Copenhagen, London, and Vienna.[147]

Both practically and symbolically, the introduction of street lighting was the most visible accomplishment of the reform of 1667. Up until the Revolution, street lighting remained one of the key public services managed by the Lieutenance. Year after year, the Paris police kept adjusting the workings of the service and improving the system's performance. The total number of lanterns went from two thousand in 1667 to four thousand in the early 1740s to almost seven thousand in the 1760s.[148] The days of operation were steadily extended: in 1671, the Lieutenant extended the service from October to March; at the end of the century, the lanterns were lit year-round. The police developed ever more efficient strategies for managing the service, for example by perfecting an auction system to award the contracts for the provision of candles and the maintenance of the lanterns.[149] **[fig. 2.9]** In 1763, in collaboration with the Académie des Sciences, the Lieutenant Antoine de Sartine sponsored a competition for the design of a brighter, easier-to-service, and cheaper-to-maintain lantern. The result were the so-called *réverbères*, which used oil instead of candles

[147] See KOSLOFSKY, *Evening's Empire*, 131-32.

[148] In the early 1740s, Lecler du Brillet counted 3,984 lanterns. In 1766, according to Pierre Patte, there were 6,777. At the end of the century, Mercier wrote that "douze cents réverbères" had replaced eight thousand lanterns. See BnF ms. fr. 21684, fol. 125; PATTE, *De la manière la plus avantageuse d'éclairer les rues d'une ville*, 6; MERCIER, *Tableau de Paris*, 1:175 [ch., "Réverbères"].

[149] Tender procedures for the award of street-cleaning and street-lighting contracts were announced by way of *affiches*. See, for example, a 1721 poster calling for bids for the service in the quartier of Saint-Benoît, BnF ms. fr. 21686, fol. 55.

and diffused light via a system of reflectors.[150] The best tribute to the illuminating/policing power of the new lanterns was the *Plainte des filoux et écumeurs de bourses, à nosseigneurs les réverberes*, a pamphlet published anonymously in 1769; the author had the crooks and purse-snatchers of Paris write a poem to Mercury, god of commerce and of thieves, to complain that the *réverbères* put them out of work.[151] **[fig. 2.10]**

This brief history of street lighting in the eighteenth century illustrates the way in which the Lieutenance de Police grew into a sophisticated administrative machine. The reform of 1667 created the conditions for the development of the police as a bureaucratic apparatus. The kernel of that development was rooted in the edict's separation of judicial and administrative functions. A comment in Delamare's *Traité de la police* may be useful:

> En effet, ce qu'on appelle Police n'ayant pour objet que le service du Prince & l'ordre public, elle est incompatible avec les embarras & les subtilitez des matieres litigieuses, & tient beaucoup plus des fonctions du Gouvernement, que de celles du Barreau.[152]

The police "partook of the functions of the government more than of those of the bar." The sentence is awkward but precise. Like his counterparts the Lieutenant Civil

[150] Three years after the competition, Pierre Patte published a proposal for the redesign of the street lighting of Paris. After examining the street-lighting systems in several European capitals, Patte criticized the placement of lanterns over the middle of the streets and proposed that they be attached to the street walls, at ten or eleven feet from the ground, placed "en échiquier," and spaced twelve *toises* if using regular lanterns, eighteen with the *réverbères*. PATTE, *De la manière la plus avantageuse d'éclairer les rues d'une ville*, 43. **[fig. 2.11]**

[151] Sample of the poem's rhyming couplets: "A vos genoux, puissant Mercure,/ Tombent vos Clients les Filoux:/ Vous le Patron, souffrirez-vous/ Qu'à leur trafic on fasse injure;/ Qu'on éclaire leur moindre allure;/ Enfin qu'un Méchanicien,/ Au détriment de notre bien,/ Ait fait hisser ses Réverberes,/ Qui n'illuminent que trop bien/ L'Etranger & le Citoyen;/ De la Police les Cerberes,/ Qui ne nous permettent plus rien,/ Grace à ces limpides lumieres,/ Qui rendent les ames si fieres?." *Plainte des filoux et écumeurs de bourses, à nosseigneurs les réverberes* (Londres: s.n., 1769), 1-2. I owe this reference to FRANKLIN, *Etude sur la voirie et l'hygiène publique*, 62.

[152] *Traité*, 1:127 [I.8.4].

and the Lieutenant Criminel, the Lieutenant de Police was a "Magistrat," a judge: he would hold court once a week at the Châtelet, to judge infractions to police regulations. However, the new Lieutenant's primary role would be as an administrator, an executive officer, a manager. Moreover, by using and perfecting the traditional instrument of the police ordinance, the new Lieutenant would increasingly act as a de facto policy maker.

To understand the strategies that La Reynie deployed to turn Paris into a *ville policée*, we may look at some examples of police ordinances: one concerning public health, of 1667, and one on public order, of 1670.

The 1667 ordinance forbade water-carriers and laundresses to draw or use water near the *égout* of the Hôtel-Dieu, from the Place Maubert to the Pont Neuf, during several months ("depuis Pasques jusques à la S. Martin"), "à cause de l'infection & de l'impurité des eaux qui y croupissent capables de causer de grandes maladies."[153] The logic of the ordinance—security, risk management—was not new: for centuries the concern for preventing hazards had been at the root of all police measures. What was notable was the level of detail and precision with which the new Lieutenant identified a specific risk.

The 1670 ordinance addressed the disturbance of public order caused by bands of "artisans faineans, vagabons & gens sans condition" who had taken to loitering near certain city gates and to throwing stones with slingshots.[154] **[fig. A.2]** It announced the prohibition of such activities and the punishment for infractions, namely a penalty of imprisonment for whomever would be found with a slingshot.

[153] Police ordinance, 8 June 1667, BnF ms. fr. 21631, fol. 242.

[154] Police ordinance, 13 Sept. 1670, BnF ms. fr. 21693, fol. 294. **{Appendix 2}**

The logic of this ordinance was the preemption of a hazard—the accidents potentially caused by disorderly behavior. Compared to the previous ordinance, this measure emphasized the element of punishment and repression. Here too, however, we may discern what was ultimately the chief aim of all police measures: instigation rather than repression. The goal of the police was not to punish citizens but to enjoin them toward a policed conduct. In this case, in addition to the direct punishment of the "ne'er-do-wells," the ordinance employed a principle of co-option: parents, guardians, and masters were made responsible "en leurs propres & privez noms" for "tous les delits & accidens" that may be caused by their young.

La Reynie did not reinvent the police ordinance but, as these two examples illustrate, turned it into a sharper instrument. The most significant improvements he introduced were operational. A comparison with the work of another institution with police authority is informative. In August 1667, the Bureau des Finances issued an ordinance on a matter of *voirie*, which prohibited the construction of buildings taller than eight *toises* (about 15,60 meters) at the entablature.[155] **[fig. A.4]** This was the first attempt by a Parisian institution to set limits to the height of buildings. As with La Reynie's measures, the main rationale of this ordinance was security. The ordinance listed as one of the concerns that streets were being "obscurcies" and that too tall buildings could cause "des inconveniens facheux," the "murs & pans de bois pouvant plus facilement tomber par leur propre poids." A second concern was the risk of fire: the ordinance enjoined building owners to "faire couvrir à l'advenir les pans de bois de lattes, clouds & plastre tant dedans que dehors, en telle maniere

[155] Ordinance, Bureau des Finances de la Généralité de Paris, 18 Aug. 1667, BnF ms. fr. 21696, fol. 24. **{Appendix 4}**

qu'ils soient en estat de pouvoir resister au feu." The Bureau's ordinance is remarkable for its lack of clarity. The prohibition to build over a certain height was put together with a series of other injunctions, for example the prohibition to "faire aucunes pointes de Pignon formes rondes ny quarrées." The injunctions were compiled together, pell-mell, in a rambling text that ran to over seven hundred words. Compare this to the Lieutenant's 1670 ordinance concerning ne'er-do-wells, which, in less than half the word count, stated clearly the problem at stake, the risks for public safety, and the consequences of non-respect. The most important difference, however, was one of enforcement and implementation. The Lieutenant's ordinances were reiterated with incessant regularity, often every year, for decades.[156] The ordinance of the Bureau des Finances was never reissued and, in fact, was never properly enforced. However innovative it may have been, the ordinance was virtually ignored by architects and builders. (No wonder that, unlike the Lieutenance, the Bureau des Finances steadily declined in importance in the eighteenth century and eventually became almost dysfunctional.)

The strategy of repetition is the key to understanding the mode of operation of the post-1667 police. Once more, the practice of re-issuing police ordinances was not new, but the new Lieutenant systematized it and brought it to unprecedented limits. That repetitiveness, the relentless hammering of the same police regulations for years, has often been explained as proof that the police did not succeed in imposing its own order—a proof of an alleged chronic ineffectiveness of police measures. Although there is some truth in this argument, there was another

[156] Entire runs of the Lieutenant's ordinances can be found in the Delamare collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Copies of the measure concerning ne'er-do-wells (1670 to 1702) are at BnF ms. fr. 21693, fols. 294-322. Copies of the ordinance prohibiting bathing near the Hôtel-Dieu (1667 to 1735) are at BnF ms. fr. 21631, fols. 242-98.

rationale for the repetition. At the most basic level, if a regulation was not repeated, it could be deemed to have lapsed. Secondly, the contingent nature of the matters of police demanded constant monitoring and repeated intervention. Third, the repetition of ordinances we may read the will of the state to accustom its subjects to police control. In this sense, the strategy of repetition was essentially strategy of education, a kind of unrelenting pedagogical action. The Lieutenance de Police was not chronically incapable of imposing order; repetition was the means to educate the people in that very order.[157]

The reform of 1667 created the conditions for the emergence of a new form of governance. Managing the city *through the police* meant intervening in a direct way in all the spaces of the urban reality by instituting an ever-more comprehensive regulatory regime. Through the instrument of the ordinance, the police would regulate the entire spectrum of the life of Parisians—how they worked, what they ate, where they lived, etc. The logic of the reform—and the idea of the *ville policée*—becomes legible in the totality of these ordinances, the hundreds of regulations meant to ward off the multitude of urban hazards. Ultimately, the reform of 1667 led not only to a new form of governance, but also inaugurated a new way of understanding the urban condition—a new rationality of the city.

[157] On the repetitiveness of police ordinances, see Arlette FARGE, "L'espace parisien au XVIIIe siècle d'après les ordonnances de police," *Ethnologie française* vol. 12, no. 2 (Apr.-June 1982): 119-26, esp. 125; Marc RAEFF, *The Well-Ordered Police State*, 51-54; Michèle FOGEL, *Les cérémonies de l'information dans la France du XVIe au milieu du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), 64-65; Paolo NAPOLI, "Conclusion," in *Le pouvoir réglementaire,* 257-67, esp. 262.

Mythologies of an institution

In 1677, when the poet and publicist François Colletet issued a new edition of his guidebook *La ville de Paris*, he dedicated it to La Reynie.[158] In the early 1680s, when the engraver François Jollain produced a new map of Paris, he too dedicated it to the police magistrate.[159] **[fig. 2.12-13]** The two works may be easily passed over: Colletet and Jollain were minor figures in the cultural landscape of late seventeenth-century Paris; neither the guidebook nor the map were in any way remarkable. A hack writer scorned by Nicolas Boileau-Déspreaux as "crotté jusqu'à l'échine," Colletet had produced a useful if mediocre book, much of it copied from earlier works on the literature of Parisian *antiquitez*.[160] Jollain's "Lvtetia, Paris" was not much more than a copy of François Quesnel's 1609 map of Paris **[fig. 2.14]**, with poorly drawn additions of the buildings built since.[161] In our story, however, these

[158] François COLLETET, *La ville de Paris ... ouvrage revû, corrigé & augmenté ... dédié à Monsieur De La Reynie* (Paris: Antoine de Rafflé, 1677).

[159] François JOLLAIN, "Lvtetia, Paris," ca. 1680-84, BHVP A 135.

[160] Colletet's *La ville de Paris* was a revised edition of his *Abregé des antiquitez de la ville de Paris* (Paris: Charles de Sercy, 1664), an abridgment of Claude MALINGRE, *Annales générales de la ville de Paris* (Paris: P. Rocolet, 1640), in turn based on Jacques DU BREUL, *Le theatre des antiquitez de Paris* (Paris: Societé des imprimeurs, 1639). On Colletet, see JAILLOT [Jean-Baptiste-Michel Renou de Chevigné], *Recherches critiques, historiques et topographiques sur la ville de Paris*, 5 vols (Paris: L'auteur, Lottin l'aîné, 1772-75), 1:viii; Arthur HEULHARD, "Colletet gazetier," in *Le Journal de Colletet, premier petit journal parisien, 1676* (Paris: Le Moniteur du Bibliophile, 1878): 5-26; Emile BOURGEOIS and Louis ANDRÉ, *Les sources de l'histoire de France. XVIIe siècle, 1610-1715* (1913-35; Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1976), 1:103; Gilles CHABAUD, "Les guides de Paris: une littérature de l'accueil?" in *La ville promise. Mobilité et accueil à Paris, fin XVIIe-début XIXe siècle*, ed. Daniel Roche (Paris: Fayard, 2000): 77-108 at 91-92. Boileau's mocking remark on Colletet appeared in his *Satires*: "Tandis que Colletet, crotté jusqu'à l'échine,/ S'en va chercher son pain de cuisine en cuisine,/ Savant en ce métier, si cher aux beaux esprits,/ Dont Montmaur autrefois fit leçon dans Paris." Nicolas BOILEAU, *Satires, Epîtres, Art poétique*, ed. Jean-Pierre Collinet (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), 69 [*Satire* I, lines 77-80].

[161] See, for example, Jollain's representation of the Pont Neuf and neighboring areas: if not for a clumsily drawn Collège des Quatre Nations, Jollain's map was practically identical to Quesnel's. On Jollain, see Ulrich THIEME and Felix BECKER, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, E. A. Seemann, 1907-50), 19:102; Roger-Armand

two works are significant, if only as early instances of the emergence of a mythology of the police and its chief magistrate—the beginnings of a cultural construction that was to find its paragon in Fontenelle's *éloge* of d'Argenson.

A sentence in Colletet's dedication is telling: everybody considered La Reynie, he wrote, "comme celuy, qui par ses soins vigilans, & par ses judicieuses ordonnances, a fait changer de face à cette grande ville, la plus belle aujourd'huy & la plus policée de toutes les villes de la terre."[162] Dedications are hardly ever the place for critical appraisals, and the bombast in Colletet's tribute to La Reynie should be taken with a grain of salt. Colletet probably hoped to ingratiate himself with the police magistrate after the debacle of the *Journal de la ville de Paris* and the *Journal des avis et des affaires*, two weekly papers he had launched in 1676: they encroached on the monopoly of literary, political, and commercial news held by the *Journal des sçavans*, the *Mercure*, and the *Gazette*, and La Reynie, by order of the king, had shut them down.[163] One may also question, of course, whether Paris was truly "the most policed city in the world." The streets of Paris may have been better paved and cleaned than before, but the problem of the *boue* was definitely not solved. (Parisians and foreign visitors would continue to decry the city's filthiness well into the eighteenth century.) La Reynie may have shown leadership and initiative in the episode of the Cour des Miracles, but criminality had certainly not disappeared from

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WEIGERT, *Inventaire du fonds français. Graveurs du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1939-), 5:454-55.

[162] COLLETET, *La ville de Paris*, [iii].

[163] La Reynie received the order via Colbert's son, the marquis de Seignelay: "J'ay rendu compte au roy du mémoire que vous avez donné à mon père au sujet du journal des affaires de Paris, que le nommé Colletet s'est ingeré de faire imprimer. S. M. m'a ordonné de vous dire qu'elle veut que vous en deffendiez le débit et l'impression." SEIGNELAY to La Reynie, 27 Nov. 1676, in *Correspondance administrative sous le règne de Louis XIV*, ed. Georges Bernard Depping, 4 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1850-55), 2:569.

the city. (The Cour des Miracles proved to be extremely resilient; it would outlive many more police lieutenants.) In many respects, however, Colletet was correct: after the creation of the Lieutenancy, the city did "change face."

The reform of the police was a critical component in a sweeping project of urban renewal. It may be useful to recall some of the major initiatives promoted by the crown in the late 1660s and in the 1670s to transform and embellish Paris: the demolition of the fortification walls; the creation of the boulevards; the replacement of the old city gates with triumphal arches; the completion of the east front of the Louvre; the construction of monumental buildings such as the Collège des Quatre Nations and the Observatoire. The new urban dynamic that was taking form through these initiatives was best captured in the map produced in 1676 by Pierre Bullet and François Blondel. **[fig. 1.16]** At once an accurate cartographic record of the existing city and an image of the city that was taking shape through the new urban operations, Bullet and Blondel's *plan-projet* envisioned a Paris to come, a new, magnificent city of great monuments and long vistas, well-paved streets and quais, straight aligments, boulevards for leisurely strolls, etc.

The face of the city was also changing is some other respects. Not only was Paris physically transformed by the work of architects such as Blondel, Claude Perrault, and Louis Le Vau; the image of the city, its cultural representation as the capital of the kingdom, was being reshaped as part of a series of initiatives orchestrated by Colbert to present—indeed, construct—the public image of the king.

In his *mémoires*, Charles Perrault recalled how, toward the end of 1662, Colbert started to prepare for the charge of Surintentant des Bâtiments, an office to which he knew the king would soon appoint him, and began envisioning the building of a new Paris. Moreover, Perrault continued,

> Il [Colbert] songea qu'il faudroit faire battre quantité de médailles pour consacrer à la postérité la mémoire des grandes actions que le Roi avoit déjà faites, et qu'il prévoyait devoir être suivies d'autres encore plus grandes et plus considérables; que tous ces grands exploits devant être mêlés de divertissements dignes du prince, de fêtes, de mascarades, de carrousels et d'autres délassemens semblables, et que toutes ces choses devant être décrites et gravées avec esprit et avec entente pour passer dans les pays étrangers, où la manière dont elles sont traitées ne fait guère moins d'honneur que les choses mêmes, il voulut assembler un nombre de gens de lettres et les avoir auprès de lui pour prendre leurs avis sur ces matières et former une espèce de petit conseil pour toutes les choses dépendantes des belles lettres.[164]

The "espèce de petit conseil" was created in February 1663, when Colbert summoned Perrault and three members of the Académie Française: the poet and writer Jean Chapelain and two erudite clergymen, Amable de Bourzeis and Jacques Cassagne. A fifth *homme de lettres*, François Charpentier, also a member of the Académie Française, joined the group shortly afterwards. The so-called Petite Académie would meet weekly, *chez* Colbert.[165] Although not yet an organized body such as the Académie Française or the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, the Petite Académie had a precise mandate: to advise Colbert on how best to glorify the sovereign. Toward this end, the *compagnie* would review and correct texts such as descriptions of festivals staged at court, prepare the wording for inscriptions on public monuments, and devise themes and mottoes for tapestries and medals. The

[164] PERRAULT, *Mémoires de ma vie*, 130.

[165] On the Petite Académie, see Claude Gros de BOZE, *Histoire de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres depuis son établissement*, 3 vols (Paris: Hyppolite-Louis Guerin, 1740), 1:1-15; Josèphe JACQUIOT, *Médailles et jetons de Louis XIV d'après le manuscrit de Londres ADD. 31.908*, 4 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1968), 1:i-lxxxiii passim; Blandine BARRET-KRIEGEL, *Les historiens et la monarchie*, vol. 3, *Les académies de l'histoire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988), 178-89. Cf. the arguments of Arthur-Michel de Boislisle, for whom the *compagnie*, until 1701, remained "un simple comité consultatif de la Surintendance des Bâtiments, une modeste 'colonie' de l'Académie française, sans attache directe avec le gouvernement royal." Arthur-Michel de BOISLISLE, "Dom Jean Mabillon et l'Académie des Inscriptions," in *Mélanges et documents publiés à l'occasion du 2e centenaire de la mort de Mabillon* (Ligugé: Abbaye de Saint-Martin; Paris: Librairie Veuve Poussielgue, 1908): 313-53 at 317.

Petite Académie would ultimately see to the production of the king's public image; it was to function, so to speak, as a bureau of historiographical propaganda.

The Petite Académie played an important role in the creation of two works that are especially relevant for the emergence and consolidation of a narrative celebrating the reform of the Paris police: the decoration of the Grande Galerie at the Château de Versailles (known today as the Galerie des Glaces) and the medallic history of the reign of Louis XIV.

The proposals for the Grande Galerie began in 1678.[166] Jules Hardouin-Mansart, Premier Architecte du Roi, designed the architecture of the new space, a grand hall to be built on the terrace connecting the royal apartments. Charles Le Brun, Premier Peintre du Roi, was put in charge of the *décor* of the massive vault, a surface of some 1,000 square meters. At first, Le Brun explored mythological themes—stories of Apollo, first; then, in great detail, a scheme centered on the labors of Hercules. Early on, however, the mythological narratives were rejected: the focus was to be on the sovereign himself; the Galerie would celebrate the person of the king, his foreign-policy achievements (above all, the king's actions during the Dutch War, which had just ended) as well as his domestic triumphs—accomplishments such

[166] On the Grande Galerie, see "Explication de la galerie de Versailles," *Mercure galant* (Dec. 1684): 1-58; François CHARPENTIER, *Explication des tableaux de la galerie de Versailles* (Paris: François Muguet, 1684); Pierre RAINSSANT, *Explication des tableaux de la galerie de Versailles* (Versailles: François Muguet, 1687); Claude NIVELON, *Vie de Charles Le Brun et description détaillée de ses ouvrages*, ed. Lorenzo Pericolo (ca. 1698; Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2004), 484-538; Jean-Baptiste MASSÉ, *La grande galerie de Versailles* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1753); Guy WALTON, *Louis XIV's Versailles* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 95-103; Gérard SABATIER, *Versailles, ou La figure du roi* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1999), 243-333; Virginie BAR, *La peinture allégorique au Grand Siècle* (Dijon: Editions Faton, 2003), 184-229; Nicolas MILOVANOVIC, "Les inscriptions dans le décor de la galerie des Glaces à Versailles: nouvelles découvertes," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des incriptions et belles-lettres* vol. 149, no. 1 (2005): 279-306; Antoine AMARGER et al., *The Hall of Mirrors: History and Restoration*, trans. Ann Sautier-Greening (Dijon: Editions Faton, 2007). A useful analysis of the Galerie is avaliable online, in a website curated by Nicolas MILOVANOVIC, at http://www.galeriedesglaces-versailles.fr/html/11/accueil/index.html.

as the construction of the Invalides, the creation of the Canal du Midi, and the monarch's response to the *disette* of 1662. Between 1679 and 1684, Le Brun and his workshop produced thirty tableaux celebrating the king's feats. Two of these are especially interesting for us: they depict the reforms of justice and police.

Positioned near the middle of the Galerie, next to a large painting which extolled Louis XIV's personal rule and served as the central focus of the entire composition, the panel on the reform of justice paid tribute to the king's drafting of the new civil ordinance. **[fig. 2.15]** Scepter in hand and seated on a throne, the king is flanked by the figure of Justice, with scales and fasces in her hands, and two togaed, bearded men—magistrates to whom the sovereign is offering a book, the text of the legal code produced in 1667. With his feet, the king crushes a curious monster, the Chicane, probably a reinterpretation of the emblem of Tromperie depicted in Jean Baudoin's 1644 edition of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*. An old woman with wild eyes and a crooked nose, the Chicane clings to bags filled with scraps of paper, the paperwork produced by endless judiciary procedures; her body terminates in the form of a screw, to signify the contortions of her ways.[167]

The reform of the police was celebrated in a smaller panel, a blue-camaïeu-over-gold-background octagon toward the southern end of the Galerie.[168] **[fig. 2.17]**

[167] Baudoin described the figure of Tromperie as "un monstrueux vieillard, le corps duquel aboutit à deux queuës de serpent, enlacées l'une dans l'autre." *Iconologie, ou Explication nouvelle de plusieurs images, emblemes et autres figures hyerogliphiques … œuvre augmentée d'une seconde partie … tirée des recherches & des figures de Cesar Ripa, moralisées par I. Baudoin* (Paris: Mathieu Guillemot, 1644), second part, 173.

[168] The technique *en camaïeu*, a monochromatic painting similar to *grisaille*, gives the illusion that the image is carved, with a bas-relief effect. See André FÉLIBIEN, *Des principes de l'architecture, de la sculpture, de la peinture, et des autres arts qui en dépendent; avec un dictionnaire des termes propres à chacun de ces arts* (Paris: Jean-Baptiste Coignard, 1676), s.v. "Camayeu."

"Dés que la nuit estoit venuë," read the description of the tableau in the *Mercure galant* of December 1684,

> les voleurs se rendoient maistres de Paris. On couroit risque de la vie, si l'on estoit contraint de sortir, & les maisons mesme n'estoient pas un lieu de seûreté. Le Roi, pour remédier à ces desordres, ordonna des compagnies d'archers à pied & à cheval dans la ville, & sur les grands chemins; ce que l'on a représenté dans ce bas relief où la Justice assise sur son tribunal, ordonne à des archers d'aller prendre des voleurs qui assassinent les passans au coin des ruës. La seûreté reposant à l'ombre de la Justice tient une bourse ouverte.[169]

Armed with sword and scales, Justice is seated here. On her left is Security, resting on the fasces and holding an open purse—read: she rests on the authority of magistrates, and she has nothing to fear. In the background, to the panel's right, is the city—a grim scene of urban violence. Justice points her hand there and commands a group of soldiers to march on the city and put an end to the killings. A few details are especially significant: a sickle moon and a cloud tell us that this is a night scene; the soldier at the center of the composition carries both a spear and a lantern; not only would the squadron bring to the city the military might of Justice, it would also bring something possibly even mightier: light.

During the production of the Galerie's iconographical program, Le Brun was advised by the clergyman and *homme de lettres* Paul Tallemant, a member of the Académie Française since 1666 who had joined the Petite Académie in 1672, after the death of Bourzeis. In addition to helping Le Brun choose the subjects to be represented and the most appropriate allegories to be used, Tallemant composed Latin inscriptions for all the tableaux: they were to help viewers interpret the

[169] "Explication de la galerie de Versailles," *Mercure galant* (Dec. 1684), 27-28. Similar descriptions are in RAINSSANT, *Explication des tableaux de la galerie de Versailles*, 86-97; MASSÉ, *La grande galerie de Versailles*, 28-29. (CHARPENTIER's *Explication* did not mention the panel.) A useful discussion of the panel is in Nicole DYONET, "L'ordre public est-il l'objet de la police dans le *Traité* de Delamare?" in *Ordonner et partager la ville, XVIIe-XIXe siècle*, ed. Gaël Rideau and Pierre Serna (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2011): 47-74 at 64-68.

paintings correctly and further extoll the king's feats by distilling them into memorable epigrams. These inscriptions were submitted to the king for approval and began to be painted in September 1783.[170] Shortly afterwards, however, Tallemant's wordings of the tableaux's titles were contested. The dispute that followed is revealing: not only does it attest to the importance attached by the crown to the presentation of the king's image and to the care that was taken to control the messages embedded in the Galerie's *décor*; it also sheds light on the difficulty of portraying the reform of the police. What exactly was being celebrated in Le Brun's octagonal panel? Was security the real object of the reform? When, for that matter, did the king achieve that reform? Were street lighting, street paving, and *nettoiement* proper subjects for the celebration of an absolute monarch?

At Colbert's death, in early September 1683, the office of Surintendant des Bâtiments passed to François-Michel le Tellier, marquis de Louvois, and the Petite Académie went through several changes. Perrault was dismissed from the committee and replaced by André Félibien, historiographer to the king and secretary to the Académie Royale d'Architecture; three new members were brought in (Nicolas Boileau-Déspreaux, the playwright Jean Racine, and Pierre Rainssant, the newly appointed Garde du Cabinet des Médailles du Roi); the secretary appointed was Henri Bessé de La Chapelle, a protégé of Louvois who was entrusted with the

[170] The king demanded changes to two inscriptions: "Le Roy a vu les devises de l'abbé Tallemant, que sa Majesté a approuvées, à la reserve de celle où il y avoit *novae leges sancitae* et d'une autre où, en parlant de l'Espagne, on la qualifie d'*aemula galliae*. Vous pourrez faire peindre toutes les autres." LOUVOIS to Le Brun, 16 Sept. 1683, quoted in Florence VUILLEUMIER LAURENS and Pierre LAURENS, "La découverte et le déchiffrement des inscriptions latines de la galérie des Glaces à Versailles," *Monuments et Mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* vol. 86 (2007): 57-164 at 79. Tallemant changed "hispania aemula galliae" to "hispania gallici regni dignitati invida" and "novae leges sancitae" to "legvm salvtaris emendatio." This last change (from 'promulgation of new laws' to 'beneficial emendation of laws') confirms once more that the emphasis was to be not on novelty or invention but on emendation, adjustment, and eventually *rétablissement*.

"affaires qui concernent les bastimens de sa majesté à Paris"[171]; meetings would now take place at court. The Petite Académie's *aggiornamento* affected the work at the Galerie almost immediately. At the beginning of 1684, Charpentier persuaded Louvois to replace Tallemant's Latin titles with French ones, repeating the debate known as the *Querelle des inscriptions*, which in the mid 1670s had opposed Latin and French partisans *à propos* the inscription on the triumphal arch at the Place du Trône.[172] Charpentier's new French titles were painted in the autumn of 1684, but shortly afterwards they too became objects of criticism. In a *Discours sur le style des incriptions*, Boileau attacked Charpentier, calling his texts "pompeuses déclamations." Inscriptions, Boileau argued, "doivent être simples, courtes, et familières. La pompe ni la multitude des paroles n'y valent rien, et ne sont point

[171] LOUVOIS to La Chapelle, 16 Sept. 1683, quoted in Thierry SARMANT, *Les demeures du soleil. Louis XIV, Louvois et la surintendance des bâtiments du roi* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2003), 113.

[172] The *Querelle des inscriptions* may be considered the first spark of what was to become the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*. On the *Querelle des inscriptions*, see VUILLEUMIER LAURENS and LAURENS, "La découverte et le déchiffrement des inscriptions latines de la galérie des Glaces à Versailles," 61-76. On the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*, see Marc FUMAROLI, "Les abeilles et les araignées," in *La Querelles des Anciens et des Modernes, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles*, ed. Anne-Marie Lecoq (Paris: Gallimard, 2001): 8-218. François Blondel, a staunch advocate of the ancients, had composed Latin inscriptions for the triumphal arches that were built in Paris in the 1670s. Some remarks in his *Cours d'architecture* may be useful to understand what the *querelle* was about: "J'ay cherché dans ces inscriptions de dire beaucoup de grandes choses en peu de mots, à l'exemple des anciens Romains qui nous en ont laissé de si belles; Et je me suis servi de la langue Latine, parce que je la crois plus propre que la nôtre à ces fortes expressions. Ce n'est pas que je ne sois bon François, & que je n'aye beaucoup d'amour & d'estime pour nôtre Nation & pour nôtre langue; Quoique puissent néanmoins dire ceux qui la veulent preferer à la Latine, je n'ay pas pû encore en estre persuadé; Au contraire nos monosyllabes si frequens & nos verbs auxiliaires qui sont restez de la barbarie Gotique, me paroissent des obstacles invincibles à cette grandeur où l'on pretend qu'elle soit déja arrivée. Peut-estre que je me suis gâté le goût par la lecture un peu frequente de Ciceron, de Virgile, d'Horace ou de Terence; mais à suivre mon sentiment il y a peu d'expressions de nostre langue qui me fassent ressentir ce que je sens, quand je repasse quelques-uns des beux endroits de ces Auteurs." François BLONDEL, *Cours d'architecture*, 2 vols (Paris: Lambert Roulland, 1675-83), 2:610 [part 4, ch. 4, "Inscriptions des ouvrages publics de la ville de Paris"].

propres au style grave, qui est le vrai style des inscriptions."[173] The criticism struck a chord, and Boileau, with the help of Racine, set about rewriting all the titles, which were painted anew in the autumn of 1685.

The tableau on the reform of justice did not pose particular problems. Charpentier had changed Tallemant's Latin title, "LEGVM SALVTARIS EMENDATIO" (the beneficial emendation of laws), to "Réformation de la justice": it was one of Charpentier's shortest and clearest wordings, and Boileau and Racine left it unchanged. But the panel depicting the reform of the police presented a challenge. Charpentier had rewritten Tallemant's inscription (of which, unfortunately, we have no record[174]) as "Sûreté de la Ville de Paris." Unlike most of Charpentier's other titles, which were indeed lengthy and pompous, this wording was quite pithy, and yet it did not really offer a good explanation of what the panel was meant to celebrate.[175] Boileau and Racine changed it to "La Police & la seureté rétablies dans Paris, 1665."[176] The choice of the year 1665 is puzzling, but the gist of Boileau and Racine's re-write is clear. First, the word *police*, the true object of the reform, needed to be

[173] Nicolas BOILEAU-DESPRÉAUX, *Discours sur le style des inscriptions*, in *Dialogues, Réflexions critiques, Œuvres diverses*, ed. Charles-H. Boudhors, 2nd ed. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1960), 193, quoted in MILOVANOVIC, "Les inscriptions dans le décor de la galerie des Glaces à Versailles," 285.

[174] Very likely, Tallemant's inscription for the octagon on the police was similar to one of the *devises* that the Petite Académie was then preparing for the medallic history of Louis XIV, possibly "URBIS SECURITAS ET NITOR."

[175] The re-write of the inscription for the central tableau is telling. Charpentier's text read "Loüis le Grand dans la fleur de la jeunesse, prend en main le Timon de l'Etat, & renonçant au Repos & aux Plaisirs, se donne tout entier à l'amour de la véritable Gloire." Boileau and Racine halved the word count and changed the text to "Le Roy prend luy-mesme la conduite de ses Estats, & se donne tout entier aux affaires. 1661." See MILOVANOVIC, "Les inscriptions dans le décor de la galerie des Glaces à Versailles," 302.

[176] The title "La Police & la seureté rétablies dans Paris, 1665" appeared in RAINSSANT, *Explication des tableaux de la galerie de Versailles*, 86. The attribution of the inscriptions to Boileau and Racine has recently been challenged; Rainssant may in fact be their author. See Hall BJØRNSTAD, "Boileau et Racine ont-ils composé les inscriptions de la galerie des Glaces à Versailles?" *Dix-septième siècle*, no. 250 (2011): 149-56.

included in the title. Second, the king had reasserted his role as the supreme guarantor of public order by restoring police and security in the city: the emphasis was to be, yet again, on the idea of *rétablissement*.

In fact, it is unclear if Boileau and Racine's inscription was ever actually painted on the panel. Several of the tableaux's titles were further modified in the mid-eighteenth century, and all were erased during the Revolution. In the 1810s, then, the painter Simon Moench restored them after the engravings in Jean-Baptiste Massé's *La grande galerie de Versailles*, of 1753. The title visible today on the octagon devoted to the reform of the police reads "Sevreté de la ville de Paris," i.e., Charpentier's text. More interesting, a recent restoration of the Galerie brought to light another title under the paint, which reads "Sevreté et nettoyement de la ville de Paris." At some point, thus, the idea was considered to put the emphasis not only on the king's restoration of public order and security, but also on the reform of the system of *nettoiement*—a change of mind which may also be traced in a minor adjustment to the design of the panel: one of Le Brun's drawings had the soldiers march over a nondescript ground **[fig. 2.16]**; in the final work, the ground was paved.[177]

The toing and froing on the wording and the image have more than anecdotal value. Hesitations and afterthoughts are, of course, to be expected: it would be surprising if a cultural construction as complex as the glorification of Louis XIV were

[177] I should note that the drawing (Musée du Louvre, inventaire 29752) may not be a preparatory sketch. Stressing the similarities with the painted octagon, Lydia Beauvais claimed that the drawing "correspond probablement, avec ses rehauts de lavis gris, à un dessin de présentation." See Lydia BEAUVAIS, *Charles Le Brun, 1616-1690*, 2 vols (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2000), 1:262; ID., "An Allegorised History of the First Eighteen Years of Louis XIV's Reign," in *The Hall of Mirrors,* 214-287 at 261. Cf. also SABATIER, *Versailles, ou La figure du roi*, 627n108. An engraving of the same drawing, with the ground paved, is at the Musée de la Préfecture de Police; it is reproduced in *Police et Ordre public: vers une ville des Lumières*, ed. Flávio Borda d'Água (Chauray: La ligne d'ombre, 2011).

not a laborious process. Those hesitations, however, also attest to something more specific, namely the fundamental difficulty in defining in any precise terms the scope of the reform of the police and, perhaps, some misgivings about what was actually accomplished in 1667.

The travails underpinning the construction of the king's public image can be read most clearly in what was to be the greatest project of the Petite Académie: the medallic history of Louis XIV.[178] The idea of celebrating a French monarch by way of medals had been first proposed in the early-seventeenth century by Pierre-Antoine de Rascas, an antiquarian in charge of Henry IV's Cabinet des Médailles. That projet had remained moot, but the idea was taken up by Colbert in the 1660s. It is unclear whether the Petite Académie, at least in its early years, envisioned a publication in book form. Throughout the 1670s and 1680s, the *compagnie* labored primarily at producing medals. Work toward a publication began only in the mid 1680s and, in earnest, only after the publication, in 1689, of the *Histoire du Roy Louis le Grand par les médailles*, a haphazard collection of engravings of medals, *jetons*, and emblems produced by the historian and heraldist Claude-François Menestrier.[179] Neither the academies nor the crown liked this un-official medallic history, and from then on the Petite Académie would work steadily toward the production of an official one.

[178] On the medallic history, see Josèphe JACQUIOT, "Paris de Henri IV au XXe siècle," in Jean BABELON and Josèphe JACQUIOT, *Histoire de Paris d'après les médailles, de la Renaissance au XXe siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1951): 22-45; JACQUIOT, *Médailles et jetons de Louis XIV*, 4 vols, passim; Louis MARIN, "L'hostie royale: la médaille historique," in *Le portrait du roi* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1981): 147-68; Peter BURKE, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 115-22, 206-08; Sylvie de TURCKHEIM-PEY, *Médailles du Grand Siècle. Histoire métallique de Louis XIV* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2004).

[179] Claude-François MENESTRIER, *Histoire du Roy Louis le Grand par les medailles, emblêmes, devises, jettons, inscriptions, armoiries, et autres monumens publics* (Paris: I. B. Nolin, 1689).

At Louvois's death, in 1691, the Surintendance des Bâtiments passed to Edouard Colbert, marquis de Villacerf. Control of the academies was separated from the Surintendance and entrusted to Louis Phélypeaux, comte de Pontchartrain, Comptroller General of Finances and Secretary of State to the Royal Household, who in turn charged his nephew, the Abbé Jean-Paul Bignon, with supervising the Petite Académie, which was renamed then Académie Royale des Inscriptions. Through the early 1690s the work proceeded unsystematically, and the first two series of medals that had been produced (1663-84, 1685-94) were left unfinished. In January 1695 Pontchartrain decided to relaunch the project and, in particular, to re-cast all medals, which until then had been struck in varying sizes, on a new, uniform module of 18 lignes (41 millimeters) in diameter. The dies of medals already struck were re-engraved to fit the new size; drawings for a spate of new medals were commissioned from Antoine Coypel, who replaced Sébastien Le Clerc as the principal designer for the project; the members of the Académie began devising new inscriptions and explanatory texts for a publication. Preparations were also made for the actual printing of the medallic history. In 1692, the Académie des Sciences had appointed a group of experts to produce a "Description des arts et métiers." Chaired by Bignon, the committee began its work with the art of printing, and soon turned its attention to the making of a new typeface for the royal press. The result was the "Romain du Roi," a splendid, rational typeface which was first employed in 1702, in the volume *Médailles sur les principaux événements du règne de Louis le Grand*.[180] Printed by

[180] *Médailles sur les principaux événements du règne de Louis le Grand* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1702). The volume was also produced in a cheaper quarto edition, also printed in 1702 by the Imprimerie Royale. On the typeface of the medallic history, see Sylvie de TURCKHEIM-PEY, "Du détail en tout," in James MOSLEY et al., *Le Romain du Roi. La typographie au service de l'Etat, 1702-2002* (Lyon: Musée de l'imprimerie, 2002): 15-31; James MOSLEY, "'Médailles sur les principaux événements

the Imprimerie Royale in a lavish folio edition, the book presented, in chronological order, the history of the king from his birth to 1700, celebrating his person as well as his domestic policy creations and his military triumphs—286 *événements* in all, each illustrated with engravings of a medal, a title, and an explanatory text. After four decades of labor, here was the first major production of the Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Médailles, as the *compagnie* was renamed in 1701. Here was, finally, the official medallic history of the reign of Louis XIV.

"La médaille," wrote Tallemant in the preface, "est un monument durable, & fait pour trasmettre à la posterité les grands évenements. Ce qu'elle représente, & ce qu'elle dit, elle doit le représenter, & le dire d'une manière noble & ingénieuse." In the preface, Tallemant laid emphasis on the extraordinary work that had gone into producing the medallic history, a collaborative endeavor of historians, heraldists, artists, draftsmen, engravers, punch-cutters, type-founders, printers, all set in motion by Colbert with the creation of the Petite Académie.

> Monsieur Colbert, qui n'avoit que des grandes idées, sur tout lors qu'il s'agissoit de la gloire de son Maître, crût avec raison que rien ne pouvoit mieux perpetuer le souvenir des actions du Roi, que des médailles sur les évenements de son règne.[181]

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du règne de Louis le Grand' (1702). The making of the book," *Bulletin du bibliophile*, no. 2 (2008): 296-350. On the committee appointed in 1692 by the Académie des Sciences, see also Jack A. CLARKE, "Abbé Jean-Paul Bignon, 'Moderator of the Academies' and Royal Librarian," *FHS* vol. 8, no. 2 (Autumn 1973): 213-35 at 217-18.

[181] [Paul TALLEMANT], "Preface," *Médailles* (1702): [i-xix] at [ii]. (One of the few copies of the book to still include Tallemant's preface is at the Morgan Library, Printed Books Collection, 61327.) The preface was reprinted in [Denis-François CAMUSAT], *Histoire critique des journaux*, 2 vols (Amsterdam: J. F. Bernard, 1734): 2:180-97, and in *Mélange curieux des meilleurs pieces attribuées à Mr. De Saint-Evremond, et de quelques autres ouvrages rares ou nouveaux*, ed. Pierre Des Maizeaux, 4th ed., 2 vols (Amsterdam: Cóvens et Mortier, 1739): 1:207-32. (I owe these two references to a librarian's manuscript note in the quarto copy of the *Médailles* at the Morgan Library, Julia P. Wightman Collection, 152015.) A transcript of Tallemant's preface is also in JACQUIOT, *Médailles et jetons de Louis XIV*, 1:cxvii-cxxvi. I should note that Jacquiot offered a different explanation for the removal of the preface: the reason, she argued, was "l'imperfection de l'ouvrage qui fut publié avec des erreurs historiques." Ibid., lv-lvi.

The king, however, was apparently not pleased: *he* should be the sole object of the book, not the people who labored for his *gloire*; he commanded that Tallemant's preface be struck from the copies that had been printed. Over the next twenty years, the Académie, which in 1716 was renamed Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, would further revise the volume, modifying the texts and engravings of several medals and producing designs for thirty-two new ones to account for the late years of Louis XIV's reign. The new edition was published in 1723 as *Médailles sur les principaux événements du règne entier de Louis le Grand*.

Both editions of the medallic history were to remain without a preface and, in fact, without an author: the sole dramatis persona of the story could be Louis alone. The entire history of the reign was presented as a series of *événements*, that is, notable historical moments, events, and actions, with the king as their sole agent. In the frontispiece, Coypel wonderfully captured the idea that history itself was moved by the sovereign. **[fig. 2.18]** Engraved by Charles-Louis Simonneau the elder and published, unchanged, in both editions of the book, the image depicted Mercury bringing a portrait of the king to Clio. The muse of history sat beside the figure of Time, ready to write the great book of Louis; she looked up, enraptured.

The medal celebrating the reform of justice depicted the theme of procedural simplification, the idea that the Ordonnance civile of 1667 had cut through and done away with legal *chicanes*.

> De toutes les Ordonnances du Roy, il n'y en a point de plus utile à l'Estat, que celle qu'il a faite pour la réformation de la Justice. Les longueurs & la multitude des procedures donnoient lieu à des chicanes sans fin, qui ruinoient les parties, & qui rendoient les procès immortels.[182]

[182] *Médailles* (1702), 94.

The face of the medal, like all others in the volume, was engraved with the king's effigy and the inscription "LUDOVICUS XIII REX CHRISTIANISSIMUS." On the reverse, the king was shown seated on a throne and holding the scales, facing Justice. The inscription read "LITIUM SERIES RESCISAE," i.e., litigation, lengthy procedures have been cut; in the exergue, "NOVO CODICE LATO" (a new code has been produced) and the year 1667.[183] **[fig. 2.19]**

Throughout the volume, the members of the Académie strove to present the king's actions and policies with the same pictorial and literary clarity. *Evénements* such as the reform of justice lent themselves to such concision: as with military victories or the signing of peace treaties, the reform of justice could be portrayed relatively easily as a single, dateable event and, in particular, as a unique act of sovereign will. In order to reduce all the reign's history to distinct royal acts, however, something had to give—that is, the complexity of government had to be flattened out. In this regard, the *Médailles* was as much a work of historiographical construction as one of reduction, a painstaking editorial labor in which complex governmental operations were selected, condensed, and re-written so as to reduce them to memorable *res gestae*.

Such historiographical flattening can best be illustrated by examining the three medals that were meant to celebrate the embellishment of the city of Paris and the reform of the police. The urban renewal of the late 1660s and 1670s was extolled on a page titled "l'embellissement et l'aggrandissement de Paris." **[fig. 2.20-22]** Inscribed "ORNATA ET AMPLIATA URBE" (the city embellished and enlarged), the

[183] In 1723 the medal's inscription and the explanatory text were slightly modified to further emphasize the king's simplification of the workings of justice. The revised inscription read "LITIUM AMBAGES RESCISSÆ" (the windings of litigation have been cut). *Médailles sur les principaux événements du règne entier de Louis le Grand* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1723), 95.

corresponding medal showed Paris personified as a woman, carrying the arms of the city (a vessel), donning her traditional accoutrement (a turreted headgear), and holding a cornucopia and, at her feet, a water-spurring jug, the traditional symbols of plenty. In the background were the triumphal arches erected at the Porte Saint-Martin and the Porte Saint-Denis.

> Pendant que le Roy méditoit les plus grands desseins, il ne laissoit pas de donner son attention, à tout ce qui pouvoit embellir la Capitale de son Royaume. On eslargissoit les ruës, on bastissoit de nouveaux quais, on augmentoit le nombre des fontaines pour la commodité publique. Mais ce qu'il y a de plus magnifique & de plus grand, c'est la continuation du rempart commencé par Henry Second. Ce rempart, qui n'alloit que depuis le bord de la Seine prés de l'Arsenal jusqu'à la porte Saint Antoine, embrasse à présent la moitié de la Ville, dont on a considerablement estendu l'enceinte, & va regagner la riviére au-dessous des Tuilleries. Il est d'une prodigieuse largeur, & presque par tout revestu de pierre, & planté d'ormes qui forment de longues allées, & un ombrage agréable. Les portes de la Ville, qui se trouvent le long de ce rempart, ont esté changées comme en autant d'arcs de triomphe.[184]

We can read here one of the many historiographical spins underlying the medallic history. In the early 1670s the monarchy had decided to demolish the fortification walls and replace them with planted boulevards. The 'enlargement' of the *enceinte* was surely meant to gain new area for the city, but it also had another, fundamentally different objective, namely to limit urban growth and contain the city within manageable boundaries. The monarchy had labored at warding off the potentially catastrophic threat of urban over-growth since at least the mid-sixteenth century. Limits to the expansion of the faubourgs had been established in 1548 and again in 1638. In 1672, then, even as the fortification walls were being demolished—and, in fact, precisely because they were being demolished—a new attempt was made to contain Paris by planting new *bornes* on the edges of the faubourgs and prohibiting

[184] *Médailes* (1702), 116.

construction *au-delà*. "Les Rois nos prédecesseurs," read the royal declaration establishing the new city limits,

> ayant toujours consideré notre bonne ville de Paris, comme la capitale de leur royaume, & le lieu ordinaire de leur séjour, ils ont cherché tous les moyens de la rendre non-seulement la plus belle, la plus riche & la plus peuplée de la France; mais ils l'ont élevée par leurs graces & par leurs liberalitez, jusques à ce point, qu'elle a surpassé en toutes choses les plus fameuses villes du monde. Ils avoient sagement prévû, qu'en cet estat de grandeur où ils l'avoient portée, elle devoit craindre le sort des plus puissantes villes, qui ont trouvé en elles-mesmes le principe de leur ruine; & estant difficile que l'ordre & la police se distribuent dans toutes les parties d'un si grand corps, cette raison les auroit portez de la réduire & les faux-bourgs d'icelle, dans les limites justes & raisonnables, faisant défenses tres-expresses de les étendre au-delà de celles qu'ils avoient prescrites.[185]

As a piece of royal propaganda, the medallic history could not dwell on these subleties and risk diminishing in any way the preeminence of Paris. The king could not be portrayed as having limited or contained the city, and neither could the fears of urban over-growth be exposed to the audience of the *Médailles*: Paris could only be aggrandized.

Two medals were directly concerned with the reform of the police. The first was devoted to the "nouveau pavé." **[fig. 2.24]**

> Paris s'est ressenti des soins & de la magnificence du Roy jusques dans les moindres choses. Le pavé de cette grande Ville avoit esté négligé depuis long-temps. Il estoit rompu en plusieurs endroits; les ruisseaux des ruës estoient fort creux, & la pluspart n'avoient point assez de pente pour l'escoulement des eaux; ce qui causoit la difficulté du charroy, & une saleté non seulement tres-incommode, mais tres-mal saine. Le Roy donna ordre de repaver toute la Ville; & ce travail fut conduit avec tant de soin, que pour la propreté & pour la commodité, Paris l'emporte maintenant sur toutes les Villes de l'Europe.[186]

[185] Royal declaration, 26 Apr. 1672, AN AD/✠/426. See also Jeanne PRONTEAU and Isabelle DÉRENS, *Introduction générale au travail des limites de la ville et faubourgs de Paris, 1724-1729* (Paris: Paris Musées, 1998), 23-31.

[186] *Médailes* (1702), 110.

On the reverse of the medal, titled "URBS NOVO LAPIDE STRATA" (the city paved anew) and drawn by Coypel after an earlier design by Le Clerc **[fig. 2.23]**, a woman stood on a paved ground, holding a level and a wheel—read: circulation on the newly-paved streets was now smooth and easy.

A second medal repeated some of the elements of Le Brun's iconography for the octagon at Versailles. **[fig. 2.26]** Inscribed "URBIS SECURITAS ET NITOR" (security and cleanliness of the city), the medal represented a woman standing on a nicely paved ground and holding up a lantern and a purse. "La vaste estenduë de la Ville de Paris, & la multitude innombrable du Peuple qui l'habite," read the explanation,

> faisoient trouver de grandes difficultez à y maintenir l'ordre. D'ailleurs le peu de soin qu'on prenoit de nettoyer les ruës, quoi-que rien ne contribuë tant à la bonté de l'air, & à la santé des habitants, rendoit le séjour moins agréable & plus incommode. Les vols y estoient fort frequents, & l'authorité des Magistrats s'estoit inutilement employée à les réprimer. Mais le Roy a establi un si bon ordre, & la nuit le ruës sont si bien éclairées, qu'à toute heure on peut aller seûrement, & commodément par toute la Ville.[187]

Surprisingly, the word *police* did not appear in the texts accompanying these two medals. In April 1695, when the Académie approved the explanation that Charpentier had written for the medal on the "Seûreté et Netteté de Paris," the text ended thus: "Mais le Roy *qui ne neglige rien de tout ce qui peut contribuer au bonheur de ses sujets*, a establi un si bon ordre *dans la Police*, qu'à toute heure on peut aller par toute la ville seurement et commodement."[188] Sometime between 1695 and 1701, however, the text was rephrased and the clause on the subjects' *bonheur* as well as the word *police* were edited out. Perhaps it was merely a matter of

[187] Ibid., 111.

[188] *Registre journal des deliberations et des assemblées de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions*, 23 April 1695, quoted in JACQUIOT, *Médailles et jetons de Louis XIV*, 2:224. (The emphasis is mine.)

typographical space: all the texts had to fit in about half a page, and maybe there simply was no room. The fact is, the *compagnie* finally added a clause on street lighting ("& la nuit le ruës sont si bien éclairées") and cut out *police*, the very thing that the reform was supposed to have reformed.

Even more surprising than the absence of the word *police* is that the Lieutenance de Police was not portrayed with a medal of its own. The institution created in 1667 would have lent itself perfectly to the historiographical program of the medallic history: a novel creation, a precise calendar date, a clear act of sovereign will. It might just have been an oversight. But other reasons might explain the exclusion of the Lieutenance from the medallic history. After all, this was a peculiar institution, quite unlike the others which were celebrated in the *Médailles*—the various royal academies, for example, but also institutions such as the Chambre de Justice and the Grands Jours (two special tribunals created in 1661 and 1665) or the Gardes de la Marine and the Gardes de l'Estendard (two corps created in 1683). Perhaps, the problem stemmed from the very nature of the Lieutenance. In its early decades, before it developed an administrative apparatus of its own, the Lieutenance was not, in fact, much of an institution. The Lieutenant *was* the Lieutenance, and the Lieutenant only. Acknowledging the 1667 creation would have meant crediting one particular officer, one minister; it would have undermined the central message of the *Médailles*, the myth that the king governed "par lui-même."

The process of adjustment of the historiographical message continued in the second edition of the *Médailles*. The design of the medal on the *pavé* was left as it was in the 1702 volume, and only the date in the exergue changed from 1669 to 1667. **[fig. 2.25]** The explanatory text was slightly reworded, and the opening sentence ("Paris s'est ressenti des soins & de la magnificence du Roy jusques dans les

moindres choses") changed to the more anodyne "Il y avoit encore quelque chose à desirer pour la beauté de Paris, & pour la commodité de ses habitants." The removal of the sentence on the "moindres choses" was however not an indication that the king's historiographers were no longer comfortable with portraying the sovereign as too much involved in details of the police. To the contrary, the Académie, in revising the second medal devoted to the police, actually insisted even more forcefully on the idea that nothing, however prosaic, was beneath the king. The title of the revised page was changed from "La seureté et netteté de Paris" to "Reglements pour les boues et les lanternes de Paris." The explanatory text read:

> En mesme temps que le Roy donnoit ses soins pour la seureté publique, il songeoit aussi à tout ce qui pouvoit rendre le séjour de Paris plus agréable & plus sain, qu'il ne l'avoit esté jusqu'alors. Les rües estoient d'une si grande saleté, qu'il estoit presque impossible d'y marcher; & l'obscurité qui regnoit pendant la nuit, les rendoit encore plus impracticables à ceux qui se trouvoient obligez d'aller par la ville à toute heure. Sa Majesté crut que *rien n'estoit indigne de son application*, lors qu'il s'agissoit des avantages & de la commodité de son peuple. Elle fit de si bons réglements pour le nettoyement des rües, & pour l'establissement d'une quantité prodigieuse de lanternes, que l'on commença aussitot à marcher très commodément la nuit & le jour dans Paris, & qu'il n'y eut point de ville qu'on pust luy comparer pour la propreté.[189]

The corresponding medal was re-titled "URBS MUNDATA ET NOCTURNIS FACIBUS ILLUSTRATA" (the city cleaned and lit at night) and the year backdated to 1666. **[fig. 2.27]** The image of the woman was left unchanged, but the purse disappeared from her hand. Whereas in 1702 the medal "URBIS SECURITAS ET NITOR" portrayed in a single image the link between security and cleanliness, in 1723 the members of the Académie, while maintaining that link in the explanatory text, decided to devote separate pages to each issue. A new medal on security (i.e., the king's

[189] *Médailles* (1723), 93. (The emphasis is mine.)

accomplishment in re-establishing public order throughout the kingdom) celebrated the doubling of the number of watchmen and police forces.[190] Significantly, when it came to representing such *événement*, the king's encomiasts went back to Le Brun's early mythological program for the Grande Galerie. The last of many re-writes of the king's *res gestae*, the medal on the "restablissement de la seureté publique" finally portrayed Louis, "ADSERTOR SECURITATIS PUBLICÆ" (defender/author of public security), as a mace-wielding Hercules.[191] **[fig. 2.28-29]**

In the medallic history, the reform of the police was at once extolled and distorted. That is, important elements of what had been accomplished in 1667 were celebrated, but inscribed within tight historiographical and ideological constraints, within a narrative in which complex governmental operations could only be portrayed as springing directly and solely from Louis. In the end, the police was to find its most elaborate historiographical representation—and its ultimate mythological construction—not in the medallic history but in another folio volume published shortly after the first edition of the *Médailles*, the *Traité de la police*, of 1705. As with the *Médailles*, the *Traité* too had been in the making for decades. It was not, however, the work of a committee of historians and *hommes de lettres*; it was painstakingly researched and written by one person, Nicolas Delamare, a Commissaire at the Châtelet. Curiously, the *Traité* too was deemed so special a book

[190] "Sa Majesté [...] augmenta de deux tiers le nombre & le solde des archers qui composent la garde du Guet de Paris; elle doubla pour les environs les brigades de la Marechaussée; elle les renforça à proportion dans la plupart des provinces. Enfin elle donna de si bons ordres, que la seureté publique se trouva parfaitement restablie." Ibid., 91.

[191] On Le Brun's early project for the Grande Galerie, see WALTON, *Louis XIV's Versailles*, 98-99; Jennifer MONTAGU, "Le Brun's Early Designs for the Grande Galerie: Some Comments on the Drawings," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* vol. 120 (Nov. 1992): 195-206; BEAUVAIS, *Charles Le Brun*, 1:151-59. The drawing which most likely served as a model for the medal "ADSERTOR SECURITATIS PUBLICÆ" is "Hercule emportant les pommes d'or du jardin des Hespérides" (Musée du Louvre, inventaire 29438 recto).

as to require that a new typeface be founded for its printing. For the *Médailles*, the Académie des Sciences had commissioned Philippe Grandjean to cut the punches of the "Romain du Roi." For the *Traité*, the printers Pierre and Jean Cot called on Grandjean's teacher, the engraver Mathieu Malherbe Des Portes, who cut a typeface quite similar to the "Romain du Roi," down to its most distinctive quirk, a little spur on the left side of the lowercase "l." The new typeface would henceforth be called "Cicero La Police."[192] **[fig. 2.30-31]**

[192] *Cicero* was a typographical unit of measure, equivalent, in today's values, to a character body of about eleven points. Pierre Cot used the "Cicero La Police" in a few other publications, but did not include it in his *Essais de caracteres d'imprimerie* (Paris, 1707). The punches of the Cot press were later purchased by the foundry of Claude Lamesle; a sample of the "Cicero Romain Œil dit La Police" appeared in *Epreuves générales des caracteres qui se trouvent chez Claude Lamesle, fondeur de caracteres d'imprimerie* (Paris, 1742), no. XXXI. On Malherbe Des Portes, Cot, Lamesle, and the "Cicero La Police," see Douglas C. MCMURTRIE, *The Pierre Cot Type Specimen of 1707, With a Reproduction in Facsimile of the Original Specimen* (Chicago: Robert O. Ballou, 1924); A. F. JOHNSON, "The Type-Specimen Books of Claude Lamesle and Nicolas Gando," *The Library* vol. 18, no. 2 (Sept. 1937): 201-11, now in *The Type-Specimens of Claude Lamesle: A Facsimile of the First Edition Printed at Paris in 1742* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1965): 5-11; Jeanne VEYRIN-FORRER, "Le 'Cicero La Police' et Mathieu Malherbe Des Portes," *Bulletin de la librairie ancienne et moderne*, no. 140 (Dec. 1971): 207-14, now in Jeanne VEYRIN-FORRER, *La lettre et le texte. Trente années de recherches sur l'histoire du livre* (Paris: Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, 1987): 81-87; DIAMENT, "Recherches sur la police parisienne," 199-201; Frédéric BARBIER, Sabine JURATIC and Annick MELLERIO, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et gens du livre à Paris, 1701-1789* (Geneva: Droz, 2007), 543-45.

Chapter 3. The New Science

> … n'arrivant rien de nouveau sous le Ciel, selon le dire du Sage, c'est principalement dans les évenemens passez que nous pouvons puiser des régles de prudence, & de conduite pour le présent, & pour l'avenir.
>
> Nicolas Delamare, *Traité de la police*, 1705.

In 1743, twenty years after the death of Nicolas Delamare, the police commissioners at the Châtelet wondered whether they should appoint an artist to do a portrait of their illustrious doyen.[1] Unfortunately, not much came of that, and the best the commissioners could do was to produce a commemorative medal showing—and, probably, inventing—Delamare's coat of arms.[2] **[fig. 3.1]** The only semblance we have of the first and greatest theorist of the police is a nasty, haunting caricature—an image that, at times, makes one wish that Delamare had remained faceless. The work of two Dutch artists, Cornelis Dusart and Jacob Gole, the caricature appeared in Amsterdam in 1691, in a pamphlet lambasting the people responsible for the persecution of French Protestants after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.[3] *Les*

[1] The idea was championed by the commissioner Guillaume-Boniface Dupré. In 1743, in a letter to Lecler du Brillet's secretary, one Maloeuvre, Dupré wrote: "L'on doit dimanche prochain proposer en pleine assemblée de notre compagnie de faire la depense du portrait de Mr De La Mare, cette proposition est agrée, sa gravure pourra ne pas tarder, j'ay fait plusieurs demarches à cet effet et je m'en fait gloire." DUPRÉ to Lecler, 18 May 1743, BnF n.a.f. 243, fol. 10.

[2] Delamare's improbable coat of arms (a peacock, a cross, three crescents, and three mullets) was on the medal's face, inscribed "DU DOYENNÉ DE MR DELAMARE." On the reverse was a view of the Pont Neuf and the Ile de la Cité, under the motto "HIS OCULIS LUSTRATA REFULGET," 'Considered from this perspective (or, perhaps, 'Surveilled by these eyes'), [the city] shines.' In the exergue, the words "COMMISSAIRES DU CHATELET" and the year 1723. The medal was brought to light in the early 1950s by Marcel Le Clère, a historian of the police and, like Delamare, a police commissioner himself. Marcel LE CLÈRE, "Un commissaire de police au grand siècle: Nicolas de la Mare, 1639-1723," *Vigilat*, no. 3 (Oct. 1952): 15-17. (The medal was in the archives of the Préfecture de Police, but the curators seem to have lost track of it.) From the late 1740s onward, the Châtelet celebrated several other police commissioners with medals identical to Delamare's but for the year, the name, and the coat of arms.

[3] *Les Héros de la Ligue, ou La procession monacale conduitte par Louis XIV, pour la conversion des protestans de son royaume* (Paris [Amsterdam]: chez Pere Peters à l'Enseigne de Louis le Grand, 1691). A copy of the pamphlet is at the Musée de la Préfecture de Police; it was probably added to the

Héros de la Ligue portrayed a "procession monacale" led by the King of France and including, among others, the Archbishop of Paris, the Bishops of Grenoble and Strasbourg, the theologian Bossuet, the Marquis de Louvois, Madame de Maintenon, and the chief of police at the Châtelet—twenty-two figures in all, each sung with a biting four-line stanza. The caricature of Gabriel-Nicolas de La Reynie, Lieutenant Général de Police, "Persecuteur des peuples et des Huguenots, sans qu'on sen oze plaindre," bore some resemblance to the official portraits we have of him, if only for the prominence of a monumental nose. **[fig. 3.2]** His quatrain read:

> Ie suis traistre, malin et de plus imposteur.
> Ie veux pourtant passer par tout pour honnéte homme.
> Ie pille l'huguenot, ie le tue, ie l'assomme;
> Et du peuple ie suis le fin persecuteur.

Included in this infamous pantheon of inquisitors was "Le Commissaire La Marre." As La Reynie's most trusted agent, Delamare was often charged with sensitive 'political' assignments. In particular, he had been entrusted with the affairs of what police and government officials called the "religion prétendue reformée." In this capacity, Delamare had presided over the destruction of the city's most important Protestant temple, which stood just outside Paris, at Charenton—an extraordinary building designed in 1623 by Salomon de Brosse.[4] "Doce [douce?] mine et fin renard," Delamare was sung:

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collection by Le Clère, who referred to it in his 1952 article. Other copies are at BnF est. Qe-41; AN AE/II/2897, online at http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/archim/accueil.html. (In February 2012, a rare copy of the pamphlet, with original hand-coloring, was at Ursus Books & Prints, New York.) On Cornelis Dusart, Jacob Gole, and *Les Héros de la Ligue*, see Rudolph WEIGEL, *Supplément au peintre-graveur de Adam Bartsch* (Leipzig: Rudolph Weigel, 1843), 340; F. W. H. HOLLSTEIN, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1949-), 6:79, 7:240; Eugène DUTUIT, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes* (Amsterdam: G. W. Hissink, 1970-72), 2:145-47.

[4] A plan, a section, and a perspectival view of the Temple's interior—a great barrel-vaulted basilica with two levels of galleries running continuously on all four sides—are in Jean MAROT, *L'architecture françoise* (ca. 1670; Paris: Laget, 1970). On the Temple at Charenton, see Helen ROSENAU, "The

Lors que l'on me graisse la main.
Aux plus francs huguenots ie suis doux et traitable;
Sans cela il n'est point de diable.
Plus barbare et plus inhumain.

Burly and gap-toothed, hooded in a black cloak, the Delamare of *Les Héros de la Ligue* laughed the terrifying laugh of comic-book villains—an early modern Joker. **[fig. 3.3]**

However facile this may seem, it is important that we begin our story with this picture, if only to remind ourselves of what was masked by the paternalistic ideology of the police, by the 'enlightened,' eudemonistic discourse of careful administrators benevolently looking after the people's *bonheur*. The much-vaunted work of police was often, fundamentally, violent. The Huguenot pamphlet demands that we adjust to a basic paradox: depending on the perspective, the *ville policée* was a well-ordered, peaceful, even beautiful city and/or a nightmarish one. Delamare—the remarkably erudite scholar, the justly admired founder of the science of police—was also the rubicund "diable" who tore down the Temple at Charenton.

Monsieur Le Commissaire De La Mare

Nicolas Delamare was born in 1639 in Noisy-le-Grand, a town about ten miles east of Paris.[5] He probably grew up in relatively modest circumstances: his family had been

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Synagogue and Protestant Church Architecture," *JWCI* vol. 4, no. 1/2 (Oct. 1940-Jan. 1941): 80-84 at 81-82; Rosalys COOPE, *Salomon de Brosse and the Development of the Classical Style in French Architecture from 1565 to 1630* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1972), 183-87.

[5] For the biography of Delamare, see "Eloge de M. de la Mare," *Mercure* (May 1723): 938-44, repr. in *Mercure de France* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1968-): 4:247-48; Anne-Louis LECLER DU BRILLET, "Eloge de M. de La Mare," in *Traité*, 4:[i-v]; Arthur-Michel de BOISLISLE, "Nicolas Delamare et le *Traité de la police*," *BSHPIF* vol. 3 (1876): 79-85; Paul-Martin BONDOIS, "Le commissaire Delamare et le *Traité de la police*," *Revue d'histoire moderne*, no. 19 (Sept.-Oct. 1935): 313-51, esp. 313-18; Jacques SAINT-GERMAIN, *La Reynie et la police au grand siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1962), 37-42; Nicole DIAMENT,

established in Noisy-le-Grand since the sixteenth century; non-noble, of simple means, they made their living as administrators of land which belonged to the priory of Saint-Martin-des-Champs. His parents, Guillaume Delamare and Françoise Le Roy, died when he was young, and Nicolas was sent to a *collège*, although it appears that he never completed a full course of study. Anne-Louis Lecler du Brillet (??-1760)—assistant to the late Delamare, "continuateur" of the *Traité de la police*, and author of an *éloge* which smells of hagiography but, alas, remains the only biographical portrait written by someone who knew Delamare—claimed that Nicolas was raised by a paternal great-uncle, Jean Chaillot, who served as secretary to the Prince de Condé; that he had a "passion naturelle pour la lecture"; that he read every book he could get a hold of, including "les ouvrages d'Euclide, de Ptolomée, & le Corps du Droit"; and that he was so fond of ancient and, especially, Roman history that, in 1664, he traveled to Italy and stayed in Rome for "un assez long séjour." Some of this is certainly true: Delamare remained all his life a voracious reader; he must have been trained in the law quite early on; his interest in things ancient and Roman is well documented in the *Traité*. The account of the great-uncle employed by the Prince de Condé is doubtful but still plausible: the Prince's downfall during the

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"Recherches sur la police parisienne sous Louis XIV à travers l'œuvre et la carrière de Nicolas Delamare," thesis (Ecole des chartes, 1974), esp. 134-60 (I wish to thank Nicole Diament for allowing me to study her thesis, now an *archive privé* at AN AB/XXVIII/589); Nicole DYONET, "Le commissaire Delamare et son *Traité de la police*, 1639-1723," in *Entre justice et justiciables: les auxiliaires de la justice du moyen âge au XXe siècle*, ed. Claire Dolan (Laval, Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2005): 101-19, esp. 102-11; Quentin EPRON, "Nicolas Delamare," in *Dictionnaire historique des juristes français, XIIe-XXe siècle*, ed. Patrick Arabeyre, Jean-Louis Halpérin and Jacques Krynen (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2007): 236-37.

Short entries on Delamare appeared in several eighteenth-century biographical dictionaries; none of them is of much interest, they were all lifted from Lecler's *éloge*. See Claude François LAMBERT, *Histoire littéraire du règne de Louis XIV* (Paris: Prault, 1751), 408-09; Louis MORÉRI, Claude-Pierre GOUJET and Étienne François DROUET, *Le grand dictionnaire historique* (Paris: Chez les libraires associés, 1759), 7:217; Jean-Baptiste-René ROBINET et al., *Dictionnaire universel des sciences morale, économique, politique et diplomatique, ou Bibliotheque de l'homme-d'état et du citoyen* (London: Chez les libraires associés, 1777-78), 22:689-90.

Fronde could have been the reason Nicolas had to interrupt his studies at the *collège*, for the great-uncle would have lost his job then. Of the trip to Rome, there is no proof whatsoever.

About 1660, for reasons that remain unclear, the family office passed to Nicolas's uncle, Pierre Delamare, and Nicolas eventually left Noisy-le-Grand for Paris. In the capital, the young Delamare practiced as a legal clerk until 1668, when he purchased an office of Procureur at the Châtelet, a good but relatively modest position within the great Parisian tribunal. In the early 1670s Delamare's life took two momentous turns. In 1670 or 1671 he married Antoinette Savinas. She was the daughter of the late Jean-Antoine Savinas, whom Lecler described as "Avocat ès Conseils du Roi," and of Catherine Pouget, who lived comfortably in the Rue Saint-Honoré, her income secured by a wine-producing land she owned west of Paris, in Carrières-sous-Poissy, and an inheritance from her uncle, Jean Lecerf, who had been a Commissaire at the Châtelet. By way of marriage, thus, Delamare left behind the *roture* and the provincial milieu of his youth, and joined an urban, *robine* family with connections to the worlds of magistrature and government; he also came into something of fortune. (To put it bluntly, he married up.) In 1671 Antoinette's mother gave the couple a portion of a house in the Rue de la Tixeranderie, near the Hôtel de Ville, where they moved. The following year, after retaining for herself and her second daugther an annuity of 900 livres, Delamare's mother-in-law gave the couple some money, a third of her uncle's inheritance, and title to the land in Poissy. Shortly thereafter, Delamare used the new wealth for an important career move: in March 1673 he sold his office of Procureur and purchased, for 25,000 livres, one of Commissaire. Admitted to the company the following May, Delamare was to hold the

post of Commissaire in the quartier of the Cité until his death, or just about half a century.

We know relatively little about Delamare's private life. He had at least three children: two daughters, Jeanne-Gertrude and Antoinette-Charlotte, who lived to adulthood, and a son, who died in 1694. In 1682, surely to comply with the requirement that commissioners live in the quartier they were meant to police, he moved to the Ile de la Cité, first to the Rue aux Fèves, then to the Rue Neuve-Notre-Dame, at the corner of the Rue de Venise, in a house he rented from the Hôtel-Dieu. He kept a household appropriate to his station: in 1711, he employed a clerk, a *cuisinière*, a *femme de chambre*, and a *laquais*.[6] He had two friends he called "intimes,"[7] both singularly positioned, like him, between the world of the law and that of antiquarian studies: Charles-César Baudelot de Dairval (1648-1722), son of a Commissaire at the Châtelet, who practiced as a lawyer in his youth but eventually devoted his life to numismatics and other antiquarian preoccupations, and Claude-Bernard Rousseau (1648-1720), who held an office of Auditeur at the Chambre des Comptes but was also a bibliophile, a collector of manuscripts, and a student of Parisian *antiquitez*. Of Delamare's character and beliefs, we know practically

[6] The household's employees are listed in Delamare's *capitation* for the year 1711, at AN G/7/1728, fol. 95. This tax record is part of a bundle of papers that were produced during a dispute between Delamare and a former clerk of his, Gabriel Bonhomme Delafosse. (During the *disette* of 1709, Delamare went as a special envoy to the province of Champagne and took Delafosse as his *greffier*. At the end of the year-long mission, Delamare was paid 17,825 livres, 3,450 of which should have been Delafosse's salary. When Delamare delayed payment, Delafosse protested, repeatedly, to both the Lieutenant Général de Police and the Contrôleur Général des Finances. The dispute, which dragged on through 1713, turned nasty. Delamare claimed he owed Delafosse—"cet injuste et ingrat domestique"—only 303 livres: he deducted pay for seven weeks in which Delafosse had fallen ill and he had to hire a substitute *greffier*; expenses for Delafosse's food and lodging; and hundreds of livres which he claimed to have paid to settle debts Delafosse had incurred "pour fournir à ses plaisirs, et à ses debauches." It is unclear how the dispute ended, but it appears that Delamare was finally required to pay Delafosse about 3,000 livres, that is, everything but the salary for the substitute *greffier*. See AN G/7/1728, fols. 93-111, 239-41.)

[7] *Traité*, 1:[xviii] ["Préface"].

nothing. He was a devout Catholic. He was conscientious to a fault. He appears to have been something of a hypochondriac.[8]

Delamare had a very distinguished career as a police officer. One of the first records we have of his activity at the Châtelet is especially revealing: in 1673, shortly after his appointment, his fellow Commissaires elected him treasurer of the *bourse commune*, the keeper of the company's archive, and the company's *syndic*—important responsibilities all, which one wouldn't normally entrust to a novice.[9] Delamare's five years as a Procureur certainly counted for something: one of the affairs he was to handle as the company's legal representative concerned a long-standing dispute between the Commissaires and the corps of Procureurs. But the junior Commissaire was probably chosen because he already had something of a reputation: a tireless and meticulous worker; an officer knowleadgeable with the workings of the Châtelet, with the court's procedures and its befuddling paperwork; someone familiar with archival research and capable of drafting mémoires and legal briefs—a diligent bureaucrat, a patient 'scholar,' and a bright legal mind.

Delamare's qualities were noted early by his superiors at the Châtelet, most notably by La Reynie. His reputation as a competent and reliable officer also reached Colbert and, perhaps, Louis XIV himself. According to a biographical mémoire written in 1716 to secure funding for Delamare's research, in 1678 Delamare "fut

[8] Jacques Saint-Germain found details on three doctors whom Delamare consulted regularly: "les médicastres le mettent au lait d'ânesse (8 livres par mois), lui frottent le ventre avec de l'eau-de-vie ou de l'huile aromatique, lui font acquérir, en vue de préparations mystérieuses, une douzaine de vipères, le purgent à tour de bras." SAINT-GERMAIN, *La Reynie*, 41. I should note that Saint-Germain's source (a document in Delamare's police paperwork, at AN Y/14370/B) could in fact refer not to Delamare's own household but to one of the households that Delamare investigated. See DIAMENT, "Recherches sur la police parisienne," 147-48.

[9] See DYONET, "Le commissaire Delamare," 109-10. Dyonet's source is at BnF ms. fr. 21566, fol. 406.

choisy par M. Colbert et M. de la Reynie [...] pour le charger des affaires qui concernoient plus singulierement le service du Roy et le bien public."[10] Two such affairs consisted in uncovering fraud at Versailles: Lecler wrote that the Commissaire was assigned by the king "pour découvrir les malversations dans les finances, dans la conduite des bâtimens de Versailles, & pour le recouvrement des meubles & effets de la couronne."[11] Apparently, Delamare discharged himself well in these special commissions, so much so that, in 1683, he was granted an audience with the king; the 1716 mémoire, and Lecler after it, recounted the words spoken by Louis:

> Je n'ay jamais esté servy avec plus d'exactitude, de zele et de diligence, Je m'en souviendray, Je sçay bien que par votre desinteressement vous n'en estes pas mieux avec la fortune, mais j'auray soin de vous.[12]

However improbable the direct quotation, the king did take care of Delamare: in 1683 he entrusted the Commissaire with the "intendance" of one of his legitimized sons, the Comte de Vermandois. The "recompense" that came with the task was short-lived, for the sixteen-year-old Comte died soon after, in November 1683. In 1684, to compensate Delamare and reward him for his service, the crown granted him a *pension*, fixed initially at 1,000 livres and then doubled in 1685—2,000 livres which Delamare continued to receive until 1717 at least.

At the Châtelet, Delamare's star rose quickly. By 1682, but probably even earlier, he had become the Commissaire *ancien* of his quartier. Most important, he had developed a special relationship with La Reynie, who more and more trusted

[10] "Services rendus par le Commiss[ai]re Delamare qui ont servy de fondement à la pension de 2000 l[ivres] que le Roy a eu la bonté de luy accorder, dont il jouït depuis 32 ans," BnF Joly 144, fols. 76-81 at 76. This document is also reproduced in BONDOIS, "Le commissaire Delamare," 333-40.

[11] *Traité*, 4:[ii-iii] ["Eloge de M. de La Mare"].

[12] BnF Joly 144, fols. 81-81v; *Traité*, 4:[iii] ["Eloge de M. de La Mare"].

him with missions of a sensitive nature. The Lieutenant, in particular, relied on Delamare for handling religious affairs, both before and after October 1685, when the Edict of Fontainbleau ended the nation's policy of religious toleration. Before that date, Delamare's task primarily consisted in regular visits to Protestant temples and the houses and businesses of those associated with the "religion prétendue reformée," with the goal of seizing books deemed injurious to the Catholic religion. After 1685, the Commissaire was required to perform more brutal actions: he presided over the destruction of houses of worship; he interrogated the Huguenots who were arrested while fleeing and any suspected of helping the escapees; he verified the sincerity of several hundreds who had submitted declarations proving they had converted to Catholicism.[13]

Another key responsibility concerned the control of the press and the book trade, an area of police work in which Delamare became La Reynie's point man. Working with the Chambre Syndicale of the corporation of printers and booksellers, Delamare made regular tours of the Parisian shops. When he found books "déféndus, imprimez sans approbation ny permission, ou contrefaits," he impounded them, keeping detailed lists for his own record.[14] He rooted out clandestine printers and rear-shop operations. He checked on the business of *colportage*. He attempted to ensure that nothing untoward was printed or sold. Sometimes he had actionable information for his raids, in the form of anonymous denunciations that came directly

[13] On Delamare's functions in the surveillance of the "religion prétendue reformée," see BnF Joly 144, fols. 78-79; DIAMENT, "Recherches sur la police parisienne," 272-75.

[14] Many such lists of impounded books are at BnF ms. fr. 21743, fols. 2-95.

his way.[15] (The people in the press business tattled on each other.) Most often, he acted on the Lieutenant's orders to check on a particular shop or even a specific piece of writing. In all these activities, he proved very capable. On 25 August 1678, for example, La Reynie wrote to him that he had received orders from the king "pour empescher que le traité de paix qui a esté signé avec la Hollande ne soit publié et debité par les colporteurs jusques à ce que Sa Majesté l'ayt permis." Delamare must have acted promptly, for on the same day La Reynie wrote to him again, "Il ne se peut rien ajouter à la diligence que vous avez usé et je vous prie de continuer, car cela est important au service du Roy."[16] (The Châtelet had a very efficient communication system, which allowed for multiple exchanges during the same day. Delamare could write a report at the end of his morning round and receive La Reynie's instructions soon after, usually in the form of an *apostille* on his letter. Then as now, in police work, speed was the key.) Delamare also showed initiative, at least up to a point. On 31 July 1683, for example, one day after the death of the Queen, he wrote to La Reynie of a suspicious "chanson" he had found at a printer's. The Lieutenant replied forthwith, "Vous pouvez laisser imprimer cette chanson, il faut quelque chose au peuple, il paroit sensiblement touché de la perte de la Reyne."[17] Unsurprisingly, the Commissaire always deferred to the Lieutenant's authority.

[15] An example of a "mémoire délateur," which informed on several persons who kept bookstores or book-stalls without proper authorization, is quoted in DIAMENT, "Recherches sur la police parisienne," 483-84. Sample line: "La Veuve Nion a une boutique ouverte au premier pavillon du Collège des Quatre Nations et fait étaller des livres sur les bords du quay depuis ledit pavillon jusques devant l'hôtel de Conti, et les festes et dimanches sur le Pont Neuf et le Pont Royal."

[16] LA REYNIE to Delamare, 25 Aug. 1698, BnF ms. fr. 21743, fol. 130.

[17] DELAMARE to La Reynie and back, 31 July 1683, BnF ms. fr. 21743, fols. 284-85.

Delamare also distinguished himself in what was arguably the most critical of police functions, namely the control of the grain trade. In addition to the surveillance of Parisian markets—a basic function of all Commissaires—Delamare was often charged with special tasks concerning the provisioning of Paris: he would investigate, for example, the practices of grain merchants in towns near the capital; the reports he prepared would then inform the sentences pronounced by the Lieutenant at the Châtelet's Chambre de Police.[18] Most important, Delamare was entrusted with extraordinary responsibilities during the three *disettes* that France experienced in 1693-94, 1698-99, and 1709-10—major subsistence crises caused by severe weather (in January 1709 the Seine froze) as well as by structural problems in the production and distribution of grain. On all three occasions, Delamare was commissioned as a special envoy, first by the Parlement, then, in 1709, by the Conseil du Roi. In this capacity, Delamare went for three extended missions to the provinces of Burgundy and Champagne and was granted emergency powers to requisition grain to be sent to the capital as well as authority to issue ordinances to re-establish *police* in the provincial markets.[19]

The details of Delamare's performance on these special missions need not detain us. Nor does it seem necessary to retrace all Delamare's long career as a

[18] See, for example, two sentences pronounced in 1699 by d'Argenson condemning several merchants of the city of Dourdan (south-west of Paris) for having speculated on the price of *blé*, based on investigative reports made by Delamare. Police sentences, 10 Apr. 1699, 14 Aug. 1699, AN Y/9498, no. 24, 30.

[19] For a summary of these missions, see BnF Joly 144, fols. 79v-80v. See also the "Supplément" added to the second edition of the *Traité*'s second volume, in which Delamare offered a detailed account of his activities during the 1709-10 crisis. *Traité*-2, 2:1-68 ["Supplément"]; *Traité-A*, 2:888-934 [V.14.18].

Commissaire in the quartier of the Cité.[20] (He kept the position until his death, and did not begin to reduce his actual police work until March 1713, when he broke a hip.) By all accounts, Delamare performed admirably in *all* his functions.[21] His correspondence shows clearly that he had the trust of his superiors at the Châtelet, above all La Reynie and his successor the Marquis d'Argenson, as well as the esteem of key ministers at Versailles, notably Nicolas Desmarets, the Contrôleur Général des

[20] The basic archival source to document the Commissaire's career is the Y series (Châtelet) at the Archives Nationales. Records of Delamare's police work for the years 1673 to 1688 (*procès verbaux*, *plaintes*, *interrogatoires*, *informations*, *enquêtes*, etc.) are collected at AN Y/14370/A, Y/14370/B, and Y/14371. For the years after 1688, the research is considerably more difficult. The starting point is the records of the Châtelet's Chambre de Police, which can be sifted for sentences pronounced on the basis of Delamare's investigative reports. I searched only a small part of those records, aided primarily by two archival guides: Yvonne LANHERS, "Châtelet," in Michel ANTOINE et al., *Guide des recherches dans les fonds judiciaires de l'ancien régime* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1958): 163-220; Michèle BIMBENET-PRIVAT, *Ordonnances et sentences de police du Châtelet de Paris, 1668-1787. Inventaire analytique des articles Y 9498 et 9499* (Paris: Archives Nationales, 1992).

The other main documentary source is Delamare's own archive, now at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. The Commissaire kept *chez soi* many records of his police work. See, for example, the long *procès verbal* that Delamare drafted on 8 June 1681, "deux heures du matin," when he was called for an *apposition des scellés* at the hôtel of Dame Marie Radegonde de Roussille Descourailles Duchesse de Fontanges, who had died "il y a demie heure ou environ." BnF ms. fr. 21591, fols. 85-121. Another example is a *procès verbal* of 25 January 1692, "six heures du matin," when Delamare visited a number of "epiciers, droguistes et differens caffetiers" to check on infringements to the monopoly on tea and coffee imports that had just been granted to François Damame. BnF ms. fr. 21663, fols. 288-91. Useful information on Delamare's work can also be gleaned from the correspondence. One example: a letter from La Reynie, addressed, probably, to the Lieutenant Criminel, attests to an arrest made by Delamare on 22 June 1692: "Monsieur, Le Commissaire Delamare a fait arrester ce matin trois Espagnols vestus en pelerins dans le temps qu'ils sortoient de l'eglise Nostre Dame, ils sont agés de trente à trente deux ans, ils n'ont aucun passeport, ils disent estre de Saragosse," and claimed to have come "pour estre touchés lors que le Roy sera de retour." BnF ms. fr. 21806, fol. 75. (La Reynie saw no need to keep the three Spaniards in prison and wanted them sent back home.)

[21] The only blemish I could find is an accusation made in 1702 by one Courtils, a hack writer and book merchant who had done time at the Bastille in the 1690s. "Il y a dans Paris un homme d'épée, âgé de cinquante-cinq ans, qui le porte beau et qui gagne du bien tous les jours à faire débiter dans Paris des livres pernicieux. [...] Il y a plus de vingt-cinq ans qu'il se mêle de ce négoce; il a même été à la Bastille en l'année 1698 ou 1699, et il en est sorti par amis. [...] Il va souvent en Hollande faire imprimer les ouvrages qu'il compose. Il a le secret de les faire entrer dans Paris comme il veut par correspondances secrètes. Il en fait des débits extraordinaires, il les vend en blanc; il a un relieur attitré pour les relier, dont il y en a eu un qui se nommait Robert, près du Puits-Certain. Il dit qu'il a des ordres secrets pour cela, et qu'il y a un commissaire qui le protége, sa femme même s'en est vantée. C'est le commissaire Delamarre." "Rapport de police en 1702," in *Archives de la Bastille. Documents inédits*, ed. François Ravaisson, 19 vols (Paris: A. Durand et Pedone-Lauriel, 1866-1904), 10:9-10. (Courtils's accusation may be read alongside the charge, in *Les Héros de la Ligue*, that Delamare was "doux et traitable" to the Huguenots only when his hand was greased.)

Finances, who got to know and appreciate him during the 1709-10 crisis.[22] Lecler quoted a letter by Desmarets: "Le Commissaire Delamare est certainement un des meilleurs citoyens, & des plus dignes officiers que le Roi ait dans son Royaume."[23]

What made Delamare's reputation, however, were not his many accomplishments as a police officer but his authorship of the *Traité de la police*—a monumental work of historical scholarship, a remarkably thorough compendium of police regulations, and the first systematic treatment of the subject of police.

Delamare planned the *Traité* in great and ambitious detail. It was to comprise twelve *livres*, of which he managed to complete five. These were arranged into three folio volumes that were published in 1705 **[fig. 3.4]**, 1710, and 1719. (He left notes for a sixth book, on the subject of *voirie*, which was eventually published in 1738 by Lecler **[fig. 3.68]** as volume four of the *Traité*.) In the preface to the first volume, Delamare outlined the scope of the entire work and called it "un si grand & vast dessein, qui embrasse tant de matieres differentes, qui rapproche de nous des temps si éloignez, & qui n'avoit jamais esté entrepris ni touché de personne."[24] Delamare knew he was treading new ground. He was sure that this was his *magnum opus*—almost to the point of delusions of grandeur: For the first volume of the *Traité*, Delamare produced a set of eight maps tracing the urban development of Paris from antiquity to the present; he had the maps engraved with the signature "M. L. C. D. L.

[22] Correspondence between Delamare and the Lieutenants Généraux de Police is at BnF ms. fr. 21566. Many letters are also scattered in other volumes of the Delamare collection, for example at BnF ms. fr. 21583 (on affairs concerning the *compagnie* of the Commissaires) and BnF ms. fr. 21684 (on *nettoiement*). Correspondence between Delamare and Desmarets is at AN G/7/1643, fols. 63-68.

[23] *Traité*, 4:[iii] ["Eloge de M. de La Mare"].

[24] *Traité*, 1:[xviii] ["Préface"].

M.," an acronym (Monsieur Le Commissaire De La Mare) which sounded noble and grand, almost ancient Roman. **[fig. 3.5]**

Reviewers marveled at the *Traité* and the Commissaire's phenomenal erudition.[25] His book was in demand from abroad.[26] Officials at the highest level of the administration sought his advice.[27] By 1722, when he published a revised edition of the *Traité*'s first two volumes, Delamare was the nation's foremost authority on matters of police. When he died, in April 1723, the editors of the *Mercure* rushed to print an item on the "illustre défunt." They didn't have time to do a full obituary (which they promised for a later issue) and even got his age wrong (he was eighty-four, not "environ 82"), but they managed a description both compact and remarkably precise: "M. de la Mare, le Doyen des Commissaires au Châtelet de Paris, aussi recommandable par ses écrits, que par sa probité & ses emplois."[28]

'A kind of political code'

Delamare worked on the *Traité* for decades—three at the least, four-and-a-half if we believe his *continuateur*. According to Lecler, in August 1677 Guillaume de

[25] Significantly, all three volumes of the *Traité* were reviewed by both the *Journal des sçavans* and the *Journal de Trévoux*. See {Bibliography, Primary sources, Anonymous articles}.

[26] A passage of another mémoire written in 1716, which retraced briefly Delamare's work for the *Traité*, reads: "L'on a escrit des pais étrangers et M. l'Abbé Bignon [Jean-Paul Bignon, academician, director of the Bureau de la Librairie, and future librarian to the king] a receu des lettres d'Allemagne et d'Ecosse, que leurs principalles villes ont desja commencé à reformer leur police sur les matieres qui sont traitées dans ces deux premiers volumes." BnF Joly 144, fols. 86-88 at 87.

[27] In March 1720, for example, Guillaume-François Joly de Fleury, the Procureur Général at the Parlement, asked Delamare's advice concerning the *marée*, a matter of taxes levied on seafood. See DELAMARE to Joly de Fleury, 17 Mar. 1720, BnF Joly 126, fol. 188. On the Chambre de la Marée, the jurisdiction responsible for "le commerce & la police de poissons de mer," see *Traité*, 3:215-27 [V.37].

[28] *Mercure* (Apr. 1723): 844, repr. in *Mercure de France* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1968): 4:222.

Lamoignon, the Premier Président at the Parlement, **[fig. 3.7]** invited Delamare into his private library. After making some remarks "sur l'attention qu'on avoit toujours donné à l'étude du Droit Privé par préférence au Droit Public," Lamoignon addressed the Commissaire:

> J'ai formé deux desseins que je veux vous communiquer, par ce que j'espere que vous voudrez bien m'aider; le premier, de connoitre mon Paris comme je connois ma maison; & le second, de rassembler dans un Corps tout ce qui concerne le Droit Public.[29]

Delamare replied that such work would be difficult, well beyond "ses forces & [...] ses lumieres," but Lamoignon insisted:

> Je ne reçois point votre excuse; commencez & je réponds à la réussite. Je ne vous demande que deux jours de la semaine, & deux heures chaque jour; vous disposerez de ma bibliothèque, on vous communiquera les registres du Parlement, & je vous procurerai toutes les autres entrées dans les dépots, dans les bibliothèques, & dans les cabinets dont vous aurez besoin.

In Lecler's retelling, Delamare accepted Lamoignon's proposition, began the research at the end of that summer, but eventually suspended it on Lamoignon's death, in December 1677. He would continue to collect materials for the project throughout the 1680s but would not resume the actual writing until 1693, at the time of his first mission to Champagne; at that time he produced "un especе de Traité accompagné d'un Recueil de Reglemens" on the subject of provisioning, presented it to La Reynie, and told him of Lamoignon's idea. In this version of the story, the *Traité* was born then, when the Lieutenant approved of Lamoignon's project and encouraged the Commissaire to pursue it.

[29] *Traité*, 4:[ii] ["Eloge de M. de La Mare"].

Lecler's story has all the appearance of a fabrication.[30] (Delamare kept a vast, precise archive, in which he saved almost everything, down to single-sentence letters whose sole purpose was to arrange a meeting.[31] There is no trace in the archive of the meeting with Lamoignon.) Lamoignon was one of the most famous magistrates of his time, and it would not be inconceivable that Lecler simply 'dropped' his name to bolster Delamare's credentials. However dubious the story, it may be worth consideration. First, it offers important clues for understanding the *Traité* itself: Lamoignon's two "desseins" ("to know my Paris as I know my house" and "to gather into one corpus everything that concerns the *droit public*") capture remarkably well the two main ambitions that drove Delamare's project: on the one hand, a will to know the city, to map and describe its history and its workings; on the other, the will to compile a code of *droit public*, a corpus of rules for government. Second, the story offers valuable insights on Delamare's intellectual and scholarly aspirations: the Commissaire may never have met the late magistrate, but undoubtedly, even if only from afar, he saw Lamoignon as a central point of reference for his work and, in fact, as a model to emulate.

[30] Building on doubts raised first by Michel de Boislisle, Nicole Dyonet claimed that Lecler invented "de toutes pièces" this "petite histoire," proof being the fact that Delamare did not mention it in either the 1716 mémoires or the *Traité*. The argument is plausible but unconvincing: we have concrete proof, for example, that La Reynie contributed significantly to the making of the *Traité*, and yet Delamare did not acknowledge him either, except for a passing remark, in the 1705 preface, on "ces dignes Magistrats [La Reynie and d'Argenson] qu'on a vû remplir successivement le Tribunal de Police de la Ville capitale." See *Traité*, 1:[ix] ["Préface"]. See BOISLISLE, "Nicolas Delamare," 79n2; DYONET, "Le commissaire Delamare," 112n26.

[31] One of several: "Il est necessaire que je vous parle ce matin de trois affaires entre 11 et midi si vous en avez le temps." LA REYNIE to Delamare, 24 Nov. 1694, BnF ms. fr. 21566, fol. 26.

In the mid 1660s Lamoignon had assembled a small team of jurists to work at an ambitious project.[32] The problem was the nation's system of laws—or, in fact, the lack of a coherent, unified system. Lamoignon proposed to study the nation's disparate sources of law (above all the *coûtumes* of the northern regions and the norms that obtained in the southern *pays de droit écrit*), select their best articles, and re-write them into a single normative corpus: he would re-found French jurisprudence into a code of *droit civil* that would finally be uniformly applicable throughout the kingdom. Lamoignon's code, which took the form of a *Recueil des arrêtés*, that is, a systematic, rationally ordered compilation of norms, was never turned into actual law. As we saw earlier, Colbert and Louis XIV were also laboring at a project of legal reform and codification, but the political divide between the crown and the Parlement—and especially the confrontation over the role of the judges in the actual administration of justice—doomed Lamoignon's project. Arguably, however, Delamare took his first cue for the *Traité* from the *Recueil*, which circulated widely in legal circles through the late-seventeenth century and was eventually published in book form in 1702: what the late magistrate did with respect to common law and the *droit privé*, the Commissaire tried to do with respect to that "portion du Droit public" subsumed under the notion of *police*. (An oblique proof of what we may call Delamare's 'elective affinity' for Lamoignon can be found in a tiny typographical detail. We saw how the Commissaire fashioned himself as "M. L. C. D. L. M." To my knowledge, only one author before him signed himself or was referred to in such a way, with a grand-sounding acronym that spelled out both name and

[32] See Jean-Louis THIREAU, "Les arrêtés de Guillaume de Lamoignon: Une œuvre de codification du droit français," *Droits*, no. 39 (2004): 53-68; ID., "Guillaume de Lamoignon," in *Dictionnaire historique des juristes français, XIIe-XXe siècle*, ed. Patrick Arabeyre, Jean-Louis Halpérin and Jacques Krynen (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2007): 459-60.

office: in 1702, when Lamoignon's *Recueil* was first printed, the editors titled the volume "*Arrestez de Mr Le P. P. De L.*," the *arrêtés* of Monsieur Le Premier Président De Lamoignon.[33] **[fig. 3.8]**)

The *Traité*, however, was to be different from Lamoignon's *Recueil*. More than an actual code meant to reform or re-found the *droit public*, Delamare worked at producing a *recueil* that would systematize and, as it were, historicize the *police* and the *droit public*.

The *Traité* can be described as a historicized compendium of police regulations. Delamare organized the treatise into twelve books. In the first one, devoted to "la police en elle-même," Delamare traced the origin of the police to the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Roman states, what he called "les trois plus celebres Républiques ou Monarchies de l'Antiquité." He then discussed the history of the French police, with particular attention to the way the functions of police were exercised in the city of Paris, retracing its "vicissitudes," "les troubles qu'elle a eu à supporter," "ses chutes," and ultimately its final accomplishment, namely the 1667 creation of the Lieutenance and eventually "l'état de perfection où elle a esté portée de nos jours."[34] To complement the history of the Paris police, Delamare also included in the first book a historical and topographical description of the city and eight maps showing Paris from antiquity to the present. Books two to twelve were devoted to the eleven rubrics into which the Commissaire divided the tasks of police:

[33] [Guillaume de LAMOIGNON, Barthélemy AUZANET and Bonaventure de FOURCROY], *Arrestez de Mr le P. P. de L.; Arrestez ou loix projettées dans des conférences de Mr le P. P. de L. pour le pays coûtumier de France, & pour les provinces qui s'y régissent par le droit écrit* (s.l.: s.n., 1702). I should note that Lamoignon's *Recueil des arrêtés*, which was re-edited in 1768, 1777, and 1783, was a key source for the drafters of Napoleon's *Code civil*.

[34] *Traité*, 1:[iv] ["Préface"].

religion (book II), *mœurs* (III), public health (IV), *vivres* (V), *voirie* (VI), public safety (VII), liberal arts and sciences (VIII), commerce (IX), manufacture and mechanical arts (X), domestic servants (XI), and the poor (XII).

Book	Subject	Volume	Year	Pages	
I	Police	1	1705	265	
II	Religion	1	1705	110	
III	*Mœurs*	1	1705	150	
IV	Public health	1	1705	115	
V	*Vivres,* first part	2	1710	850	
	Vivres, second part	3	1719	1090	
VI	*Voirie*	4	1738	795	(by Lecler du Brillet)
VII	Public safety	-			
VIII	Arts and sciences	-			
IX	Commerce	-	(books VII to XII were never completed)		
X	Manufacture	-			
XI	Domestic servants	-			
XII	The poor	-			

In each of these books, the method was always to be the same. The introductory sections would explain the basic object of the rubric and offer a history of how the ancients had thought of and dealt with it. The books would then move to the history of what French rulers had done, a narrative that would then be supplemented with the text of the laws and regulations issued on the subject.

We may take, as an example, book three, on the discipline of *mœurs*, published in volume one of the *Traité*.[35] One hundred fifty pages long, the book was divided into seven sections. The first discussed luxury and retraced the history of sumptuary laws in the Bible, in ancient Greece and Rome, and in France, then giving excerpts of the laws issued by French monarchs since the Middle Ages and finally the full text of the most recent legislation prohibiting too fancy *habits* and *équipages*. The same structure (ancient history; French history; compilation of laws) applied

[35] *Traité*, 1:379-532 [III.1-7].

also to the other six sections, devoted to the regulations of police concerning banquets, spectacles, games, prostitution, blasphemy, and the practices of fortune-tellers and other kinds of sorcerers. The bulk of each section would be the actual transcription of legislative and judicial texts, organized in chronological order and summarized briefly in the margin of the page.

Delamare opened the *Traité* with a story of origins.[36] "L'Amour de la Societé que les hommes apportent en naissant, & les secours mutuels dont ils ont continuellement besoin, porterent bien-tôt les premiers habitans de la terre, à s'approcher & à se joindre plusieurs familles ensemble." If man's natural sociability was what gave rise to villages, cities, and states, man's nature was also the source of society's troubles. "La vie commode & tranquille fut le premier objet de ces societez: mais l'amour propre, les autres passions, & l'erreur y jetterent bientost le trouble & la division." This was what prompted "les plus sages d'entre les hommes" to establish laws. The distinction between *droit privé* and *droit public* emerged soon after, to separate the laws "qui ne concernent que les interests des particuliers" from those "qui ont pour objet le bien general & commun de la société." The laws of *police* were

[36] Although the *Traité de la police* has been used as a documentary source by many historians of early modern France, there exist relatively few analyses of the book itself. The most useful are BONDOIS, "Le commissaire Delamare et le *Traité de la police*," 332-33; DIAMENT, "Recherches sur la police parisienne," 162-95; Steven L. KAPLAN, *Bread, Politics and Political Economy in the Reign of Louis XV*, 2 vols (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976), 1:13-14, 55-56, 63-64; Michel FOUCAULT, *Sécurité, territoire, population. Cours au Collège de France, 1977-1978* (Paris: Gallimard, Seuil, 2004), 341-43; ID., "Omnes et Singulatim: Toward a Criticism of Political Reason," in *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, vol. 2, ed. Sterling M. McMurin (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1981): 223-54 at 249-50; Benoît PLESSIX, "Nicolas Delamare ou les fondations du droit administratif français," *Droits*, no. 38 (2003): 113-33; Quentin EPRON, "Nicolas Delamare et la culture juridique française des pré-Lumières," *Revue d'histoire des facultés de droit et de la science juridique*, no. 24 (2004): 9-33; Nicole DYONET, "Delamare, *Traité de la police*," in *Dictionnaire des grandes œuvres juridiques*, ed. Olivier Cayla and Jean-Louis Halpérin (Paris: Dalloz, 2008): 120-23; ID., "L'ordre public est-il l'objet de la police dans le *Traité* de Delamare?" in *Ordonner et partager la ville, XVIIe-XIXe siècle*, ed. Gaël Rideau and Pierre Serna (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2011): 47-74. The tables of contents of the *Traité*'s four volumes (1705, 1710, 1719, 1738) are transcribed in Alfred FRANKLIN, *Les sources de l'histoire de France. Notices bibliographiques et analytiques des inventaires et des documents relatifs à l'histoire de France* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1877), 547-53.

of the latter kind, the etymology of the word proved as much: the French *police* derived from πολιτεία (*politeia*), the name the Greeks gave to their *droit public*.

> Ce nom de Police, qui a passé des Grecs aux Romains, est parvenu jusu'à nous dans cette même signification, mais comme il renferme toutes les differentes formes de gouvernement, & qu'il y en a de plusieurs especes, il est équivoque. On le prend quelquefois pour le gouvernment general de tous les Estats, sous quelque forme qu'ils soient establis [...] D'autres fois il signifie le gouvernement de chaque Estat en particulier [...] mais ordinairement & dans un sens plus limité, il se prend pour l'ordre public de chaque Ville.[37]

None of this was particularly new. The Greek origin of the word *police* and its two principal meanings (a broad, expansive one, synonymous with political government, and a narrower one, used to describe the government of cities) were already well established in late seventeenth-century parlance.[38] Yet, as Delamare proudly stated in the *Traité*'s dedicatory letter, addressed to the king, the subject of police had never been properly studied.

> Personne jusques à present n'avoit pris soin d'en écrire, personne n'en avoit ramassé les Loix, ou pour en procurer la connoissance, ou pour en faciliter l'étude. Je n'ay donc pas crû devoir negliger plus long-temps une jurisprudence entierement consacrée à l'utilité commune, & qui merite par tant de raisons une préference toute singulière.[39]

[37] *Traité*, 1:2 [I.1].

[38] "Mot qui vient du Grec & qui veut dire réglement de ville. La *police* consiste à faire divers réglemens pour la commodité d'une ville, & ces divers réglemens doivent regarder les denrées, les métiers, les ruës & les chemins." Pierre RICHELET, *Dictionnaire françois* (Geneva: Jean Herman Widerhold, 1680), s.v. "Police." "Loix, ordre & conduite à observer pour la subsistane & l'entretien des Estats & des Societés. [...] *Police*, se dit plus particulierement de l'ordre qu'on donne pour la netteté & seureté d'une ville, pour la taxe des denrées, pour l'observation des statuts des Marchands & des Artisans." Antoine FURETIÈRE, *Dictionnaire universel*, 3 vols ([The Hague]: Arnout & Reinier Leers, 1690), s.v. "Police." "Ordre, reglement qu'on observe dans un Estat, dans une Republique, dans une ville. [...] *Police* se prend plus particulierement pour l'ordre qui s'observe dans une ville à l'égard de la conduite des habitans, de la vente des marchandises, des denrées. [...] *Police* se prend aussi pour l'ordre & le reglement de quelque chose que ce soit." *Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise*, 2 vols (Paris: Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1694), s.v. "Police."

[39] *Traité*, 1:[ii] ["Epistre"].

Delamare's first idea for the *Traité* was thus to produce a compendium of laws. By the late-seventeenth century, there already existed several collections of royal legislation. Delamare knew this literature well and would make extensive use of compilations such as Antoine Fontanon's *Les edicts et ordonnances des rois de France*, first published in the late-sixteenth century and re-edited and updated in the seventeenth.[40] Yet, as Delamare was to write in 1716, "ce travail immense"—the project of gathering into one corpus all the laws of the French monarchy—"n'a jamais pu estre suivy jusqu'à sa fin."[41] Moreover, nothing systematic had ever been produced on the matter of police. The greatest problem was that much of the legislation concerning the police—not only royal ordinances, but also parliamentary *arrêts*, ordinances of the Châtelet, etc.—had never actually been collected. No one, Delamare remarked, had heeded the call of Henry II, who in 1555 had issued letters patent calling specifically for such a collection.[42] How many laws, Delamare asked, were sitting in the archives, untranscribed? How many others were issued, "mais en feuilles volantes & fugitives, ou par des affiches, qui disparoissent si promptement que les idées s'en perdent par le même sort"? Delamare's first idea was thus to put together "une simple compilation du Texte des Ordonnances." He would do so by way of a systematic research in the archives where the 'facts' of police had been recorded: the Trésor des Chartes (which kept records of the medieval *chancellerie*),

[40] Antoine FONTANON, *Les edicts et ordonnances des rois de France depuis Louys VI dit le Gros jusques a present*, 4 vols (1580; Paris: s.n., 1611). See also Pierre GUÉNOIS, *La grande conference des ordonnances et edits royaux*, 3 vols (1593; Paris: Denys Thierry, 1678); Guillaume BLANCHARD, *Table chronologique, contenant un recueil en abregé des ordonnances, édits, déclarations, et lettres patentes des rois de France, qui concernent la justice, la police, & les finances … depuis l'année 1115 jusqu'à présent* (Paris: Charles de Sercy, 1688).

[41] BnF Joly 144, fols. 86-86v. On the *recueils des lois*, see FRANKLIN, *Les sources de l'histoire de France*, 511-53.

[42] Letters patent, May 1555, in *Traité*, 1:265-66 [I.15.3].

the Chambre des Comptes (the institution responsible for the *domaine* and for royal finances), and especially the archives of the institutions with police authority, above all the Parlement and the Châtelet.

Delamare, however, was not content with being a simple *compilateur* of police regulations:

> Je découvris dans ces réglemens que j'eus à parcourir, tant de sagesse, un si grand ordre, & une liaison si parfaite entre toutes les parties de la Police, que je crûs pouvoir *réduire en Art ou en Pratique l'Etude de cette Science, en rémontant jusques à ses principes*.[43]

This wonderfully equivocal sentence gives a good measure of Delamare's (outsized) ambitions: he would 'reduce into art,' that is, give method and order to the entire matter of police, the wide spectrum of activities subsumed under that notion.[44] Most important, he would do so "by going back to [the police's] principles," that is, by way of history. Police laws, Delamare argued, could only be fully understood via "la connaissance des évenemens qui leur ont donné lieu." The scope of the project changed:

> Ce n'est donc plus un simple Recueil d'Ordonnances, comme je m'étois d'abord proposé: ce sont des Dissertations sur toutes les matieres de Police: c'est une Histoire suivie de toutes ses Loix, & de tous ses Réglemens depuis l'établissement de la plus ancienne des Républiques jusques à present.[45]

This insistence on the historical method set the *Traité* apart from compilations such as Fontanon's but also from the work of jurists such as Lamoignon or Jean Domat

[43] *Traité*, 1:[ii] ["Préface"].

[44] To 'reduce into art' meant to reduce to method, to put in order, to systematize. The verb *reduire* could also be used not in the sense of reduction (making things smaller) but of redaction (to put in order but also to put in writing, to write out). This meaning was explained in the first edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, of 1694: "Il signifie quelquefois, Rediger. *Reduire en art. reduire en methode. il a reduit toute la Morale en tables. reduire en bon ordre. reduire en meilleure forme.*"

[45] *Traité*, 1:[ii] ["Préface"].

(1625-1696), arguably the most important legal theorist of the late-seventeenth century, the author of a short treatise on the *droit public* that was published posthumously, in 1697, as the fourth volume of his celebrated *Les loix civiles dans leur ordre naturel*.[46] When compared with Domat, the limits of Delamare as a theorist are evident. Domat—a friend of Pascal—wrote *more geometrico* a book that inscribed the laws of *droit public* within a rational and coherent doctrinal system. He distinguished, for example, between government and police. "[L]e Droit Public," he wrote, "n'est autre chose que le Systeme des regles, qui regardent l'ordre general du gouvernement, & de la Police d'un Etat."[47] Certain matters, most notably royal finances and the *domaine*, were beyond the province of police. Delamare never made that distinction; he never actually explained how the police was related to the *droit public* beyond saying that it was a "portion" of it.

Delamare was not a jurist or a theorist. He wrote from a different standpoint, bringing to bear on the study of the police a unique expertise, which combined both a deep knowledge of actual police practice, which he had acquired over decades as a Commissaire at the Châtelet, and an interest in history uncommon among his peers. "[M]on dessein," he wrote,

> n'a pas esté de donner un simple Recueil des Ordonnances & des Réglemens de Police, mais d'en rapporter l'Histoire. Ainsi j'ai dû remonter jusqu'à l'origine de chaque establissement, pour y faire voire dans leurs sources tous les principes, & pour ainsi dire toutes les semences de nos Régles, & de nos Maximes de Police. *Chaque chose ainsi considerée dés sa naissance nous y paroist dans sa pureté*. L'on y découvre avec beaucoup plus de certitude sa

[46] Jean DOMAT, *Le Droit public, suite des Loix civiles dans leur ordre naturel* (Paris: Jean-Baptiste Coignard, 1697). Domat's *Lois civiles dans leur ordre naturel* was first published in three volumes between 1689 and 1694.

[47] DOMAT, *Le Droit public*, [xxvii].

> veritable nature, les raisons & les motifs qui lui ont donné lieu, & consequemment l'estime & l'usage que l'on en doit faire.[48]

Throughout the *Traité*, on practically every subject he touched, Delamare would always and almost inevitably go into extented historical digressions reaching back to biblical stories, ancient history, and the history of the early French monarchy, in a painstaking attempt to get at the essence of things—at their *principes*, their origins, their first causes. The historical method would be Delamare's unfailing guide.

> J'ajoûte de plus que si cette methode est la meilleure dans toute sorte d'étude, elle l'est incomparablement davantage, & devient même en quelque sorte necessaire, lorsqu'il s'agit de la Police. Comme cette portion importante de nostre droit public consiste plus en Gouvernement qu'en Jurisdiction contentieuse, il est de sa nature de se proportionner toûjours aux circonstances des tems. Ainsi n'arrivant rien de nouveau sous le Ciel, selon le dire du Sage, c'est principalement dans les évenemens passez que nous pouvons puiser des régles de prudence, & de conduite pour le présent, & pour l'avenir.[49]

This sentence illustrates at once the strengths and the limits of Delamare's thinking. He correctly identified the nature of police as a matter of government rather than jurisdiction: if police was a governmental practice that needed to constantly adjust to changing circumstances, the only way to truly understand it was to follow those circumstances, through the vicissitudes of history. However, he could not see past what was then a conventional and, to some extent, retrograde understanding of history. Delamare's historical digressions were not meant to probe the police critically but to buttress and legitimize it, to show that the French police, established over centuries and brought to perfection by Louis XIV, was on par with that of his beloved ancients and consistent with the teaching of the Bible. Delamare never

[48] *Traité*, 1:[xviii] ["Préface"]. (The emphasis is mine.)

[49] *Traité*, 1:[xviii-xix].

questioned the authority of the "livres saints," of ancient and late antique writers, or even of authors closer to him such as Jean Bacquet or Jean Bodin. Nor did he ever question or criticize the laws of police promulgated by French monarchs, which were all, almost by definition, just and wise. History, for Delamare, was not a discipline of doubts and uncertainties, a terrain to be investigated, tested, probed. In the eyes of the Commissaire, history was an archive of authoritative, undisputable facts and pronouncements—a repository of truth. In his attempt to go back to origins as a way to grasp things in their purity, Delamare ultimately wrote the theory of the police by writing its history.

Delamare's main contribution to the study of the police was the way in which he divided, organized, and classified its functions. In the early-seventeenth century, Charles Loyseau had claimed that "la police consiste principalement en trois poincts, dont il faut traiter separément, sçavoir est aux denrées, aux mestiers, & aux ruës & chemins."[50] This tripartite definition (provisions, *métiers*, and *voirie*) was how late seventeenth-century authors usually understood the police. In Pierre Richelet's *Dictionnaire françois*, of 1680, the police "consiste à faire divers réglemens pour la commodité d'une ville, & ces divers réglemens doivent regarder les denrées, les métiers, les ruës & les chemins."[51] Delamare expanded considerably on this definition and built a scheme—the division of the functions of police into eleven domains—that was to remain the standard way of understanding the police throughout the eighteenth century.

[50] Charles LOYSEAU, *Cinq livres du droict des offices, avec le livre des seigneuries, et celui des ordres*, 2nd ed., 3 vols (Paris: Chez la veuve Abel l'Angelier, 1613), 2:90 [*Traité des seigneuries*, ch. 9, § 16].

[51] RICHELET, *Dictionnaire françois*, s.v. "Police."

> Quant à l'ordre que je me suis prescrit pour rendre cette étude méthodique, [...] J'ay commencé par prouver l'existance, & la necessité de la Police, la dignité de ses Magistrats, & la soûmission que l'on doit aux Loix; j'ay ensuite montré que *son unique objet consiste à conduire l'homme à la plus parfaite felicité dont il puisse jouïr en cette vie*.[52]

Delamare's classification of the functions of police was based on this eudemonistic principle, the idea that the chief goal of police was to see to man's happiness.[53] The police was the protector of the people's welfare: for Delamare, as for all his eighteenth-century followers, man's happiness was not antithetical to police control but actually depended on it.[54]

[52] *Traité*, 1:[ii] ["Préface"].

[53] Delamare's arguments should be compared to Jean Domat's analysis of "les deux parties essentielles du bien public pour le temporel": "La premiere consiste à faire que tout ce qui regarde le public soit dans un tel ordre, que de la part du gouvernement rien ne manque au particuliers, de ce qui peut leur rendre heureuse la vie dans la societé, ce qui dépend de l'assurance que chacun doit avoir d'une protection prompte & facile de la justice. La seconde, qui est une suite de cette premiere, consiste à faire fleurir dans un Etat les Sciences, les Arts, le commerce, & tout ce qui doit faire le bien public, afin de mettre en état non seulement de se rendre capables de leurs professions, mais de s'y perfectionner, & de s'acquiter exactement de leurs fonctions & de leurs devoirs." DOMAT, *Le Droit public*, [p. xxx].

[54] Although the ideology of police formulated by Delamare would never truly be challenged, in the second half of the eighteenth century there would be shifts of emphasis. The eudemonistic principle, in particular, would be inflected to insist on the police's role in seeing to the general interest of society. From a paternalistic ideology which envisioned the police as a direct emanation of sovereign power and which hardly distinguished between state and society (in Delamare, the welfare of the state and that of society were one and the same: both depended on the *bienveillance* of the sovereign), the police would increasingly be defined as an institution at the service of society. A few examples may be useful. Duchesne, in 1757: "La police a pour objet général l'intérêt public, la paix & la concorde des citoyens, l'ordre & l'harmonie de la société." Lemaire, in 1770: "La police [...] renferme l'universalité des soins relatifs à l'administration du bien public, le choix et l'emploi des moyens propres à le procurer, à l'accroître, à le perfectionner. Elle est, on peut le dire, la science de gouverner les hommes et de leur faire du bien, la manière de les rendre, autant qu'il est possible, ce qu'ils doivent être pour l'intérêt général de la société." Des Essarts, in the late 1780s: "La police est la science de gouverner les hommes et de leur faire du bien, l'art de les rendre heureux autant qu'il est possible et autant qu'ils doivent l'être pour l'intérêt général de la société." D[UCHESNE], *Code de la police, ou Analyse des reglemens de police*, 2nd ed. (1757; Paris: Prault pere, 1758), 1; [Jean-Baptiste LEMAIRE], "La police de Paris en 1770. Mémoire inédit composé par ordre de G. de Sartine sur la demande de Marie-Thérèse," ed. Augustin Gazier, *MSHPIF* vol. 5 (1878): 1-131 at 27-28; [Nicolas-Toussaint] DES ESSARTS, *Dictionnaire universel de police* (Paris: Moutard, 1786-89), quoted in Arlette FARGE, "Police," in *Dictionnaire européen des lumières*, ed. Michel Delon (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1997): 884-89 at 884. On the shifts of emphasis in the discourse of legitimation of the police, see KAPLAN, Steven L. and Vincent MILLIOT, "La police de Paris, une 'révolution permanente'? Du commissaire Lemaire au lieutenant de police Lenoir, les tribulations du *Mémoire sur l'administration de la police*, 1770-1792," in *Réformer la police. Les mémoires policiers en Europe au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Catherine Denys, Brigitte Marin and Vincent Milliot (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009): 69-115, esp. 102-03.

Delamare's chief argument was that the police was necessary for the very sustenance of life. "Le bonheur de l'homme, comme chacun sçait, dépend de trois sortes de biens, les biens de l'ame, les biens du corps, & ceux qu'on appelle de la fortune." The police was concerned with the moral quality of life (the good of the soul), the actual preservation of life (the good of the body), and the means to procure wealth and secure a comfortable life (the good of fortune). Elaborating on these three categories, Delamare identified eleven domains of social life into which the police reached, eleven rubrics that would be treated in one book each. Books two and three, on religion and *mœurs*, would deal with the measures necessary for sustaining the good of the soul, including rules for the observance of Sundays and religious feasts, regulations concerning the proper respect of Catholic discipline, and generally all the measures issued against a dissolute, wasteful life (e.g., sumptuary laws, regulations concerning drunkeness, or prohibition of games of chance). Books four to seven would treat "la santé, les vivres, les habits, le logement, la commodité des voyes publiques, la seureté & la tranquilité de la vie"—everything necessary for the good of the body: in these books Delamare would discuss the paramount problem of provisioning, which would end taking up the entire volumes two and three of the *Traité*, and the questions of urbanism and of public order, which he left unfinished. In the original plan, books nine to twelve would deal with the good of fortune, that is, the measures that had been put in place to regulate and sustain the economic and productive apparatus on which society rested: these would have been the object of books devoted to commerce, manufacture, domestic servants, and the poor—what we could call the world of labor. Book eight, on the arts and sciences, did not fit neatly into Delamare's scheme, for "Les Sciences & les Arts liberaux font une espece de classe à part, où l'on peut dire que se trouvent renfermez tous ces differens biens que

la Police a pour objet."[55] The arts and sciences, Delamare argued, were primarily useful for the mind and the body and were not generally pursued for the sake of "gain mercenaire," yet they were also "l'une des routes qui conduisent aux fortunes plus éclatantes." Placed between the books on the body and those on fortune, the eighth book would have discussed police regulations concerning schools and universities as well as the measures concerning the activities of professionals (e.g. doctors, pharmacists, *chirurgiens*) and artists.

Delamare based this classification on the authority of "les livres saints" and the ancients. He argued that the Greeks divided their police into three parts, "la conservation, la bonté, & les agrémens de la vie," a model that would then be taken up by the Romans and eventually by "nos Ancêtres," the first kings of the Franks.

> Nôtre Police ayant donc esté formée sur ces grandes modeles de l'Antiquité, nous avons aussi conservé, à peu de choses près, leur même Methode dans la division des matieres. Il y a seulement cette difference, que la sainteté de nôtre Religion ne nous permettant de preferer les soins du corps à ceux de l'âme, les premiers Empereurs Chrêtiens, & nos Rois après eux, sans rien toucher aux termes, ny à l'esprit de cette ancienne division, n'en ont fait que changer l'ordre. De-là vient qu'au lieu que les Grecs se proposerent pour premier objet de la Police la conservation de la vie naturelle, nous avons postposé ces soins à ceux qui la peuvent rendre bonne, & que nous divisons comme eux en deux points, la Religion, & les Mœurs.[56]

Once more, this was to give historical and moral legitimacy to the French monarchy and show that the police of France was a form of rule modeled on the ancients and rethought in light of Christian principles.

On close inspection, Delamare's argument on soul, body, and mind appears contrived. The Commissaire's hesitation on the placement of book eight indicates

[55] *Traité*, 1:[iii] ["Préface"].

[56] *Traité*, 1:3-4 [I.1].

already that the *Traité*'s theoretical structure may not be sound. One can think of other frailties. Where did Delamare plan to deal with censorship and the control of the press? In the preface, he wrote that he would discuss the prohibitions of "libelles diffamatoires" and "gazettes à la main" in book seven, on public order, in a section on the police's efforts to "prévenir toutes les entreprises secrettes & clandestines" which may trouble the "tranquilité publique." He planned to discuss *imprimerie* in book eight and would probably have included the regulations concerning the printers' *métier* in book ten, on manufacture and mechanical arts. But why did he not discuss censorship in book three, on *mœurs*?

We may look for some answers in the draft tables of contents which survive in Delamare's archive. The earliest scheme appears to be a fourteen-page manuscript "Table generalle des ord[onnan]ces et reiglemens de police de la ville de Paris,"[57] a document which probably dates to the mid 1690s. On the first page, Delamare sketched out a basic diagram: **[fig. 3.11]**

[57] BnF ms. fr. 21563, fols. 168-77.

La police de Paris comprend ~~sept~~ six matieres qui <concernent>

- La religion
- La discipline des moeurs
- La seureté et tranquilité publique
- ~~Les provisions des choses necessaires a la vie~~
- La santé
- ~~L'entretien des rues et places publiques~~
- ~~L'establissemens et conservation~~
- L'establissemens et la conservation
  - Des arts liberaux
  - Du commerce
  - et Des arts ~~et mestiers~~ mecaniques
- La seureté, commodité et propreté
  - De la voie publique
- L'abondance, la bonté et le prix
  - Des choses necessaires a la vie

Except for two subjects (domestic workers and the poor), Delamare had already indentified the key rubrics that would make up the *Traité*, although he clearly had not yet settled on the final structure. In this, as in all other surviving drafts, religion and *mœurs* were placed at the top of the list, but the sequence of rubrics was still tentative and the groupings of soul, body, and fortune, which Delamare discussed so proudly in the 1705 preface, were not yet there.

Similar assessments can be made of the most complete of Delamare's surviving drafts, a manuscript of some eighty-eight folio pages which, again, shows that Delamare, while still toying with their final sequence, had early on a well-defined idea for each of the twelve books (the introductory one, plus one each for the eleven domains).[58] Significantly, this detailed scheme shows that Delamare expected the *Traité* to be a considerably smaller work, which would have fit "en deux tomes."[59] Their structure would be very simple: the first would comprise "les matieres

[58] Ibid., fols. 17-63.

[59] Ibid., fol. 17. By 1716, when Delamare had already published the *Traité*'s first two volumes, which comprised books one to four and half of book five, the plan was to produce at least five or six volumes. The 1716 mémoire reads: "L'ouvrage finit en ces endroit [book twelve, on the poor], que l'on tachera de renfermer en cinq tomes, mais tout au plus en six." BnF Joly 144, fol 90.

generalles de police," the second, "tout ce qui concerne la police particuliere des corps et communautez"; "~~six~~ sept [livres] dans le premier tome, ~~six~~ cinq dans le second."[60] In light of such straigthforward classification, Delamare's thesis on soul, body, and fortune appears to be not much more than a post-facto rationalization, not necessarily meaningless but not too interesting from a theoretical point of view. Delamare did not forget the matter of censorship: he touched on it often while retracing the history of the Paris police, for example in a section discussing the functions of the Commissaires with respect to the arts and sciences.[61] Delamare approached and 'figured out' the police not from the standpoint of theory but from that of practice, from his knowledge and experience of the actual business of police.

The sequence of books sketched in this extended draft table of contents is also of interest.[62] Delamare set the book on public order and security (book seven in the 1705 preface) as book three, after religion and *mœurs* and before provisions. The change, of course, may be easily left unremarked. Many reasons might have contributed to the final adjustment: Delamare, for instance, may have decided to put first the matters he knew best and on which he had more documentary material. However, if we read the final twelve-book sequence as a declarations of priorities, as a statement on the relative importance of those rubrics within the overall project of police, the change is significant: public order—which one would expect to be one of the central objects of police—would eventually be placed after the problems of

[60] The crossing out was, clearly, a simple mistake: Delamare forgot to count book one, the introduction on the police in general.

[61] *Traité*, 1:206 [I.11.7].

[62] Volume one: religion (1), *mœurs* (2), security (3), provisions (4), health (5), *voirie* (6). Volume two: liberal arts and sciences (7), commerce (8), *arts et métiers* (9) domestic workers and *manouvriers* (10), the poor (11). BnF ms. fr. 21563, fol. 17.

religion and *mœurs*, after the matter of health and food, after the matter of *voirie*. Public order was but one of the many functions of the police, and certainly not its most important.

In the preface, Delamare explained how he began the project of the *Traité* by reflecting on the two functions which his office entailed: those concerning "les affaires & les interests particuliers" and those "qui n'ont pour objet que le service du Roy et le bien public." It was the second that interested him most. "Dans cette vûë, & en effet pour ma propre instruction," he wrote, "je commençay à étudier ces matieres du Droit public."

> Je formay en même tems le dessein de ressembler tout ce qui avoit esté fait sur ce sujet, & d'en composer une espece de Code politique pour mon usage particulier, & sur lesquel je pusse régler ma conduite.[63]

The collocation "code politique"—which at times, in his manuscript notes, Delamare employed as an alternate title for the *Traité*[64]—at once captures the scope of the Commissaire's intellectual ambition. Conflating *police* and *politique*,[65] Delamare envisioned the *Traité* as the ultimate code of government. And, in a sense, the *Traité* was that. It presented the first truly comprehensive account of the range and complexity of the police, of the entire spectrum of activities subsumed under that notion.

[63] *Traité*, 1:[i] ["Préface"].

[64] See, for example, Delamare's draft for the introduction of the book on the *voirie*: "Code politiq, ou recueil des ordonnances et reglemens concernant la police generale de france, et en particulier la police de la ville prevoste et vicomte de paris. Livre septieme. Police de la voirie. Preface." BnF ms. fr. 21563, fol. 7. **[fig. 3.64]**

[65] The first *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, of 1694, listed two meanings for the adjective *Politique*: "Qui concerne le gouvernement d'un Estat, d'une Republique. [...] *Politique* se dit aussi d'Un homme adroit & fin, qui sçait arriver à son but, & s'accommoder au temps." The noun *Politique* was defined thus: "L'art de gouverner un Estat, une Republique. [...] *Politique* se prend aussi pour les Traitez qui enseignent la politique. [...] *Politique* signifie aussi La maniere adroite qu'on tient pour se conduire, & parvenir à ses fins."

All the main sections of the *Traité*—the dedicatory letter, the preface, and the first chapter of each book—were illustrated with allegorical vignettes.[66] The artists commissioned for such illustrations were all, in one way or another, associated with the work sponsored in the late-seventeenth century by the Petite Académie for the celebration of Louis XIV, namely the decoration of the Grande Galerie at Versailles and the production of the king's medallic history. The six vignettes in volume one were drawn by a disciple of Charles Le Brun, the painter and draughtsman Antoine Dieu (1662-1727), and engraved by three artists who had done engravings for the *Médailles sur les principaux événements du règne de Louis le Grand*: Bernard Picart (1673-1733), a pupil of the principal designer of the *Médailles*, Sébastien Leclerc; and the brothers Benoît (or Benedict) Audran (1661-1721) and Jean Audran (1667-1756), who worked with their uncle Gérard, then Graveur Ordinaire du Roi.[67] The choice of these artists was not haphazard, for the *Traité* too was meant to be a celebration of the king and his accomplishments. The dedicatory letter was quite explicit: in establishing the Lieutenance and entrusting the police of Paris to a single magistrate,

[66] A useful discussion of the vignettes is in DYONET, "L'ordre public est-il l'objet de la police dans le *Traité* de Delamare?" 68-69.

[67] The images in the other volumes of the *Traité* are of uneven quality. The vignette for volume two, on the subject of *vivres*, published in 1710, was drawn by Desmarestz and engraved by Etienne Desrochers. For volume three, of 1719, which completed the book on *vivres*, Delamare went back to an image drawn by Dieu and engraved by Benoît Audran. (The vignette for volume four, on the *voirie*, published by Lecler in 1738, was drawn by A. Robert and engraved by N. Dupuis. **[fig. 3.67]**) It is unclear how much Delamare contributed to the making of these images. He certainly supervised their production, but it is unclear who actually came up with the allegorical motifs. The only relevant record I could find is a a short text, in Delamare's tortured hand, titled "Pour la vignette de mon 2. livre." The text is a description of the illustration for the book on religion, in volume one, and was probably written after the image was made. "La salle d'audience de Constantin. L'empereur debout quelques pas devant son <+> accompagné de sa cour et de ses gardes. Les <+> du Concil de Nicée qui lui presentent les articles du Concil [...]" BnF ms. fr. 21563, fol. 184

Louis had proved to be a new Augustus.[68] The glorification of the king was even more straightforward in the vignette appended to the letter, showing a resplendent Apollo riding his chariot. **[fig. 3.9]** A figure of justice hovering behind him, Apollo descends from the sky to crush a series of monsters and wild beasts (a winged dragon, a snake, a fury, and a fox). On the left side of the image, under a palm-tree, two cherubs toy with a cornucopia and other symbols representing the arts and sciences. The message was clear: Louis, with his reform of the police, had not only secured the kingdom's prosperity and promoted its artistic and cultural renewal, he had also brought order to society by cleansing it of physical and moral chaos.

The most interesting image in the *Traité* was the one appended to the preface. **[fig. 3.10]** Set in a sumptuous library, the scene is dominated by a bust of Louis XIV inscribed "LVD·MAG·P·P·JVST·ET·ORD·REST" (Ludovicus Magnus, Pater Patriae, Justitiam et Ordinem Publicum Restituit). In the background are cabinets lined with books and the busts of ancient legislators such as Charlemagne, recognizable by the imperial crown. In the foreground, on the right, three cherubs, one holding a compass over a globe, a second reading a book, and a third presenting the king with a book inscribed "JVS PVB" (Jus Publicum). On the left, a jumble of symbols, including a sheaf of grain, to intone that Louis had re-established abundance to the kingdom, a painter's palette, pointing to the king's role as patron of the arts, and the figure of Clio writing the king's history, much as in Antoine Coypel's frontispiece of the

[68] "On peut dire, au reste, que dans tout ce qu'ont entrepris sur cette matiere [la Police] les plus sages Legislateurs, rien ne l'emporte sur ce qu'a établi de nos jours VOTRE MAJESTÉ. Un seul exemple approche, en quelque façon, de ce qu'Elle a fait pour nous procurer, outre tant d'avantages, une securité si heureuse, & si universelle. Cet exemple est celuy des Césars, qui par les sages établissemens qu'il fit dans la Capitale de l'Empire autant que par ses exploits, merita le nom d'Auguste. Ce Prince dit l'Histoire, crea dans Rome un Tribunal, & un Magistrat unique pour la Police, que beaucoup d'autres exerçoient auparavant avec une confusion terrible, & des inconveniens continuels." *Traité*, 1:[iii] ["Epistre"].

Médailles. **[fig. 2.18]** This vignette too was a celebration of Louis—a legislator on par with the ancients, the supreme guarantor of justice and public order, the source of the kingdom's prosperity, the prime mover of the kingdom's history. The image was also, however, a picture of Delamare's idea of the police and, in fact, a celebration of his own scholarly feat in writing the book on *Jus Publicum*.

At Versailles, in Le Brun's representation of the police on the ceiling of the Grande Galerie, the figure of justice commanded a group of soldiers to bring safety and light to the city: the police was, at bottom, a matter of public order and of *boues et lanternes*. **[fig. 2.17]** Delamare's reading of the police was far more expansive and went well beyond the management of urban services or the mere securing of public order: the police encompassed and reached into all social life—it was the very basis of civil society. Its *raison d'être* was to be found in the laws and ordinances written through history, in the manuscripts and the books of a great library. More than a governmental practice, the police, for Delamare, was a science, a form of knowledge. In this respect, two symbols in this vignette are telling. In the foreground, to the left of Clio, are a rooster and a lamp, which readers versed in the conventions of allegorical representation would have recognized as the two key attributes of "Estude." In Jean Baudoin's edition of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, the figure of Study was a young man, "le visage pasle, un habillement modeste, un livre ouvert, dans lequel il écrit à la clarté d'une lampe, & un coq à son costé." The lamp signified that "les vrais studieux gastent plus d'huile que de vin"; the rooster, that "la vigilance leur

est necessaire pour s'acquerir de parfaites notions des Arts & des Sciences."[69] The *Traité* was neither a simple description of police practices nor a dry compilation of laws. This was the work of a studious man, a scholar.

The making of the *Traité de la police*

The research that Delamare undertook for the *Traité* was prodigious. The merest glance reveals a work of daunting scope: almost three thousand pages of text; hundreds of legislative, administrative, and judicial acts methodically compiled; countless manuscript sources deciphered and painstakingly transcribed; references to scores of ancient and modern authors; myriad well-informed digressions into history, theology, philosophy, geography, economics, medicine, agronomy, animal husbandry; on every other page, erudite detours into the most disparate subjects—the etymology of the words "volume"[70] and "nuit"[71]; what the Bible says on the "débauche des femmes"[72]; the origin of magic and "astrologie judiciaire"[73]; why

[69] *Iconologie, ou Nouvelle explication de plusieurs images, emblemes, & autres figures hyerogliphiques ... tirée des recherches & des figures de Cesare Ripa, moralisées par J. Baudoin* (Paris: Louis Billaine, 1677), first part, 78-79.

[70] Etymology of *volume*, in a passage explaining how royal acts were originally written and collected. *Traité*, 1:260 [I.15.2].

[71] Etymology of *nuit*, in a chapter devoted to the Guet, the corps responsible for security at night. *Traité*, 1:234 [I.13.2].

[72] List of all the Bible's injunctions against prostitution, in a chapter titled "Combien la débauche des femmes a toujours esté odieuse, & de quelles peines ce vice estoit puni par les loix que Dieu donna aux Hebreux." *Traité*, 1:483-84 [III.5.1].

[73] Origin of magic and judicial astrology, in the introduction to a section titled "Des magiciens, des sorciers, des devineurs & des pronostiqueurs." *Traité*, 1:520-23 [III.7.1].

condiments and "ragoûts" should be taken with moderation[74]; how Le Nôtre and La Quintinie brought the "science du jardinage" to perfection[75]; the difference between "le blasphême, le jurement, & l'imprecation"[76]; the invention of chess.[77] One wonders how Delamare found time to undertake all this—while working his beat as a police officer. "Ce travail," he wrote of the work of compilation, in the *Traité*'s preface, "tout penible & rebutant qu'il est, me plut beaucoup dans la suite & j'y employai avec plaisir toutes les heures que les fonctions de ma charge me lassoient de repos."[78] No doubt, the *Traité* was a labor of love. For once, the *captatio benevolentiae* at the end of the preface was not the usual excercise in false modesty:

> S'il s'y trouve au surplus quelque negligence ou quelque deffaut de correction qui me soit échappé, je supplie le lecteur de considerer qu'*étant dans un employ, chargé de beaucoup de soins & de fonctions, j'ay été perpetuellement interrompu dans mes études & dans mon travail*: que si j'y ay reüssi, j'en suis redevable à la grace que Dieu m'a faite de me donner une santé assez forte pour soûtenir *les fatigues des veilles*, un attachement inviolable au Service du

[74] Condiments and *ragoûts* discouraged by Christian morality and by "les sages même d'entre les Payens," at the beginning of the section on "Assaisonnemens" in the book on *vivres*. *Traité*, 3:409 [V.44.1].

[75] *Eloge* of Le Nôtre and La Quintinie, in a section on gardens, the corporate statutes of the Jardiniers, and the police of fruit merchants. *Traité*, 3:383 [V.43.2].

[76] Difference between blasphemy, swearing, and cursing, in a section listing the laws prohibiting such practices. *Traité*, 1:511 [III.6.1]. (The difference could matter a lot. Blasphemy was governed by the royal declaration of 30 July 1666: a first offence was punished with "une amende pecuniaire" proportioned to the offender's means; second, third, and fourth offences triggered the doubling, trebling, and quadrupling of the fine; a fifth offence led to "une grosse amende" and to five hours at the *carcan*; a sixth offence occasioned the *pilory*, where the offender would have "la lèvre de dessus coupée d'un fer chaud"; a seventh offence brought again to the *pilory*, "& la lèvre de dessous coupée"; "Et si par obstination & mauvaise coûtume inveterée ils continuoient après toutes ces peines à proferer lesdits juremens & blasphêmes, voulons & ordonnons qu'ils ayent la langue coupée tout juste, afin qu'à l'avenir ils ne les puissent plus proferer." *Traité*, 1:518-19.)

[77] Invention of chess, in the introduction to a section on games. Chess and other games "où il n'entre que de l'esprit & de l'érudition" were permitted; games of chance (e.g., *bassette*, *hocca*, *lansquenet*) were not. *Traité*, 1:447 [III.4.1].

[78] *Traité*, 1:[ii] ["Préface"].

> Roy, une forte inclination pour tout ce qui peut contribuer à maintenir l'ordre public, & un desir ardent d'y remplir mes devoirs.[79]

The history of the actual making of the *Traité* is not easily written. Delamare left us useful information in the 1705 preface and in two mémoires he wrote in 1716 to secure additional funds for his research, but unfortunately he did not leave an account of how the research got started. Delamare's library—which was considerable: in 1714 its value was estimated at "au moins vingt mille livres"[80]—was dispersed, and no catalogue survives. Delamare's archive—a massive collection comprising some 90,000 *feuillets*[81]—is likewise of little help: the Commissaire kept many of his reading notes and several drafts of the *Traité*, but he never dated them, which makes it difficult to establish any clear chronology. The archive, however, is not entirely mute. In particular, some of Delamare's correspondence sheds light on the early phases of the research.

The central figure is undoubtedly La Reynie. Beginning in the late 1670s, the Lieutenant developed a unique relationship with the Commissaire, which can be retraced, at least in part, through the letters and *billets* they exchanged over two decades. Many of these, of course, were related to Delamare's day-to-day police

[79] *Traité*, 1:[xix]. (The emphasis is mine.)

[80] Delamare's library was estimated in a contract passed on 19 December 1714 between the Commissaire and the administrators of the Hôtel-Dieu to settle a question of unpaid rent. BnF Joly 144, fol. 95.

[81] The Delamare collection (BnF ms. fr. 21545 to 21808) consists of 264 folio volumes comprising both printed and manuscript documents. I drew the figure of 90,000 from the collection's catalogue, which lists the number of *feuillets* in each volume. (The Bibliothèque Nationale's cataloguers counted loose sheets as one *feuillet* and numbered the documents of two or more pages at each recto page; a five-page booklet, for example, would be counted as three *feuillets*.) The collection's catalogue is in Henri OMONT and Charles Bourel DE LA RONCIÈRE, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français. Anciens petits fonds français. I. Nos 20065-22884 du fonds français* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1898), 335-99. A summary of the volumes in the Delamare collection is in Leopold DELISLE, *Inventaire général et méthodique des manuscrits français de la Bibliohèque nationale*, 2 vols (Paris: H. Champion, 1878), 2:64-69.

work: dispatches to check on a printer's shop, orders to provide information on suspects, etc.[82] Some of the correspondence, however, shows that La Reynie, at least from the early 1680s onward, relied on Delamare for missions of a special nature: he began to employ the Commissaire for what we would call research assignments. La Reynie must have realized early on that Delamare was particularly well suited for archival work and that he had, so to speak, a facility with the pen: he would send for Delamare when he needed documentation on current or past police practices; he would also ask Delamare to help in the drafting of police measures and to write briefs and mémoires on specific matters of police.

It is unclear when exactly Delamare began to develop his research and writing skills, but he probably did so while fulfilling his role as *syndic* of the Commissaires. To defend the Commissaires' rights and prerogatives vis à vis other corps at the Châtelet meant primarily to prove the *ancienneté* of their titles: it was arguably in this search for documentary proofs that Delamare began to peruse the archives of the Châtelet and to dig into the history of the police. There survives a sizable batch of letters that Delamare and La Reynie exchanged through the 1680s on the subject of the Commissaires.[83] Continuing the strategy that had been started with the 1666-67 reform, La Reynie wanted to modernize the office and turn the Commissaires into functionaries more directly beholden to him. He asked Delamare to produce several

[82] Some of these dispatches offer interesting information on seventeenth-century police practices. See, for example, a letter of 1683, which offers details on how the police identified suspects. "Faictes moy scavoir je vous prie aujourd'huy à quelque heure la maison où l'homme duquel vous m'avez escrit est logé afin que j'y fasse <aler> quelqu'un qui le suive par tout où il ira, il me faut en mesme temps envoyer son portrait, c'est à dire la taille, le visage, et y ajouter l'habit, la perruque, espee ou sans espee, casaque ou manteau, et demain du matin on aura soin de l'acompaigner." LA REYNIE to Delamare, 14 Dec. 1683, BnF ms. fr. 21566, fol. 351.

[83] BnF ms. fr. 21583, fols. 17-38, 64-128.

mémoires, on which he would usually offer brief and pointed advice. In April 1681: "Ce memoire est parfaitement bien et je n'y vois rien à retrancher, il me paroit au contraire qu'il y auroit un mot de la profession qu'il y faudroit ajouter [...]."[84] **[fig. 3.12]** In July 1689: "Metez pour premiere piece un memoire semblable au dernier qui est extremement reduit, faictes en faire une copie bien escrite [...]."[85] (I should note one thing—trivial but unfortunately relevant for all students of Delamare: the Commissaire's penmanship was awful. La Reynie could clearly read it, but the frequency with which he asked that Delamare have his mémoires copied by a clerk is, at the very least, curious. One example of many—a letter of July 1693: "comme j'auray pour cet effet à montrer la piece dont il s'agit, je vous prie de la faire transcrire en assés gros caracteres avec une grande marge."[86] Delamare's handwriting is no doubt one of the reasons for the dearth of studies on him.)

By all appearances, researching even the simplest matter of police was a complicated affair. One of the difficulties had to do with the very nature of the early modern police, with the broad variety of matters subsumed under that notion, and ultimately with the 'dispersal' of police measures: even after the 1667 reform, the policing of Paris was never the sole responsibility of the magistrates at the Châtelet; other institutions (Parlement, Bureau de la Ville, Bureau des Finances, etc.) maintained important regulatory powers, which meant that to fully research the facts

[84] DELAMARE to La Reynie and back, 1 April 1681, Ibid., fol. 20.

[85] DELAMARE to La Reynie and back, 24 July 1689, Ibid., fol. 29.

[86] LA REYNIE to Delamare, 22 July 1693, BnF ms. fr. 21566, fol. 23. I am not the only one who has found Delamare's handwriting forbidding. Paul-Martin Bondois called it "horrible," "une très vilaine écriture, difficile à lire." Nicole Diament quoted the 22 July 1693 letter and concluded that even Delamare's contemporaries found his handwriting illegible: "l'écriture de Delamare [...] était en effet très difficile à lire." BONDOIS, "Le commissaire Delamare," 313n1, 333; DIAMENT, "Recherches sur la police parisienne," 182.

of police required checking multiple archives. A second set of difficulties concerned the state of these archives: many of them had never been properly organized; procuring any one document could be a significant challenge. The archives at the Châtelet, in particular, were in a sorry state: the records of the tribunal's various courts had not yet been collected into a single depot but were scattered in different locations, sometimes at the private residences of the Châtelet's officers; most of the documents had never been properly kept, much less catalogued; many of the oldest records had been dispersed. Even when historical records could be located, arguably few people at the Châtelet knew how to actually read them.

Delamare proved to be extremely talented at this kind of work. A letter he wrote to La Reynie on 19 September 1683 is worth quoting in full. **[fig. 3.13]**

> Je prend la liberté Monsieur de vous envoyer le memoire des pieces que j'ay trouvees concernant la matiere pour laquelle vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'instruire. Si vous avez pour agreable de marquer en marge celles qui vous jugerez utiles je les chercherai dans les registres pour les faire transcrire. Il y en a quelques unes que je crois de consequence qui sont *dans le livre noir que nous n'avons point*. J'ay desja eu l'honneur Monsieur de vous dire que *le père Mabillon le cite dans son livre* et qu'il dit luy avoir este communique par Mr d'Herouval auditeur des comptes. On pourroit peut estre trouver le moyen de les retirer ou du moins d'en tirer les <pieces> dont on a besoin. Il y en a aussi quelques unes de consequence dans *le livre de la chambre criminelle* qui est chez Mr Defita que l'on aura peut estre dificulte d'avoir. Je continuerai ce soir et demain de chercher et j'auray l'honneur de vous rendre compte de ce que je trouveray de nouveau.[87]

La Reynie responded with a brief *apostille*:

> Voir si Mr Baluze conoitrait quelqu'un qui put <encore> aller au pres de Mr d'Herouval et <credit> pour l'engager à vouloir bien <remetre>.

Unfortunately, we do not know what matter the Commissaire and the Lieutenant were actually discussing, but this letter is remarkable, for it gives us a first inkling of

[87] DELAMARE to La Reynie and back, 19 Sept. 1683, BnF ms. fr. 21566, fol. 214. (The emphasis is mine.) The letter is also quoted in EPRON, "Nicolas Delamare," 16.

Delamare's uncommon skills in archival and historical research and a glimpse into the nexus of scholars beside whom Delamare worked.

The first thing to note is Delamare's familiarity with the workings of the Châtelet's archives and, in fact, with their actual content: the Commissaire was already a skilled archivist and, in this case, he could point out important records contained in the register of the Chambre Criminelle, which was kept by the Lieutenant Criminel, Jacques Defita. Above all, however, the letter illustrates how Delamare would bring to bear on such archival research his own expertise in the field of history. In this respect, Delamare's reference to Dom Mabillon is astonishing: the Commissaire was able to locate the *livre noir*—one of the Châtelet's missing *livres de couleur*, the oldest registers of city ordinances—on the basis of a reference in Mabillon's *De re diplomatica*, of 1681. (It would be difficult to overstate how extraordinary this is, how remarkable the fact that a Commissaire would be conversant with such recent historical scholarship. How many of the Commissaires read late antique and medieval history? How many even knew Latin?)

Jean Mabillon (1632-1707) needs little introduction, he was arguably the greatest scholar living in Paris at the time. A Benedictine monk of the congregation of Saint-Maur, he had published important works on medieval and ecclesiastical history and, with *De re diplomatica*, had written one of the founding texts of modern historical method.[88] (Diplomatics—the science of reading diplomas—was a method for establishing the authenticity of documents.) Antoine Vion d'Hérouval (1606-

[88] On Mabillon, see Emmanuel de BROGLIE, *Mabillon et la société de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain des Prés*, 2 vols (Paris: Plon, 1888); Joseph Urban BERGKAMP, *Dom Jean Mabillon and the Benedictine Historical School of Saint-Maur* (Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1928), 36-51; Blandine BARRET-KRIEGEL, *Les historiens et la monarchie*, 4 vols (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988), 1:25-59, 2:145-61.

1689) is far less known. A former Auditeur at the Chambre des Comptes, he was what we now call an antiquarian—a collector of books and manuscripts, an archivist, and an all-round erudite. He had been friends with men of science and letters, among others the scientist and philosopher Pierre Gassendi and the brothers Pierre and Jacques Dupuy, librarians to the king and animators of the so-called *Cabinet Dupuy*, an important venue in the intellectual life of mid-seventeenth-century Paris. He was now a member of the group of scholars who convened weekly at the library of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, home base of the Maurist fathers, and was especially close to Mabillon, who thanked him profusely in *De re diplomatica* and gave him credit for bringing to his attention several documents, including two fifteenth-century records from the Châtelet ("actis Castellanae curiae Parisiensis") which Delamare recognized as belonging to the *livre noir*.[89] Etienne Baluze (1630-1718), a jurist by training, was an archivist, philologist, and historian of international renown.[90] A specialist in ecclesiastical and medieval history, he had published editions of the works of late antique and medieval Christian authors as well as an important edition of the *capitularia*, a collection of early medieval royal acts.[91] He too frequented the

[89] The two fifteenth-century documents concerned the revocation of lost seigneurial seals. Mabillon discussed them briefly in book two and transcribed them *in extenso* in book six. Jean MABILLON, *De re diplomatica libri VI* (Luteciae Parisiorum: sumtibus Ludovici Brillane, 1681), 149-50 [bk. 2, ch. 18, § 13], 620 [bk. 6, no. 209]. Mabillon thanked d'Hérouval in the preface: "At non possum temperare à commemorandis beneficiis laudatissimi viri Antonii Vionis Herovalli, qui quotquot ex universis Gallicanis ecclesiis corrogare valuit chartaria seu instrumenta, ea plena & liberali manu in nos contulit: adeo ut instar publici cujusdam archivi nobis fuerit, ut est litteratis omnibus instar patroni singularis." Ibid., [i-ii]. On Antoine Vion d'Hérouval, see MORÉRI, *Le grand dictionnaire historique*, 10:655.

[90] On Baluze, see Jean BOUTIER, "Etienne Baluze et l'Europe savante à l'âge classique," in *Etienne Baluze, 1630-1718. Erudition et pouvoirs dans l'Europe classique*, ed. Jean Boutier (Limoges: Presses universitaires de Limoges, 2008): 263-311; Jacob SOLL, "Entre bibliothécaire et agent d'information. Baluze au service de Jean-Baptiste Colbert," in *Etienne Baluze, 1630-1718,* 79-91; ID., "Jean-Baptiste Colbert's Republic of Letters," *Republic of Letters*, vol. 1, no. 1 (May 2009), http://rofl.stanford.edu/node/28, esp. 5-6.

[91] Etienne BALUZE, *Capitularia regum francorum* (Paris: François Muguet, 1674).

scholarly circle at Saint-Germain-des-Prés and had helped Mabillon in his research on diplomatics.[92] Above all, since 1666 he served as Colbert's librarian.

These figures call attention to a particular feature of the cultural context in which Delamare moved, namely the *rapprochement* between scholars and government officials. The key figure was Colbert, who initiated what may be called a project of the political use of scholarship. The project may be traced to the early 1660s, when Colbert began to organize his library with a view to turning it into an archive that could serve him in the business of government.[93] He planned to gather at the library both up-to-date information on the state of the kingdom (say, financial reports from the provincial Intendants) and historical documents that might be useful in defending royal prerogatives and advance the crown's interests. In such a campaign to build the library into a state archive, a number of scholars were employed to research, copy, edit, collect, and catalogue texts. Baluze, first of all: among other things, he wrote reports and archival guides to help Colbert master policy questions; he was probably the author of the lists of police ordinances that Colbert used during the meetings of the Conseil de Police. D'Hérouval was commissioned to copy documents at the Chambre des Comptes and the Trésor des Chartes. Mabillon too was employed, to search the library at Saint-Germain-des-Prés; in fact, his development of the science of diplomatics may be inscribed within

[92] Mabillon thanked Baluze thus: "Quantum autem clarissimo viro Stephano Baluzo debeamus, palam estantur, non modò specimina ex locupletissimo Colbertinae Bibliothecae thesauro sibi credito expressa: sed & observationes, quas identidem mecum, si quae ipsi aliud agenti in rem nostram occurrebant." MABILLON, *De re diplomatica*, [iii].

[93] See Jacob SOLL, *The Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert's Secret State Intelligence System* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009). A useful history of the constitution of administrative and financial archives is Arthur-Michel de BOISLISLE, "Introduction," in *Correspondance des contrôleurs généraux des finances avec les intendants des provinces*, 2 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1874-83): 1:i-lix, esp. i-xi.

such a context of erudition put at the service of the state. (*De re diplomatica* was dedicated to Colbert.)

Athough Delamare did not begin writing the *Traité* until later, in the 1690s, his research must be read as an instance of such a project of the political use of scholarship. Delamare worked for La Reynie in much the same way that Baluze worked for Colbert: both searched, collected, and organized information and historical documentation for the magistrate's and the minister's political uses. The origin of the *Traité* and its ultimate *raison d'être* are to be found at the intersection of the worlds of government and scholarship, a crossing where the Commissaire was singularly positioned—between the scholars unearthing and collecting manuscripts in Parisian archives and *cabinets*, and the administrators and bureaucrats who ran the government and labored at modernizing it.

To return to Delamare's archival expeditions on behalf of La Reynie: two letters of January 1693 are relevant. On the 20th, the Lieutenant wrote:

> Le pape estant atentif à ajouter à la police de Rome ce qu'il croit necessaire au bien publicq, on me demande nos reglemens pour la neteté des rues et pour tenir les mendians enfermés. Je vous prie de voir incessament tout ce que nous avons sur ces deux matieres, d'en faire un extrait et de me l'envoyer afin que je puisse faire chercher et metre à part les pieces et les envoyer aussi incessament à Rome, par une personne d'une grande consideration qui les demande.[94] **[fig. 3.14]**

On the 23rd, La Reynie followed up with more specific instructions:

> Pour donner l'intelligence de l'execution des reglemens sur le fait du nettoiement, il est bon de faire un memoire qui puisse faire entendre la maniere dont il s'executent à Paris, et le commencer par la qualité des directeurs des quartiers, la maniere de les choisir, des assemblées, la qualité de ceux qui y assistent, du registre des deliberations, sur les difficultés, comment on en refere au magistrat, comment sont faits les rolles, par qui delivrés, comment distribués au receveur particulier, comment le

[94] La Reynie to Delamare, 20 Jan. 1693, BnF ms. fr. 21684, fol. 420.

> recouvrement se fait, comment les deniers sont remis au receveur general, comment employés, comment se rendent les comptes chaque année, comment les baux des entrepreneurs, comment les visites faites pour le nettoyement, par qui et en quelle maniere, sur les raports aux <auxiliaires> de police et l'execution nonobstant <l'appel> qu'on ne <reçoit> point au parlement, ou les parties ne sont point escoutés sur cette sorte de plainte. C'est ce qui donnera lieu d'en rendre les reglemens à ceux qui les demandent, et sans quoy ils auroient de la peine à les entendre et à les appliquer en ce qui leur peut estre convenable.[95]

These two letters are remarkable in several respects. For one, they offer actual proof that the Paris police, after the reform of 1667 and the establishment of the Lieutenance, had indeed become a model admired throughout Europe. Above all, they lay bare the working dynamic between La Reynie and Delamare.

Upon receiving word of the Pope's inquiry, the Lieutenant sent for his best agent: "Please, look immediately for everything we have on these two matters and prepare a brief." He knew that Delamare would be able to work quickly, primarily because, by the early 1690s, the Commissaire had at his disposal an extraordinary research instrument: his own archive of police regulations. The practice of keeping copies of police ordinances was not uncommon among the Commissaires, who obviously needed records of the measures they were meant to enforce. Delamare's own archival practices, however, were out of the ordinary. Unlike his peers, Delamare saved with method: he kept practically all the police ordinances that had been issued since he began working at the Châtelet; he collected complete runs of the ordinances that were re-issued every year; of many ordinances, he kept both the *affiche* and the booklet print; he also kept copies of ordinances issued by other institutions on matters of police. (Today, we would call Delamare a 'completist.') Delamare also already had a substantial collection of notes from previous research

[95] La Reynie to Delamare, 23 Jan. 1693, BnF ms. fr. 21687, fol. 30.

missions, notably transcriptions of past police ordinances as well as comprehensive chronological lists with brief summaries of each police measure.

What is most striking in the dynamic between La Reynie and Delamare is the extent to which the Lieutenant directed the Commissaire's work. La Reynie gave Delamare more than generic research suggestions: he enjoined his officer in minute detail, with extremely precise instructions as to what to write and in what order, almost dictating Delamare's every step.

A further example of directed research is a letter of November 1693. The Lieutenant had asked the Commissaire to prepare a study on a series of *assemblées de police* that had been convened in 1630 to address an incoming *disette*. Upon receiving Delamare's mémoire, La Reynie wrote him the following:

> J'ay veu le memoire que vous m'avez envoyé touchant les assemblées de la police generale, et *vous avez bien travaillé et en peu de temps*, mais il me paroist necessaire que vous fassiez encore sur ce mesme memoire, dont je supose que vous avez gardé une minute, un extrait *sans aucun raisonnement ni induction*, sur les pieces que vous avez touchant les assemblées generales de police et pour iustifier seulement la maniere dont ces assemblées ont esté faites et ce qui s'y est passé. <en quoy> il ne faut pas obmetre de quelles personnes elles estoient composées et l'ordre des seances comme il y est marqué, et qu'il faut mesme figurer ainsi que vous les trouverez dans les actes. Il ny faut faire aucune mention dans cet extrait, des assemblées particulieres faites au Chastelet ni mesme de celles qui furent faites au Chastelet et à l'Hostel de Ville, au sujet de la surete et que vous avez trop bien remarqué, quoy qu'à considerer la circonstance de la convocation des Capitaines, il eut esté difficile de la faire ailleurs qu'à l'Hostel de Ville, et en fait ne tire à aucune consequence.[96]

As usual, the tone was cordial, and the Lieutenant was careful to compliment the Commissaire for his work. He was also, however, direct and almost blunt in his

[96] LA REYNIE to Delamare, 14 Nov. 1693, BnF ms. fr. 21566, fol. 20-21. (The emphasis is mine.) This letter is also discussed in DIAMENT, "Recherches sur la police parisienne," 179-80; EPRON, "Nicolas Delamare," 12. On the *assemblées de police* of 1630, see Paolo PIASENZA, "Juges, lieutenants de police et bourgeois à Paris aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles," *Annales* vol. 45, no. 5 (Sept.-Oct. 1990): 1189-215, esp. 1190-93.

instructions as to what should and should not be included in the mémoire. He even offered clear guidelines on Delamare's writing—so clear, in fact, that in certain passages ("write a summary without any argument or induction") one would almost think of a teacher directing his too-earnest student.

The point to be drawn from these exchanges is not necessarily about the actual authorship of the *Traité*. La Reynie was certainly instrumental in the making of the book. He secured for Delamare access to the archives of Parisian institutions and to libraries such as Colbert's and the king's. He 'taught' Delamare on police matters and probably advised him in other subjects too: the Lieutenant was himself a scholar and a bibliophile, with a library of 1,500 volumes, ranging from Greek and Latin poetry to ancient and modern history, jurisprudence, theology, philosophy, and the sciences.[97] Delamare certainly reused the material he had produced at La Reynie's behest: the research he undertook in 1693 concerning the *assemblées de police*, for example, would reappear in volume two, in 1710.[98] But there is no doubt that the *Traité* was Delamare's work.[99]

What the relationship between Delamare and La Reynie does show is the initial rationale of the *Traité*. The reseach on the police, on both its history and its current practices, emerged from practical needs: the need to have at hand the text of the law; the need for a kind of road-map to navigate the city's complex jurisdictional

[97] On La Reynie's library, see SAINT-GERMAIN, *La Reynie*, 22-23.

[98] *Traité*, 2:1013-21 [V.14.14].

[99] Jacques Saint-Germain, in his otherwise excellent book on La Reynie, argued—unconvincingly, I believe—for ascribing the *Traité* to La Reynie: "Sans diminuer en rien les mérites de Delamare ni sous-estimer son énorme labeur, dissipons une légende: son *Traité* est, et doit équitablement demeurer pour l'avenir, l'œuvre de La Reynie lui-même, qui en a conçu le dessein et procure une grande partie des matériaux au collaborateur le plus apte à les mettre en forme, laissant ensuite élégamment à ce dernier la paternité de l'ouvrage." SAINT-GERMAIN, *La Reynie*, 38-39.

environment; the need for a manual which magistrates and police officers could use to better understand, enforce, and eventually draft police regulations. Significantly, in 1697, when La Reynie stepped down from his thirty-year tenure as Lieutenant de Police, his successor to the post, the Marquis d'Argenson, also took over the relationship with Delamare: several letters in Delamare's archive attest that the new Lieutenant continued to commission him with writing briefs on various matters of police and, like his predecessor, supported and encouraged the research for the *Traité*.[100] Delamare never abandoned the initial, pragmatic rationale for the treatise and, to a large extent, he fulfilled it: all through the eighteenth century, the *Traité*'s thorough collection of laws and regulations was to remain an invaluable instrument for magistrates and administrators throughout France.

The importance that the *Traité* had in the eyes of goverment officials can be surmised by looking at how Delamare's research was financed.[101] The *Traité* was an expensive book to produce, both in terms of its research and its printing. Delamare

[100] One example of many, a letter of November 1999: "Je vous envoye copie de la requeste que monsieur le prevost des marchands a presentée au Roy au sujet des eschafaux et edifices publicqs, avec les pieces qui sont attachées à cette requeste, je vous prie de prendre la peyne d'examiner le tout et de m'en parler au premier jour: meme d'y <faire> un projet de replique; ainsy que nous en sommes convenus." D'ARGENSON to Delamare, 11 Nov. 1699, BnF ms. fr. 21693, fol. 213. I should note that d'Argenson maintained a rather formal working relationship with Delamare, different from the rapport that obtained between La Reynie and his trusted Commissaire. In the summer of 1694, on his return from the mission in Champagne, Delamare found out that his son had died; La Reynie wrote him immediately: "Je prens comme vous pouvez bien penser une tres grand part à votre desplaisir et je ne m'attendois pas que vous <deussiez> trouver mr vostre fils decedé à vostre retour à Paris. Je prie Dieu qu'il luy plaise de vous donner sur cela toute la consolation dont vous avez besoin en cette occasion et qu'il dispose vostre cœur et vostre esprit à ne vouloir que ce qui luy plait, car sans cette grace, toute la vie est un suite continuel d'inquietude et d'agitation." LA REYNIE to Delamare, 22 Aug. 1694, BnF ms. fr. 21566, fol. 39

[101] For the history of the *Traité*'s financing, see BnF Joly 144, fols. 75-224; *Histoire générale de Paris, Collection de documents fondée ... par M. le B.on Haussmann ... et publiée sous les auspices du conseil municipal*, ed. Lazare-Maurice Tisserand et al. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1866), 99-115; BOISLISLE, "Nicolas Delamare," 80-84; BONDOIS, "Le commissaire Delamare," 318-23; DIAMENT, "Recherches sur la police parisienne," 207-36; Beatrice PACHA, *Les plans du 'Traité de la police' de Nicolas Delamare, 1705* (Blois: Les Amis de la Bibliothèque de Blois, 1993), 9-10, 33-38.

spent considerable sums on it: in addition to employing copyists and clerks for archival and editorial work, the Commissaire shouldered the production of the book's illustrations and of the eight maps of Paris. The first two volumes (1705, 1710) were printed by the Parisian publishers Jean and Pierre Cot, in runs of 1,000 copies each. As compensation for the expenses they had incurred, most notably the founding of a new typeface, the Cots kept half of the print run, which they sold at "18 à 20 livres le volume."[102] Delamare kept the other half but never really profited from it. He apparently gave as presents almost three hundred copies to magistrates and government officials, and kept the rest *chez soi*.

In 1710, to secure funding for the completion of the book, Delamare contacted the Chancelier de France (Louis Phélypeaux, Comte de Pontchartrain). From the Chancelier's response, we know that Delamare made two suggestions: one was to compel every jurisdiction in the kingdom to buy a copy of the *Traité*; the other, to finance the book "sur la part des amendes qui sera adjugée aux denonciateurs pendant le cours d'une année en chaque jurisdiction." The Chancelier encouraged the Commissaire to complete the *Traité*: "Rien ne me paroît plus utile; [...] Vous pouvés vous assurer que j'y contribuerai de tout mon cœur, en tout ce qui dépendra de moy." But he could not help Delamare with the financing: Delamare's first idea had clear merit, it would contribute to educate provincial officers on police matters and to "rendre la police uniforme dans tout le royaume," but the Chancelier ultimately thought it unworkable, for most officers would not be able to afford the expense; the

[102] Pierre COT, "Lettre, que le libraire addresse au public, pour lui annoncer le *Traité de la police*," *Nouvelles de la république des lettres* (Apr. 1706): 476-79 at 476.

second was outside his competence, Delamare should contact the Contrôleur Général des Finances.[103]

By the early 1710s, Delamare was in financial trouble. He still enjoyed the royal pension he had been given in 1684, but he had never recouped his outlays for the *Traité*, and he owed thousands of livres to his landlord, the Hôtel-Dieu. In October 1713, he struck a deal with the Parisian *libraire* Michel Brunet, selling him the 570 volumes he still had (for 5,220 livres) and giving him the right to print and sell a second edition.[104] The money helped for a time: in December 1714, Delamare signed an agreement with the trustees of the Hôtel-Dieu and began to repay the eleven years of rent he owed (about 9,000 livres).[105] But the *Traité*'s financial footing was still precarious.

In 1715, with the support of the Parlement's chief magistrates (the Premier Président, Jean-Jacques de Mesmes, and the Procureur Général, Henri François d'Aguessau), Delamare engineered an extraordinary arrangement: the *Traité* would be financed from ticket sales at Parisian spectacles. Shortly after Louis XIV's death, the two magistrates submitted the proposal to the Duc d'Orléans. The Regent agreed the idea and, on 5 February 1716, issued a royal ordinance that authorized a one-ninth increase to the price of tickets at the Opéra, the Comédie Française, and the Comédie Italienne, and allocated the extra revenue "pour le bastiment des nouvelles

[103] PONTCHARTRAIN to Delamare, 26 Sept. 1710, in *Correspondance administrative sous le règne de Louis XIV*, ed. Georges Bernard Depping, 4 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1850-55), 2:863-64.

[104] "Conventions faites entre Monsieur le Commissaire de la Mare & Michel Brunet Libraire à Paris, pour l'impression du Traité de la Police," 2 Oct. 1713, BnF Joly 144, fol. 93.

[105] Agreement between the Delamares and the Hôtel-Dieu, 19 Dec. 1714, BnF Joly 144, fols. 94-95.

salles de l'Hôtel-Dieu."[106] Delamare was not mentioned in the ordinance, but the trustees of the Hôtel-Dieu had already agreed that a substantial portion of that revenue would go to the Commissaire. On 19 February 1716, they signed an agreement with Delamare: over the next twenty years, they would pay him, his heirs, and his *continuateur* the spectacular sum of 300,000 livres,

> pour récompense de ses long services, pour le dédommager des avances qu'il a faittes pour la composition et l'impression de son *Traitté de la Police*, contenant tous les règlemens faits sur cette matière, et pour le mettre en estat d'achever un ouvrage si utile au publicq, dont il reste à imprimer au moins trois volumes.[107]

After a few further complications, notably a dispute between Michel Brunet (the publisher who had bought Delamare's *privilège*) and the Hôtel Dieu over who held the rights to the book,[108] Delamare and his assistants began to be paid regularly. Within a few years, Delamare completed volume three, which was published by Brunet in 1719, and revised volumes one and two, also published by Brunet, in 1722.

Decades later, Voltaire was to sneer at such creative financing. In 1751, in a short biographical entry on Delamare at the end of *Le siècle de Louis XIV*, he quipped that "il aurait autant valu assigner aux comédiens une pension sur les gages du guet": the administration had things backwards, it should have paid the

[106] Royal ordinance "pour la perception d'un neuvieme par augmentation de ce qui se reçoit pour les entrées aux Opera, Comedies & autres spectacles, pour le bastiment des nouvelles salles de l'Hôtel-Dieu, 5 Feb. 1716, BnF Joly 144, fol. 83.

[107] Agreement between Delamare and the trustees of the Hôtel-Dieu, 19 Feb. 1716, in *Histoire générale de Paris*, 102-06.

[108] Brunet felt disadvantaged by the new agreement between Delamare and the Hôtel-Dieu, which, at the end of twenty years or at the completion of the *Traité*, would have left to the Hôtel-Dieu the rights to the book. He would not have signed his 1713 agreement with Delamare "s'il n'avoit compté qu'ayant seul le privilege par son traité [agreement], il auroit tout le profit de la vente." Delamare's 1716 agreement with the Hôtel-Dieu encroached on his own, "En sorte que ce second traité [agreement] rend le premier inutile, & ne laisse au Sieur Brunet que le regret d'avoir avancé 5220 livres & fait d'autres dépenses pour un livre, dont on luy oste à son insçu le privilege & l'impression, quoyqu'il en ait traité avec l'auteur." BnF Joly 144, fol. 102.

comédiens out of the policemen' salaries.[109] Voltaire's remark notwithstanding, the extraordinary financial arrangement of 1716 confirms how far government officials were willing to go to support Delamare's endeavor.

The making of the *Traité de la police* was a long and laborious process. The book's marginal notes are abundant proof as to the extent of Delamare's archival and library work. The Commissaire quoted from a staggering number of ancient, late antique, medieval, and modern sources: the writings of church fathers, the codexes of Theodosius and Justinian, medieval chronicles, and countless authorities, from Plato and Aristotle to, among many others, Cicero, Varro, Vitruvius, Pliny, Livy, Plutarch, Dio, Ulpian, Ammianus Marcellinus, Cassiodorus, Augustine, Eutropius, Paulus Orosius, Fortunatus, Gregory of Tours, Abbot Suger, Rigord, Raoul de Presles, Robert Gaguin, Jean du Tillet, Jean Bodin, Du Cange, et cetera. To such a wide range of sources, we should then add the trove of charters, statutes, letters patent, parliamentary *arrêts*, police ordinances, and other administrative and legal documents that Delamare uncovered in his archival searches.

In order to handle and organize so enormous a mass of documents, Delamare devised a special method. Much of the work consisted in the making of lists: Delamare's archive is replete with chronological lists of police measures annotated with either a bibliographic or an archival reference. (The *Traité*'s most important archival sources were the records of the Châtelet; Delamare drew extensively from

[109] "La Mare (Nicolas), né à Paris en 1641 [sic], commissaire au Châtelet. Il a fait un ouvrage qui était de son ressort, l'Histoire de la police: il n'est bon que pour le Parisien, et meilleur à consulter qu'à lire. Il eut pur récompense une part sur le produit de la Comédie, dont il ne jouit jamais; il aurait autant valu assigner aux comédiens une pension sur les gages du guet." VOLTAIRE, *Oeuvres historiques*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, ed. René Pomeau (Paris: Gallimard, 1957), 1172 ["Catalogue de la plupart des écrivains français qui ont paru dans le siècle de Louis XIV, pour servir à l'histoire littéraire de ce temps"].

the *livres de couleur* and the *bannières*, and devised a system of letter codes to identify each register. **[fig. 3.15]**) Delamare also employed a technique that was familiar to the authors of compendia, florilegia, and other works of encyclopaedic nature. Upon finding a record of a relevant police measure, the Commissaire would either transcribe it *in extenso* on a single sheet of paper or, more often, he would write a short entry on a paper strip, noting only the most essential information: the date of the measure, a bibliographic reference, and a subject heading, that is, a reference to the rubrics and sub-rubrics into which he had divided the matter of police. "Janvier 1531 Seureté des grs chemins Font t 1 p 523," reads one of Delamare's surviving notes—a reference to an entry in Fontanon's *recueil*, which the Commissaire planned to include in book seven, on public security, in the section on the police of the "grands chemins."[110] **[fig. 3.16]** In the 1840s, when Delamare's archive was first *depouillé* and catalogued, the librarians of the Bibliothèque Imperiale glued these notes onto folio pages. Delamare, of course, kept them loose. He probably handled them the way one would keep a common-place book, although it is tempting to imagine the Commissaire operating a more efficient storage system, perhaps a device similar to those discussed by the German polymath Vincent Placcius in his *De arte excerpendi*, of 1689, which illustrated, among other things, a contraption of his own invention, a cabinet where notes taken on paper strips were attached to hooks associated with topical headings.[111] **[fig. 3.17-20]**

[110] BnF ms. fr. 21565, fol. 122.

[111] Vincent PLACCIUS, *De arte excerpendi vom belahrten Buchhalten liber singularis ... speciatis scrinii litterati inventum peculiare, ex manuscripto anonymi emendatum etiam exhibetur* (Stockholm and Hamburg: apud Gottfried Liebezeit, 1689). On the reading- and note-taking methods employed by early modern scholars to handle large amounts of information, see Ann BLAIR, "Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload, ca. 1550-1700," *JHI* vol. 64, no. 1 (Jan. 2003): 11-28; ID., *Too*

The connections between the *Traité* and early modern encyclopaedic compendia extend further. First, one should note how Delamare made use of such texts. Although the Commissaire generally quoted directly from primary sources when writing about ancient history, he also relied on reference works: Delamare's source for the etymology of the word "nuit," for example, was the *Polyanthea*, a florilegium first published in 1503 and updated and re-edited several times in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.[112] Second, the *Traité* itself was conceived as a reference work, a florilegium of sorts. This can be seen most clearly in the graphic layout of the book, in the effort of Delamare and his publishers to encourage and facilitate rapid consultation: the *Traité*'s methodical division into books, titles, and chapters was recalled at the top of each page; Delamare's own text was laid out in two columns and graphically distinguished from the text of the documentary sources, which were printed at full page; each documentary source was accompanied by a short summary in the margin of the page; all volumes included lengthy and extremely detailed *tables des matières*. Delamare wanted the *Traité* to be studied and read closely, but he also knew that most readers would browse through it in search of police measures useful for their day-to-day work. Once more, we may remark upon the dual nature of the *Traité*, at once a work of history and a manual of police, a book meant to be read and studied but also, as it were, a book to be 'used.'[113]

Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), esp. 93-102.

[112] *Traité*, 1:234 [I.13.2]; Joseph LANGE, *Florilegii magni, seu Polyantheae floribus novissimis sparsae* (Frankfurt: sumptibus haeredum Lazari Zetzneri, 1621), s.v. "Nox."

[113] A curious example of how much Delamare's work was valued is a 650-page manuscript abridgment of the *Traité* made in 1726-27 by one J. Hebert, possibly the single most dedicated admirer of the Commissaire. Hebert copied books one to five of the *Traité*'s first edition, almost straight (he left out some of Delamare's historical digressions and all the transcripts of police regulations). He took special

Delamare certainly benefited from the advice of his colleagues at the Châtelet, although in the *Traité* he thanked none of them, not even La Reynie. In the preface, the Commissaire offered generic thanks to the personnel of the libraries and archives where he undertook his research but named only two scholars, his friends Claude-Bernard Rousseau (1648-1720) and Charles-César Baudelot de Dairval (1648-1722).[114]

Like d'Hérouval, Rousseau worked at the Chambre des Comptes, an institution whose archive was especially valued by historians, for its records such as feudal land titles, inventories of the king's possessions, *terriers*, and *censiers*. An antiquarian and a bibliophile, Rousseau had a good library with a notable collection of atlases, a "cabinet" which, in 1680, was listed in Pierre Le Gallois's *Traitté des plus belles bibliotheques de l'Europe*.[115] Today he is mostly remembered for his

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care in illustrating the manuscript with several frontispieces, vignettes, and other ornamental motifs. As for the text, Hebert added only a short, ungrammatical conclusion: "Apres m'estre donné toutte l'application, et les soins necessaires, pour extraire et rediger exactement, les principaux traits d'histoire, concernant la police; les plus utils et les plus curieux a sçavoir, dans le livre de M. Delamarre; Je nay autre idée que de me satisfaire, en reduisant par ecrit ce qui m'a paru dans cet ilustre livre, de plus util, afin de me recréer de temps en temps l'esprit, par la lecture de ses plus belles pensées, ainsy, que le lecteur n'ait pas l'idée de croire que j'aye voulu par là, commenter sur un si sçavant autheur, qui s'est rendu tres celebre par ce grand ouvrage mais la mort nous l'a ravy, avant qu'il l'eut achevée, je n'ay dont point d'envie de m'atirer le louange, ny de me distinguer par la litterature, j'exorte les personnes entre les mains desquelles cet ouvrage poura tomber, apres moy de tascher d'en faire leur satisfaction, par la diversité des differends sujets dont il est composé." J. HEBERT, "Traité de la police" (1726-27), 635-36, BHVP CP 5174. **[fig. 3.59-63]**

[114] "Mais deux des mes intimes amis, à qui je dois icy cette reconnoissance publique, m'ont aidé plus que tous les autres: Monsieur Baudelot de Dairval de l'Academie de Padouë des Ricovrati, autant connu pour l'érudition de plusieurs ouvrages qu'il a donnez au public, que par le choix d'une bibliotheque sçavante, & par les singularitez précieuses, & celebres de son cabinet d'antiques, m'a souvent fait part de ses livres & de ses lumieres. Monsieur Rousseau Auditeur des Comptes qui a joint à une exacte probité l'étude des belles lettres, & un juste discernement des auteurs, & qui a penetré par une application infatigable ce qu'il y a de plus certain & de plus curieux dans les antiquitez de cette ville, a eu la bonté de me communiquer ses memoires, & les anciens & rares manuscrits de sa bibliotheque." *Traité*, 1:[xviii] ["Préface"].

[115] "Le Cabinet de M. Rousseau, où l'on voit plus de quatre vingt Volumes gros comme ceux de l'Atlas, lesquels contiennent tout ce qu'il y a de beau dans tous les Etats du monde. Tous les hommes illustres & tous les Saints y sont representés; au moins ceux dont on fait des Estampes. Neanmoins cette

association with Henri Sauval (1623-1676), a scholar who had worked for two decades on a history of the city of Paris. At Sauval's death, the work still unfinished, his manuscripts and research notes passed into the hands of Rousseau, who apparently had collaborated with him; Rousseau would eventually rearrange, correct, and edit Sauval's manuscripts, which would be published in 1724 as *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*.[116] Although the extent of the relationship between Delamare and Rousseau remains unclear, it is certain that Rousseau was an important adviser for the section of the *Traité* that retraced the history of Paris and probably helped Delamare conceive and produce the city's historical maps.

Baudelot is slightly better known. An antiquarian with a special interest in numismatics, he would in 1698 become curator of the Cabinet des Médailles of Madame (the king's brother's wife), and would eventually in 1705 be elected to the Académie Royale des Inscriptions. Despite the fact that he never traveled anywhere (his only *voyage* was a brief stay in Dijon), his most important work was the antiquarian study that he published in 1686 with the wonderful title *De l'utilité des voyages et de l'avantage que la recherche des antiquitez procure aux sçavans*.[117]

Bibliotheque ne doit passer que pour un receüil." Pierre LE GALLOIS, *Traitté des plus belles bibliotheques de l'Europe* (Paris: Estienne Michallet, 1680), 130-31.

[116] Henri SAUVAL, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, 3 vols (Paris: Charles Moette and Jacques Chardon, 1724). On Sauval, see Antoine-Jean-Victor LE ROUX DE LINCY, "Henri Sauval, historien de Paris," *Bulletin du bibliophile et du bibliothecaire* (1862): 1109-22, 1173-92, esp. 1179-80; (1866): 223-44, 272-94; (1868): 585-608; Michel FLEURY, "Notice sur la vie et l'œuvre de Sauval," introduction to Henri SAUVAL, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974), now in *'Si le roi m'avait donné Paris sa grand'ville…' Travaux et veilles de Michel Fleury* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1994): 305-24, esp. 312-13, 319; Naomi MILLER, "'Antiquités de Paris': A Text for Architects, Antiquarians, Amateurs," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* vol. 67, no. 4 (2004): 540-50.

[117] Charles-César BAUDELOT de Dairval, *De l'utilité des voyages et de l'avantage que la recherche des antiquitez procure aux sçavans*, 2 vols (Paris: Pierre Auboüin and Pierre Emery, 1686), 2:431-42. On

Unsystematic and rather poorly written, *De l'utilité des voyages* was a collection of essays on a jumble of things ancient (a piece on ancient bas-reliefs, a history of "talismans," a long essay on "Les Dieux Lares," etc.) interspersed with what we may call essays on antiquarian method, including the essay that gave the title to the book and a section discussing how to read and study manuscripts. Interestingly, in this section Baudelot took issue with Mabillon's *De re diplomatica*. "Le Pere Mabillon Benedectin a fait un gros traitté infolio pour la connoissance du tems, & de l'âge, des titres anciens, dans lequel il se propose par occasion, ou autrement de parler des manuscrits." In a dozen pages of unwieldy prose, he offered a caustic critique: "bien des gens avec moy & quelques-uns méme de ses amis ont trouvé que cet ouvrage ne donne qu'une connoissance fort legere & fort bornée sur cette matiere pour l'intelligence des titres ou des autres manuscrits."[118] When Baudelot's book came out, Mabillon was in Rome, on a scholarly mission to procure Latin manuscripts for the king's library. (Unlike Baudelot, Mabillon did travel.) A friend of his sent him a copy of Baudelot's critique. Mabillon replied:

> L'extrait que vous avez pris la peine de m'envoyer ne mérite pas, à mon avis, de réponse. [...] S'il fallait mettre la main à la plume toutes les fois qu'on répétera les invectives de ces sortes de gens contre les moines, il faudrait éternellement écrire. Encore si cela faisait quelque chose sur les esprits! Mais ils s'en échauffent au contraire davantage.[119]

Baudelot, see "Eloge de M. Baudelot," *Histoire de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles lettres*, vol. 5 (1729): 403-11; Jacques George de CHAUFEPIÉ, *Nouveau dictionnaire historique et critique*, 4 vols (Amsterdam: Z. Chatelain, 1750-56), 1:117-20. In a footnote to his seminal essay on antiquarianism, Arnaldo Momigliano called Baudelot's introductory essay in *De l'utilité des voyages* "an invaluable document for the 'ethics' of the antiquarian." Arnaldo MOMIGLIANO, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," *JWCI* vol. 13, no. 3/4 (1950): 285-315 at 285n2.

[118] BAUDELOT, *De l'utilité des voyages*, 2:431-42.

[119] The letter (Rome, 25 February 1686) is quoted in BROGLIE, *Mabillon et la société de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain des Prés*, 2:46. On Mabillon's scholary mission to Italy, see Henri OMONT, "Mabillon et la Bibliothèque du Roi à la fin du XVIIe siècle," in *Mélanges et documents publiés à l'occasion du 2e*

Besides revealing the well-known combativeness underpinning early modern scholarship, Mabillon's cavalier dismissal points already to the fate awaiting Baudelot: however vast his erudition, he was destined to remain a marginal, 'second-tier' antiquarian, largely ignored by his contemporaries. Baudelot—and, to some extent, Delamare too—never truly belonged with the world of scholarship and intellectual debate in which Mabillon or Baluze towered; they never became, as it were, full citizens of the Republic of Letters.

Baudelot and Delamare held each other in great esteem; in 1711, for example, Baudelot wrote of the Commissaire as "l'incomparable Auteur du Traité de la Police."[120] The two appear to have been very close, although unfortunately we can only speculate on their relationship, for they exchanged letters only when the Commissaire left Paris for his mission to Champagne. One of Baudelot's letters to Delamare contains a most curious passage:

> J'ay toujours cru qu'une certaine classe de gens etoit la cause de nôtre souffrance. Est il impossible de les decouvrir, et ne faudrait il point le livrer à la vengeance publique. Qui aura par exemple commencé à faire courir le bruit de votre mort, si ce ne sont ces detestables.[121]

Althoug the rumor of Delamare's death remains a mystery, the anecdote is telling. The impression one gets is that Baudelot and his friend Delamare harbored lots of ill will; they both longed for acclaim and recognition, but probably felt shunned or even wronged by their peers.

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centenaire de la mort de Mabillon (Ligugé: Abbaye de Saint-Martin; Paris; Librairie Veuve Poussielgue, 1908): 105-23.

[120] Baudelot referred to Delamare in an essay concerning some ancient bas-reliefs that had recently been discovered at Notre-Dame; in order to date the artifacts, he relied on Delamare's analysis of the ancient topography of Paris. Charles-César BAUDELOT de Dairval, *Description des bas-reliefs anciens trouvez depuis peu dans l'Eglise Cathedrale de Paris* (Paris: Pierre Cot, 1711), 7.

[121] BAUDELOT to Delamare, undated letter, BnF ms. fr. 21566, fol. 192v. The letter was no doubt written in early 1710, during the grain crisis and shortly after the publication of volume two of the *Traité*.

Baudelot probably advised Delamare on all matters of ancient history. Moreover, Baudelot appears to have shaped Delamare's approach towards the study of history and to have instilled in him a particular antiquarian sensibility, readable, for example, in Delamare's attention to the physical remains of history, to the evidence offered by artifacts in addition to texts. The best example of such attention to non-literary evidence are the pages of the *Traité* where Delamare, in retracing the history of the Prévôté de Paris, discussed and illustrated the oldest seals of the Chancellerie and of the Châtelet, with an analysis based upon a seal discussed by Mabillon in *De re diplomatica* and some medieval medals which the Commissaire saw "dans le docte & curieux cabinet de Monsieur Baudelot de Dairval."[122] **[fig. 3.21]**

Such antiquarian sensibility pervades the *Traité*. It can be read in the very layout of the book: following a practice common among antiquarians, Delamare called "preuves" the legislative and administrative texts he had patiently compiled. The antiquarian preoccupation with proof was also behind one of the *Traité*'s most distinctive features, namely the seemingly endless proliferation of erudite digressions. Delamare's compulsion to accumulate, for every subject he discussed, all he could find on that subject—every fact, every story, every proof—fascinated his early reviewers and puzzled his late ones. In 1706, the *Journal des sçavans* admired how, in the book, "le curieux & l'utile s'y retrouvent presque à chaque page." [123] For the reviewer of the *Nouvelles de la république des lettres*, everything in the *Traité*

[122] *Traité*, 1:101 [I.7.2].

[123] *Journal des sçavans* (19 Apr. 1706): 356-73 at 357.

was "excellent," including "le choix des morceaux historiques."[124] In 1710, the *Journal des sçavants* called volume two "un recueil précieux & par l'importance des matiéres, & par les traits d'érudition qui y sont agréablement répandus."[125] After the publication of volume three, however, reviewers began to look more critically at Delamare's detours of erudition. In 1720, the *Journal des sçavants* noted how, in discussing issues of food provision, "l'Auteur s'engage dans un long détail d'histoire de Medecine, où il paroît souvent perdre de vûë son principal objet, qui est la Police."[126] In 1724, the *Journal des Trévoux* reviewed volume three and commented ironically on the length of Delamare's digressions: the volume's level of detail was "sans doute d'une grande utilité pour le public," but,

> il paroît qu'on auroit pû diminuer le volume d'un tiers ou pour le moins d'un quart, si l'on avoit voulu retrencher tout ce qui est étranger au dessein, & qui ne fait rien à la Police; aussi bien qu'une infinité de recherches d'Erudition qu'on met à la tête de la plûpart des chapitres, & qui d'ordinaire ne sont ni sûres ni à leur place.[127]

In Delamare's view, such extreme level of detail was not gratuitous. For him, the information with which he 'stuffed' the *Traité* was neither irrelevant to the history of

[124] *Nouvelles de la république des lettres* (July 1706): 3-38; (Aug. 1706): 136-80, repr. (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1966): 7:546-55, 579-90 at 588.

[125] *Journal des sçavans* (14 Apr. 1710): 225-29 at 229.

[126] *Journal des sçavans* (1 Jan. 1720): 9-15 at 10.

[127] *Journal de Trévoux* (Oct. 1724): 1874-97; (Nov. 1724): 2030-56; (Feb. 1725): 268-294. The reviewer offered the example of Delamare's discussion of *bois de chauffage*, where the Commissaire went on a tangent on the origin of fire and discussed a number of stories (the myth of Prometheus; Vitruvius's argument on fire as the source of civil society; a conjecture by the theologian Louis-Isaac Lemaître de Sacy on the story of Cain and Abel, offering proof that fire was already known then) only to conclude with a reference to Polydore Vergil's *De rerum inventoribus*, of 1499: "Celuy des auteurs qui a recherché avec les plus de soins toutes choses, après avoir refuté toutes les fables des anciens touchant l'origine du feu, il ne luy en donne point d'autre que celle de tous les autres élements dans la création du monde." (*Traité*, 3:835 [V.58.1].) The reviewer was severe: "Ce n'étoit pas la peine de faire tant de chemin pour en revenir là." "Ces sortes d'éruditions," he concluded, "& déplaceées & qui demandent des connoissances fort étenduës, ne sont propres qu'à déparer un ouvrage, excellent d'ailleurs, tel que celui-ci; & il est à souhaiter que ceux qui sont chargez de le continuer, en retrenchent tout ce qui est de cette nature & qui n'interesse en rien la Police." *Journal de Trévoux* (Nov. 1724), 2056.

the police nor useless for understanding contemporary police practices. In fact, when he produced the second edition of the *Traité*, Delamare pushed his 'digressions' even further and added two new, substantial sections: two chapters on the ancient history of the police, in volume one; and a "Supplément" on the question of the grain trade, appended to volume two.[128]

In the "Supplément" Delamare offered both a remarkably detailed account of his experience during the 1709-10 crisis—complete with full transcriptions of the many ordinances and sentences he had issued as a special envoy with emergency police powers—and a thorough analysis of the economic mechanisms of the grain trade.[129] The section is particularly interesting insofar as it is one of the few instances in the *Traité* where Delamare wrote in the first person and revealed overtly his own thinking. During the crisis, the Procureur Général had sent a questionnaire to all the special envoys that were dispatched throughout France, asking them what emergency measures could be taken and whether it was necessary to intervene by setting caps to the price of grain. In the "Supplément" Delamare included his own answers to the questionnaire as well as an extended discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the "fixation des grains." The police tried to find a point of equilibrium between regulation and market freedom and ultimately rejected the idea of price-fixing as unworkable and even counterproductive:

[128] The *Traité*'s second edition was the basis for an edition printed in Amsterdam, "Aux dépens de la compagnie," in 1729. The Dutch book pirates produced an excellent edition, nicely printed, slightly more portable (four tomes in two volumes), and complete with the eight maps of Paris; they even managed to correct and modernize some of Delamare's spellings. They could not get, though, the *vignettes* and the nice *fleurons* and *culs-de-lamp* which graced Delamare's *Traité*, and replaced them with stock decorative drawings. For the frontispiece, they used an allegorical image (two putti, two cornucopias, and a scale held up by fasces, all under the motto "VIS UNITA MAJOR") which appears in several other publications of the "compagnie," for example in a 1714 edition of Newton's *Principia*.

[129] *Traité-2*, 2:1-68 ["Supplément"].

> Les inconveniens de la fixation sont peut-être plus à craindre dans la conjoncture presente qu'ils n'ont jamais été; moins il y a de Grains, & plus il est important d'en faciliter le commerce libre dans l'Etat pour en faire passer des Provinces abondantes en celles qui en ont besoin, & d'y en attirer des Pays Etrangers, la seul esperance du gain produit l'un & l'autre de ces effets.[130]

In the eyes of the police, the *disette* was essentially a problem of circulation. For the police, grain shortages and price spikes were ultimately caused by the "cupidité" of grain merchants, their "avidité d'un gain sordide." The idea was that merchants, whether by hoarding grain or engaging in monopolistic activities, created artificial obstacles and blockages to the movement of supplies. To remove those obstacles, flush supplies out of the coutryside, and "mettre en mouvement tous les bleds,"[131] the police's solution was not to set price caps, which could potentially aggravate the problem; rather, it was to establish a mandatory market, that is, a regulatory apparatus hinged on the principle that all transactions should take place at the marketplace. The "Supplément" was the first systematic analysis of such rationale of regulation: the Commissaire formulated a paradigm that was to remain for decades the standard way of understanding the problem of provisioning and the nation's economic mechanisms.[132] In the 1760s, the Physiocrats would formulate their economic theory largely as a critique of Delamare's paradigm.

[130] *Traité-2*, 2:55 ["Supplément"].

[131] *Traité-2*, 2:46 ["Supplément"].

[132] Delamare first formulated this paradigm in response to an inquiry by Nicolas Desmarets, the Contrôleur Général des Finances. While in Vitry-le-François, Delamare corresponded often with Desmarets to keep him informed of the situation. In early 1710 Desmarets sent him a mémoire written by one M. de Montigny who, calculations at hand, had proposed to solve the crisis by taxing the grain merchants. Delamare verified all the author's calculations, and proved them wrong. "J'ay trouvé que l'auteur de ce memoire a exageré jusqu'à l'excès, les calculs sur lesquels il fonde l'objet de sa proposition. [...] Je ne crois pas que les propositions de l'auteur du memoir soient practiquables, du moins, dans cette province, et que surtout dans les conjonctures presentes ce ne fut un veritable contretems qui troubleroit beaucoup la circulation des grains." DELAMARE to Desmarets, 5 Feb. 1710. AN G/7/1643, fol. 65.

If the "Supplément" proved Delamare's standing as an expert on police practice and the foremost theorist of police science, the additions to volume one spoke instead of Delamare's ambitions as a historian. The Commissaire expanded and completed his narrative on the origins of the police in antiquity by adding a chapter titled "De la Police des premiers âges du monde, fondée sur la seule Loy naturelle," and a section on the police of ancient Egypt.[133] In 1750, the Commissaire had essentially explained the police by way of history, by tracing its origins to the institutions of the great nations of antiquity. The late Delamare tried to go even further back in history—so much so, in fact, that he finally reached a region outside or beyond history: in writing about the "premiers âges du monde," Delamare reached into the realm of political philosophy.

In 1705, the Commissaire had begun the *Traité* with an argument on the relation between the origin of police and the origin of society. (Recall the book's very first sentence: "L'Amour de la Societé que les hommes apportent en naissant, & les

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The best analysis of the eighteenth-century grain trade—and a convincing reading of Delamare's arguments—is in KAPLAN, *Bread, Politics and Political Economy in the Reign of Louis XV*, esp. 1:52-96. Charles Musart, in his 1921 study of the grain trade, attempted to paint Delamare as a precursor of the Physiocrats—unconvincingly, I believe: "En résumé, avant la venue des Physiocrates, les administrateurs de la royauté connaissaient déjà, sous forme de règles empiriques et de bon sens, les futurs préceptes et les futurs principes de l'Art économique." "Bref, l'administration défendait les consommateurs contre l'avidité des producteurs et des marchands; elle assurait l'abondance, la qualité et le bon prix des denrées." Charles MUSART, *La réglementation du commerce des grains en France au XVIIIe siècle. La théorie de Delamare. Etude économique* (Paris: Champion; Mende: Henri Chaptal, 1921), 30, 207. Equally unconvincing to me is Paul-Martin Bondois's opposed assessment of Delamare as an inept economic thinker: "le commissaire était incapable de s'élever à une idée générale: il a recouru aux méthodes habituelles et inopérantes des stockages, des fixations des cours, etc. Il n'a eu aucune méthode originale." BONDOIS, "Le commissaire Delamare," 361n2.

[133] *Traité-2*, 1:5-12, 13-20 [I.1.2, I.2]. There exist two versions of volume one of the *Traité*'s second edition. The second edition proper has a new frontispiece with the mention "seconde edition augmentée par M. Delamare" and the imprint "A Paris, Chez Michel Brunet, Grand' Salle du Palais, au Mercure Galant, MDCXXII"; the chapters on natural law and on ancient Egypt are inserted correctly in book one, after the chapter on the "Idée generale de la police"; the entire volume is repaginated. Brunet also printed these chapters as a twenty-three-page "Supplement du premier volume du Traité de la Police," which he appended to the copies of volume one he had not sold yet—those he had bought from Delamare in 1713. The Bibliothèque Nationale's digital copy of the *Traité*, at http://gallica.bnf.fr, is one such 'faulty' edition: what is listed as the original volume one (Jean & Pierre Cot, 1705) in fact contains, before the *table des matières*, the "Supplement" with the imprint Brunet and the year 1722.

secours mutuels dont ils ont continuellement besoin, porterent bien-tôt les premiers habitans de la terre, à s'approcher & à se joindre plusieurs familles ensemble.") In 1722, Delamare developed that story of origins into a full-fledged historico-philosophical analysis. The laws of police, he argued, were founded on three basic sources "qui ont chacune leur époque": "1. Le droit divin naturel. 2. Le droit divin écrit. 3. Et le droit civil d'institution humaine." There existed, thus, a natural law of divine origin which preceded and informed both Biblical law and positive law. Such "Loy de la nature" was founded on three principles: "1. La Religion. 2. L'amour propre, éclairé par la droite raison. 3. La sociabilité (si l'on peut se servir de ce terme)." From these derived the three main "devoirs" of man: an obligation toward God; an obligation toward one's own self; and an obligation toward others. Delamare rendered these "devoirs" as declarative sentences, printed in small capital letters:

> LE PREMIER A POUR OBJET CE QUE LES HOMMES DOIVENT A DIEU. De-là naissent ces sentimens interieur d'adoration, de reconnoissance, d'amour & de crainte, ce culte exterieur de prieres & de sacrifices qui a commencé dès la naissance du monde, & dont les exercices sont encore les principales obligations de notre sainte Religion. [...]
>
> LE PREMIER DEVOIR DE L'HOMME, PAR RAPPORT A LUI-MESME, QUI EST LE SECOND DE CE PRINCIPES DE LA LOY NATURELLE, C'EST DE TACHER A SE FAIRE UNE JUSTE IDÉE DE SA PROPRE NATURE ET DE SES AFFECTIONS. Les anciens regardoient cette étude comme le principal moyen de parvenir à la vraie sagesse [...]
>
> LE SECOND DEVOIR DE L'HOMME, SELON CETTE MESME LOY, EST DE SE PERSUADER QU'IL TIENT SON ESTRE DE DIEU, COMME UN DÉPOST SACRÉ, QU'IL EN EST COMPTABLE A SON CRÉATEUR, QU'IL EST CONSEQUEMMENT OBLIGÉ DE PRENDRE SOIN DE LA CONSERVATION DE SA VIE, ET PAR UN TRAVAIL ASSIDU, AIDER SES DISPOSITIONS NATURELLES POUR LEUR FAIRE PRODUIRE DES ACTIONS DIGNES DE L'EXCELLENCE DE SA NATURE. De-là naissent les vertus de continence & de temperance, la moderation dans les passions de l'ame & dans le travail & les exercices du corps [...]
>
> L'HOMME N'ETANT PAS NÉ POUR LUI SEUL, IL EST DESTINÉ A VIVRE EN SOCIETÉ AVEC SES SEMBLABLES; CETTE SOCIETÉ QUI EST LE TROISIÈME PRINCIPE DE LA LOY NATURELLE, ÉTOIT ENCORE NECESSAIRE POUR LES AGRÉMENS ET LES DOUCEURS DE LA VIE.

From these "devoirs" would eventually emerge "les regles & les obligations" of police, which Delamare reduced to "quatre principaux points," essentially four

commandments which he claimed had been expressed in the "Livres Saints" as well as in the writings "des plus sages d'entre les Payens":

> 1. NE FAIRE JAMAIS DE MAL A PERSONNE. [...]
> 2. NE FAIRE A AUTRUI QUE CE QUE L'ON EN [sic] VOUDROIT SOUFFRIR SOY-MESME. [...]
> 3. SI L'ON A FAIT SOUFFRIR QUELQUE MAL, OU QUELQUE PRÉJUDICE A QUELQU'UN, SOIT EN SA PERSONNE, EN SA RÉPUTATION, OU EN SES BIENS, LE RÉPARER INCESSAMMENT DE TOUT SON POUVOIR. [...]
> 4. IL NE SUFFIT PAS DE NE POINT FAIRE DE MAL A AUTRUI, IL FAUT LUI FAIRE DU BIEN AUTANT QU'IL EST POSSIBLE.

After discussing the dictates of natural law, Delamare went on to explain the origins of society. Families were the first social institutions: "Le pere de chaque famille y exerçoit un pouvoir souverain, il en étoit le Prince & le Prêtre, ou Sacrificateur; sa femme étoit sa compagne & son aide pour le temporel, & ils avoient pour sujets leurs enfans & leurs serviteurs, ou domestiques." Informed and authorized by natural law, such a patriarchal regime was the foundation of ancient states and, eventually, the political basis of modern nations.

Delamare's main references in this chapter were his admired Cicero (with *De officiis* and *De legibus*), Seneca (*De beneficiis*), and two modern authors: Thomas Hobbes, whose *De cive* (1642) and *Leviathan* (1651) Delamare read in the 1668 Latin edition of Hobbes's *Opera philosophica*, and Samuel Pufendorf, whose *De jure naturae et gentium* (1672) and *De officio hominis et civis juxta legem naturalem* (1673) had been translated and expertly annotated in 1706 and 1708 by the jurist Jean Barbeyrac (1674-1744).

In *Leviathan*, Hobbes had depicted the state of nature as a state of war: men had no innate tendency to embrace society; the State was needed to hold them together: "men have no pleasure, (but on the contrary a great deale of griefe) in

keeping company where there is no power to over-awe them all."[134] Pufendorf refuted these ideas: "l'Etat Naturel de ceux-mêmes qui vivent hors de toute Societé Civile, n'est point la Guerre, mais la Paix."[135] Building on the work of Hugo Grotius (who had written of an "appetitus societatis"[136]) and on the ideas of Stoic philosophers such as Seneca, Pufendorf developed a new understanding of social relations and obligations hinged on the notion of "socialitatis," which Barbeyrac translated with a new word coinage: "sociabilité."[137]

Delamare lifted practically all his analysis of natural law from Pufendorf. Although he referred to him only once in a marginal note, Delamare followed Pufendorf (or, rather, Barbeyrac's Pufendorf) almost to the letter: he borrowed his quotations from classical sources and copied many of his arguments, including the idea that *sociabilité* was a principle of natural law[138] and the analysis of the three

[134] Thomas HOBBES, *Leviathan*, ed. C. B. Macpherson (Harmondsworth and Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968), 185 [part 1, ch. 13].

[135] Samuel PUFENDORF, *Le droit de la nature et des gens ... traduit ... par Jean Barbeyrac*, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Henri Schelte, 1706), 1:151. "Ex quibus omnibus concludimus, naturalem hominum statum, etiam extra civitates consideratorum, non esse bellum, sed pacem." Samuel PUFENDORF, *De jure naturae et gentium* (Lund: sumtibus Adami Junghans, 1672), 152 [bk. 2, ch. 2, § 9].

[136] "Inter haec autem, quae homini sunt propria, est appetitus societatis, id est communitatis non qualiscunque sed tranquillae, & pro sui intellectus modo ordinatae, cum his qui sui sunt generis: quam οἰκεἰωσις [oikeiosis] Stoici appellabant." Hugo GROTIUS, *De jure belli ac pacis libri tres, in quibus jus naturae & gentium, item juris publici praecipua explicantur ... notulas denique addidit Joannes Barbeyrac* (Amsterdam: apud Janssonio Waesbergios, 1720), v ["Prolegomena"].

[137] "Voici donc la Loi fondamentale du Droit Naturel: *Chacun doit avoir des sentimens de Sociabilité, c'est-à-dire être porté à entretenir, autant qu'il dépend de lui, une Societé paisible avec tous les autres, conformement à la constitution & au but de tout le Genre Humain sans exception*." PUFENDORF, *Le droit de la nature et des gens*, 1:178. "Inde fundamentalis lex naturae ist haec erit: *cuilibet homini, quantum in se, colendam & conservandam esse pacificam adversus alios socialitatem*." PUFENDORF, *De jure naturae et gentium*, 183 [bk. 2, ch. 3, § 15].

[138] The simplest proof that the notion of *sociabilité* was not Delamare's idea is in the parenthetical remark that the Commissaire added when he first used the term: "La sociabilité (si l'on peut se servir de ce terme)." *Traité-2*, 1:5 [I.1.2].

Daniel Gordon, in his otherwise good discussion of the notion of *sociabilité*, claimed that Delamare was the first to introduce the term in the French language. Unfortunately, this is not correct:

devoirs which natural law imposed on man (the obligations toward God, self, and others).[139] Delamare did not really develop any of Pufendorf's arguments and, to a large extent, he mis-appropriated them. In Pufendorf, the analysis of the state of nature had precise anti-Hobbesian politico-philosophical implications: it proved—or at least suggested—that society could exist without an apparatus of coercion. In Delamare, the discourse on natural law served the almost exact opposite purpose:

> Les Loix de la nature inspirées de Dieu à notre premier père, & qu'il a transmis à sa posterité, ont donc suffi aux hommes pendant les premiers siecles du monde, pour regler leurs mœurs, leurs conduites, & pourvoir à tous leurs besoins, & ce sont ces Loix que l'on a depuis nommées la Police.[140]

Barbeyrac coined the term in 1706, and Delamare followed him in 1722. (Gordon, who quoted the *Traité* from the 1729 Amsterdam edition, claimed mistakenly that the chapter on natural law was already in the 1705 book; he probably used one of the 'faulty' copies of Brunet's second edition. See above, footnote 133.) To my knowledge, Delamare did not know Pufendorf's work before Barbeyrac's translation. Gordon wrote: "Delamare uses *sociabilité* to translate Seneca's *societas*. This appears to be the first instance of the word *sociabilité* in French. Of course, one can never be certain when any word was first coined. As long as some texts remain unread, it is a theoretical possibility that the word can be found in them. Delamare's usage, however, is the earliest in the body of texts I have consulted, and it predates by about fifty years the earliest *verifiable* examples of usage given in recent etymological dictionaries of the French language." "The philosophy of Samuel Pufendorf was important in this process. When Delamare quoted a portion of Seneca's *De Beneficia* [sic] on the subject of human interdependence, he was probably thinking of this German natural lawyer [...] In his *De Jure Naturae et Gentium* [...] Pufendorf had quoted the same portion of Seneca's work. He had also used the Latin term *socialitas* in discussing the human need for fellowship. It seems likely that Delamare, who cited Pufendorf frequently in other contexts, coined the term *sociabilité* in order to provide a French equivalent for the Latin word." Daniel GORDON, *Citizens Without Sovereignty: Equality and Sociability in French Thought, 1670-1789* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 59n55, 61-62.

[139] "La meilleure division que l'on puisse faire des DEVOIRS que la Loi naturelle impose à l'homme, c'est de les distinguer selon les *objets* envers lesquels on est tenu de pratiquer ces devoirs. Sur ce pied-là, il faut les reduire à trois classes generales: la premiere, de ceux qui regardent DIEU; la seconde, de ceux qui se rapportent à NOUS-MEMES; & la troisieme, de ceux qui concernent les AUTRES HOMMES." Samuel PUFENDORF, *Les devoirs de l'homme et du citoyen ... traduits ... par Jean Barbeyrac* (Amsterdam: André Chevalier, 1708), 55-56. "*Divisio officiorum*, quae ex lege naturali homini incumbunt, commodissime videtur institui *secundam objecta*, erga quae ista sunt exercenda. Quo intuitu illa in tres principales partes dispescuntur, quarum prima tradit, quomodo ex solo rectae rationis dictamine quis sese debeat gerere adversus *Deum*; altera quomodo adversus *seipsum*; tertia quomodo adversus *alios homines*." Samuel PUFENDORF, *De officio hominis et civis juxta legem naturalem* (Lund: sumtibus Adami Junghans, 1673), 36 [bk. 1, ch. 3, § 13]. On Delamare's borrowings from Pufendorf, see the review of the *Traité*'s Amsterdam edition in the *Bibliotèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savans de l'Europe* vol. 4, no. 1 (Jan.-Feb.-Mar. 1730): 5-44, esp. 9-10.

[140] *Traité-2*, 1:12 [I.1.2].

For Delamare, the police—namely, the police of the French monarchy—was neither an arbitrary nor a coercive form of power: the police—and the absolutist state which perfected it—found its origin and hence its legitimacy in a natural law of divine origin. Delamare ultimately used the potentially radical discourse of natural law to naturalize the police and the state.[141]

There survives a list of books that Delamare borrowed at the royal library while preparing the *Traité*'s second edition. **[fig. 3.22-23]** The Commissaire read and verified quotations in Cicero's *De finibus*, Augustin's *De civitate dei*, and in books by, among others, Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Francesco Guicciardini, Jean Bodin, and Henning Arnisaeus.[142] In so heterogeneous a group of authorities, we also find John Locke, whom Delamare surely read because Barbeyrac quoted him ("ce grande Philosophe") in his introduction to Pufendorf's *De jure*

[141] Delamare may have built his politico-philosophical justification of the police on sources other than Pufendorf. One thinks, in particular, of Jean Domat, the only French jurist to have written on the police and the *droit public* before Delamare. (The Commissaire knew Domat's work but never mentioned it in the *Traité*, not even in a marginal note.) A passage in Domat's *Droit public* (1697) seems especially relevant for the arguments on *sociabilité* and *devoirs*: "Tout le monde sçait que la societé des hommes forme un corps dont chacun est membre: & cette verité que l'Ecriture nous apprend, & que la lumiere de la raison nous rend évidente, est le fondement de tous les devoirs qui regardent la conduite de chacun envers tous les autres & envers le corps." DOMAT, *Le Droit public,* 2. A perceptive reading of the notion of *devoir* in Hobbes, Pufendorf, and Domat is in Giorgio AGAMBEN, *Opus Dei. Archeologia dell'ufficio* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2012), 126-28.

[142] "Livres a prendre a la Bibliothèque du Roy," BnF ms. fr. 21566, fol. 440. Delamare borrowed most of these books to verify some of the quotations of the *Traité*'s first edition. For reasons that puzzle me, the only book he appears to have read anew was the *Doctrina politica* by the German physician and philosopher Henning Arnisaeus (1570-1636); the Commissaire took extensive notes on this book (BnF ms. fr. 21565, fols. 193-96), mostly concerning the authority of magistrates in Roman times; he did not incorporate these findings in the *Traité*'s second edition. Henning ARNISAEUS, *Doctrina politica in genuinum methodum, quae est Aristotelis reducta, & ex probatissimis quibusque philosophis, oratoribus, iuris-consultis, historicis, &c. breviter comporta & explicata* (1606; Amsterdam: apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1651).

naturae et gentium.[143] This list is perhaps the best index of the intellectual reach, complexity, and idiosyncrasy of Delamare's science.

Paris and its *accroissemens*

Delamare entertained a peculiar notion of history. He certainly thought that historical knowledge had value per se: the *Traité*'s countless historical digressions are proof that he must have valued scholarship and erudition *as ends in themselves*, as 'disinterested' intellectual pursuits. But he also attached an instrumental value to history: he conceived of scholarship *as a means*. The belief in the usefulness of history was conventional: the preface's key passage—"there occurring nothing new under the sun, [...] it is primarily in past events that we can draw rules of prudence and conduct for the present and for the future"—can be read as a variation of the Ciceronian trope of *historia magistra vitae*. Delamare, however, gave a new, more radical spin to that trope. Not only did history teach lessons; historiography, the very writing of history, could be brought to bear on present-day problems.

Delamare's belief in the usefulness of history can be best grasped by looking at the way the Commissaire dealt with the history of Paris, in a thirty-page section of

[143] Barbeyrac was interested in Locke's idea that the principles of morality could be ascertained non-empirically. He quoted the *Essay Concerning Humane Understanding* from Pierre Coste's translation: "Je ne doute nullement qu'on ne puisse déduire de propositions évidentes par elles-mêmes, les véritables mesures du juste & de l'injuste, par des conséquences nécessaires & aussi incontestables que celles qu'on emploie dans les mathématiques, si l'on veut s'appliquer à ces discussions de morale avec la même indifférence & avec autant d'attention qu'on s'attache à suivre des raisonnemens mathématiques." PUFENDORF, *Le droit de la nature et des gens*, 1:iv, quoting from John LOCKE, *Essai philosophique concernant l'entendement humain ... traduit ... par Pierre Coste, sur la quatrième edition* (Amsterdam: Henri Schelte, 1700), 698. "[...] I doubt not, but from self-evident Propositions, by Necessary Consequences, as incontestable as those in Mathematicks, the measures of right and wrong might be made out, to any one that will apply himself with the same Indifferency and Attention to the one, as he does to the other of these Sciences." John LOCKE, *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding, in Four Books*, 4th ed. (London: printed for Awnsham and John Churchil ... and Samuel Manship, 1700), 328 [bk. 4, ch. 3, § 18].

book one (Title Six) entitled "Description historique, & topographique de la ville de Paris, considerée dans tous les différens estats par lesquels ella a passé jusqu'à present, & qui sert d'introduction à la connoissance de sa police."[144] Title Six is arguably the richest section of the *Traité*, both from the point of view of historical scholarship and from the point of view of theoretical speculation: Delamare advanced new hypotheses on the city's ancient topography and presented urban history through a novel analytical framework; in so doing, he articulated a compelling paradigm for understanding the relationship between police and urbanism.

The most original feature of Title Six are the illustrations, a set of maps which, short of a better word, we may call 'conjectural' or 'fictive.' By 1705, when Delamare published volume one, there was no shortage of maps depicting Paris in its present state. No one, though, had ever attempted to represent Paris systematically through the phases of its historical development. The Commissaire did. Drawing on a wide range of ancient and modern sources—from the writings of Julius Caesar, Strabo, and Ptolemy, to medieval charters and legal titles, descriptions of *antiquitez*, building contracts, or letters patent authorizing public works—Delamare painstakingly retraced the city's history and produced an extraordinary set of eight maps portraying Paris from its mythical origins to "la grandeur & la magnificence" the city had reached under Louis XIV—from a village of huts called Lutèce to Paris the capital of the *grand siècle*.[145] **[fig. 3.24-31]**

[144] *Traité*, 1:67-96 [I.6.1-9].

[145] On Delamare's maps, see Mireille PASTOUREAU, *Les atlas français, XVIe-XVIIe siècles. Répertoire bibliographique et étude* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1984), entries no. 187-93; Beatrice PACHA, *Les plans du 'Traité de la police' de Nicolas Delamare, 1705*, Les cahiers de la bibliothèque municipale de

In Parisian cartography, there was no precedent for such a spectacular representation of the city's temporal development. This was also the case for practically all major cities of early modern Europe—with one, very notable exception: Rome. It is no surprise that the 'Eternal City' (how apt this long-worn expression seems here) proved to be an exceptionally fertile ground for experiments in historical and cartographic imagination: it is there that modern antiquarian and topographical scholarship first emerged, once the medieval tradition of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* was supplanted by the new critical method of humanists such as Poggio Bracciolini and Flavio Biondo. Throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, however, few scholars seem to have tried to actually represent ancient Rome. When maps were made, their object was to record the present city, not to picture the ancient one. Alberti is an example: in the *Descriptio urbis Romae*, he devised a brilliant method with which anyone would be able to produce his own map of the city and draw the walls, the river, and the main monuments "uti esse per nostra haec tempora cognovimus" ('as we know them to be in our time').[146] Even Leo X's famous project of archaeological reconstruction was, to some extent, ambiguous. In his letter to the Pope, Raphael recalled how Leo had asked him "ch'io ponessi in disegno Roma anticha" (that he 'put into a drawing ancient Rome'), but it is unclear whether the

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Blois, no. 11 (Blois: Les Amis de la Bibliothèque de Blois, 1993); Jean BOUTIER, Jean-Yves SARAZIN and Marine SIBILLE, *Les plans de Paris des origines (1493) à la fin du XVIIIe siècle. Etude, cartobibliographie et catalogue collectif* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2002), entries no. 154-61.

[146] Leon Battista ALBERTI, *Descriptio urbis Romae*, ed. Jean-Yves Bouriaud and Francesco Furlan, introduction by Mario Carpo and Francesco Furlan, English trans. Peter Hicks (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2005), 73, 117.

goal was to produce an image of ancient Rome or—the difference is crucial—an image of the ruins of Rome.[147]

The first pictures of ancient Rome were the work of two exceptional scholars: Annius of Viterbo and Fabio Calvo. The Dominican theologian Annius included an image of ancient Rome in his *Commentaria super opera diversorum auctorum de antiquitatibus loquentium*, of 1498, a book in which he purported to present several lost works of ancient authors. Among the texts, many of which were later proved to be forgeries, he presented one by the Roman historian Fabius Pictor, and accompanied it with an image illustrating pseudo-Fabius's account of Rome's founding, eventually making a case, in both text and image, for an Etruscan primacy over Roman culture.[148] Calvo, a philologist who had been close to Raphael, published his *Antiquae urbis Romae cum regionibus simulachrum* in 1527; its first woodcuts presented four images of the city's history, from the "Quadrata Roma" of Romulus to the city at the time of Servius Tullius, Augustus, and Pliny the Elder.[149] The

[147] RAPHAEL and Baldassare CASTIGLIONE, "Lettera a Leone X," Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, cod. it. 37b, fol. 78r, in Francesco P. DI TEODORO, *Raffaello, Baldassar Castiglione e la 'Lettera a Leone X'* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1994), 117.

[148] See Roberto WEISS, "Traccia per una biografia di Annio da Viterbo," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* vol. 5 (1962): 425-41; Gabriele MOROLLI, *'Vetus Etruria'. Il mito degli Etruschi nella letteratura architettonica, nell'arte e nella cultura da Vitruvio a Winckelmann* (Florence: Alinea, 1985), 112-15; Anthony GRAFTON, "Invention of Traditions and Traditions of Invention in Renaissance Europe: The Strange Case OF Annius of Viterbo," in *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Grafton and Ann Blair (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990): 8-38.

[149] See *Vitruvio e Raffaello. Il 'De Architectura' di Vitruvio nella traduzione inedita di Fabio Calvo ravennate*, ed. Vincenzo Fontana and Paolo Morachiello (Rome: Officina, 1975), 58-60; Pier Nicola PAGLIARA, "La Roma antica di Fabio Calvo. Note sulla cultura antiquaria e architettonica," *Psicon* vol. 8/9 (1977): 65-87; Philip JACKS, "The *Simulachrum* of Fabio Calvo: A View of Roman Architecture *all'antica* in 1527," *The Art Bulletin* vol. 72, no. 3 (Sept. 1990): 453-81.

Modern historians have at times been cavalier in dealing with Annius's and Calvo's pictures of ancient Rome. Pietro Frutaz, in his study of Roman cartography, dismissed Annius's picture as a "ricostruzione fantastica"; Eugène Müntz, who first connected Calvo with Raphael's project, called Calvo's images "d'une barbarie incroyable"; for Roberto Weiss, they were "so naive as to be little more valuable than the plan invented by Annio da Viterbo"; Anthony Grafton called them, memorably, "a kind of systematic classics comic book." Amato Pietro FRUTAZ, *Le piante di Roma*, 3 vols (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1962), 1:50; Eugène MÜNTZ, "Raphaël archéologue et historien d'art," *Gazette*

cartographic accuracy of Annius's and Calvo's images was pitiful. Drawn using the conventions of late antique and medieval art and marred with all sort of anachronisms, they were fictive in the most basic sense. And yet those images were revolutionary. After Annius's and Calvo's leap of cartographic imagination, it was finally possible to see—or at least fancy—what ancient Rome may have looked like. Indeed, after them, experiments in fictive reconstruction took on a life of their own, with the work of artists and antiquarians such as Giovanni Bartolomeo Marliani, Pirro Ligorio, and Etienne Dupérac. (The grand finale of these experiments would be Piranesi's *Campo Marzio*.)

Delamare was well versed in Roman history. Significant portions of the *Traité* dealt with the history of ancient Roman institutions and included a wealth of erudite quotations drawn primarily from ancient sources but also from modern scholars such as Pomponio Leto and Onofrio Panvinio. It is very likely that Delamare had seen some of the fictive reconstructions of the city's ancient topography. He probably knew Famiano Nardini's *Roma antica*, of 1666, which included several small illustrations of ancient Rome.[150] **[fig. 3.34]** He had certainly seen Pirro Ligorio's fictive map of Rome of 1553: it was published in 1696 in volume three of Johann Georg Graevius's *Thesaurus antiquitatum romanarum*, the same volume which included the texts of Panvinio from which Delamare quoted.[151] **[fig. 3.33]** He may

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des Beaux-Arts vol. 22 (Oct., Nov. 1880): 307-18, 453-64 at 463; Roberto WEISS, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Basic Blackwell, 1969), 96; Anthony GRAFTON, "The Ancient City Restored: Archaeology, Ecclesiastical History, and Egyptology," in *Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture*, ed. Anthony Grafton (Washington: Library of Congress, 1993): 87-123 at 106.

[150] Famiano NARDINI, *Roma antica* (Rome: Per il Falco, 1666).

[151] Johann Georg GRAEVIUS, *Thesaurus antiquitatum romanarum*, 12 vols (Utrecht: apud Franciscum Halmam; Leiden: apud Petrum van der Aa, 1694-99), 3:476-77. When discussing the Roman *curatores*

even have seen Calvo's plates, which were recut by Theodor De Bry in the second part of Jean-Jacques Boissard's *Romanae urbis topographiae & antiquitatum*, published between 1597 and 1602.[152] **[fig. 3.32]** As noted earlier, Lecler du Brillet, in his *éloge* of Delamare, wrote that Delamare as a young man had traveled to Rome. However apocryphal, the story is revealing: the Commissaire must have boasted of his knowledge of things ancient and Roman.

Aside from the studies of Rome's ancient topography, other images may have inspired Delamare to become a fictive cartographer. One possible source may have been the maps of ancient Jerusalem that had appeared since the sixteenth century in several Bibles, most notably in the polyglot Bible printed in Antwerp in 1571.[153] Delamare may also have seen one of the seventeenth-century copies of the *Vera hierosolymae veteris imago* that Jerónimo de Prado and Juan Bautista Villalpando had published in 1604 with their commentaries to Ezekiel.[154] Outside the literature of

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Delamare quoted an excerpt ("Curatorum munus erat procurare commoda Regionum [...]") and referenced it cryptically: "Sextus Ruffus Petr. Victor Pancirol. de quatuordecim Regionib. Urb. Romae Onuphr. Panvin. antiq. Urbis imago c. de Urbis region." *Traité*, 1:20nK [I.4.4]. Delamare conflated in one note several texts, all of which had appeared in volume three of Graevius's *Thesaurus*: Panvinio's editions of Sextus Rufus's and Publius Victor's "De regionibus urbis Romae" (pp. 25-36, 37-52), Panvinio's "Antiquae urbis imago" (pp. 203-322), and Guido Panciroli's "De quatuourdecim regionibus urbis Romae" (pp. 322-92). The excerpt on the *curatores* is on p. 281. I should note that in the nineteenth century the attributions of the regionary catalogues to Sextus Rufus and Publius Victor were proved to be erroneous. See *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, vol. 1, ed. Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia pubblicate dal R. Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo* vol. 81 (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1940), 200-06; Joseph CONNORS, *Piranesi and the Campus Martius: The Missing Corso; Topography and Archaeology in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (Milan: Jaca Books, 2011), 49-50.

[152] Jean-Jacques BOISSARD, *II pars Antiquitatum romanarum seu Topographia romanae urbis* (Frankfurt: apud Theodorum De Bry, 1597).

[153] See Caroline DELANO-SMITH and Elizabeth MORLEY INGRAM, *Maps in Bibles, 1500-1600: An Illustrated Catalogue* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1991); Zur SHALEV, "Sacred Geography, Antiquarianism and Visual Erudition: Benito Aritas Montano and the Maps in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible," *Imago Mundi* vol. 55 (2003): 56-80.

[154] Jerónimo de PRADO and Juan Bautista VILLALPANDO, *In Ezechielem explanationes et apparatus urbis ac templi hierosolymitani* (Rome: ex typographia Aloysii Zannetti; typis Illefonsi Ciacconij, excudebat Carolus Vulliettus, 1569-1605), 3:70-1

Biblical exegesis, however, the most likely source for Delamare's idea of fictive reconstruction were the atlases that were published in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, some of which had been specifically devoted to comparisons of modern and ancient geography. Beginning with Abraham Ortelius's *Parergon*, issued from 1579 as an addendum to his *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, maps of the Roman empire or of ancient Gaul could be seen in Petrus Bertius's *Geographia vetus*, of 1630, Nicolas Sanson's so-called *Atlas des cinq royaumes*, of 1644, and Philippe Briet's *Parallela geographiae veteris et novae* and *Theatrum geographicum Europae veteris*, published in 1648 and 1653. The geographer Pierre Duval too had done fictive maps, which he collected in 1665 in an atlas titled, very aptly, *Cartes géographiques dressées pour bien entendre les historiens*.[155] In the atlases, however, images of ancient cities were scarce. Some views of ancient Jerusalem could be found in Philippe de La Rue's *La terre sainte*, of 1651. François de Belleforest's *Cosmographie universelle*, of 1575—a revised and much expanded edition of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia universalis*—showed both an ancient Jerusalem and a Rome "en sa grand'fleur" ('in her heyday').[156] **[fig. 3.35]** So did Alain Manesson Mallet's *Description de l'univers*, of 1683.[157] **[fig. 3.36]** However, all in all, fictive urban reconstructions were few and far between. When cities were

[155] See PASTOUREAU, *Les atlas français*, 65-66, 89-93, 95, 156-57, 430-32; Jeremy BLACK, *Maps and History: Constructing Images of the Pas*t (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 1-26; Walter GOFFART, *Historical Atlases: The First Three Hundred Years, 1570-1870* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 13-39.

[156] François de BELLEFOREST, *La cosmographie universelle de tout le monde* (Paris: Michel Sonnius, 1575), tome 1, vol. 2, cols 545-48. Münster had included a reinterpretation of one of Calvo's images in his edition of Solinus's *Polyhistor* (Basel, 1538) and a view of ancient Rome in his *Cosmographia universalis* (Basel, 1550), probably based on an image in Marliani's *Urbis Romae topographia* (Rome, 1544).

[157] Allain [Alain] MANESSON MALLET, *Description de l'univers* (Paris: Denys Thierry, 1683), 4:243. Manesson Mallet drew his ancient Rome after Nardini's *Roma antica*.

shown, views were almost invariably modern. Of the over five hundred city views contained in the most famous of early modern collections, Georg Braun and Franz Hogenborg's *Civitates orbis terrarum*, published between 1572 and 1617, only one was a fictive map, Ligorio's *Anteiquae urbis imago*, of 1561.[158]

If images of ancient cities were hard to come by, historical descriptions of cities were relatively plentiful. For Paris, Delamare could peruse a fairly extensive literature, most notably the writings on Parisian *antiquitez* by Gilles Corrozet, Jacques Du Breul, and André Duchesne,[159] and Belleforest's *Cosmographie*, which included a remarkable section on the history of Paris.[160] Thanks to his friend Rousseau, Delamare had also at his disposal the manuscripts of Sauval. Above all, Delamare brought to bear on his history of Paris the trove of charters, letters patent, police ordinances, building contracts, property titles, and other administrative and legal documents he had uncovered during his archival research.

For the production of the maps, Delamare called on Nicolas de Fer (1646-1720), a Parisian engraver and cartographer who bore the title of "Geographe de sa Majesté catholique et de Monseigneur le Dauphin." Although de Fer had produced

[158] Georg BRAUN and Franz HOGENBORG, *Civitates orbis terrarum; Cities of the World: 363 Engravings Revolutionize the View of the World; Complete Edition of the Colour Plates of 1572-1617*, ed. Stephen Füssel (Cologne: Taschen, 2008), 338.

[159] On the literature on Parisian *antiquitez*, see Maurice DUMOLIN, "Notes sur les vieux guides de Paris," *MSHPIF* vol. 47 (1924): 209-85; Robin MIDDLETON, "The Abbé de Cordemoy and the Graeco-Gothic Ideal: A Prelude to Romantic Classicism," *JWCI* vol. 25, no. 3/4 (1962): 278-320 at 294-97; Hilary BALLON, *The Paris of Henri IV: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991), 247-49.

[160] "De la grande, excellente, et ancienne cité de Paris, chef du royaume de France," in BELLEFOREST, *La cosmographie universelle*, tome 1, vol. 1, pp. 175-209. Delamare appears to have relied extensively on the *Cosmographie*, although he referred to it only once, as a source for the claim that the proconsuls of Gaul had chosen Lutetia as their regular residence. *Traité*, 1:69nc [I.6.1]. On Belleforest's history of Paris, see Hilary J. BERNSTEIN, "Cosmography, Local History, and National Sentiment: François de Belleforest and the History of Paris," *FHS* vol. 35, no. 1 (Winter 2012): 31-60.

several maps of Paris, he was not really known for his urban cartography; his maps were mostly scaled and touched-up versions of two maps made in the 1672 and 1676 by Albert Jouvin de Rochefort. De Fer was primarily known as the owner of a thriving business on the Ile de la Cité, a shop that produced and sold maps and atlases under the emblem "la Sphère Royale." **[fig. 3.37]** His most significant productions were *Les forces de l'Europe*, an atlas of maps of fortified cities published in installments between 1693 and 1696, and *L'atlas curieux*, an encyclopaedic collection of geographical maps, city maps, and views of monuments and sites which de Fer began to issue in 1700.[161] Interestingly, the shop also traded in fictive cartography and sold maps such as "La France, Historique, Genealogique, et Geographique" and "La Terre Sainte, Ancienne, Moderne, et Historique."[162] **[fig. 3.38]** De Fer would eventually sign the eighth map in the *Traité*, modern Paris. For the first seven—the properly fictive ones—he commissioned the draftsman and engraver Antoine Coquart (1668-17??), whom he had employed since at least 1703.[163]

The extent of the collaboration between Delamare, de Fer and Coquart remains unclear. In fact, we do not really know how the fictive maps were actually produced. A volume in Delamare's archive contains some relevant notes, primarily

[161] Nicolas de FER, *Les forces de l'Europe, ou Description des principales villes, avec leurs fortifications* (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1693-96); ID., *L'atlas curieux, ou Le monde réprésenté dans des cartes générales et particulières du ciel et de la terre* (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1700-05). On Nicolas de Fer, see PASTOUREAU, *Les atlas français*, 167-69.

[162] "Catalogue des ouvrages du S.r de Fer jusqu'en l'année 1705," British Museum, Trade Cards Banks 133.59, online at http://www.britishmuseum.org.

[163] Coquart engraved several plates for Nicolas de Fer's *Atlas curieux*: for part three, issued in 1703, Coquart engraved one image, a view of the great square in Isfahan; for parts four and five, issued in 1704 and 1705, Coquart engraved several views of French monuments and sites, including the Paris Observatoire, Mont Saint-Michel, and the Corduan lighthouse. On Coquart, see Ulrich THIEME and Felix BECKER, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: E. A. Seeman, 1907-1950), 7:382; Marcel ROUX, *Inventaire du fonds français. Graveurs du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1930-), 5:245-48; PACHA, *Les plans du Traité de la police*, 33-34.

draft versions of the maps' titles and captions (many in Delamare's tortured hand) and various lists drafted by the Commissaire's assistants with the names of streets and monuments to be corrected, added to, or stricken from the maps.[164] These notes were made at a relatively late stage in the production process, when the maps were already in their *avant-la-lettre* state, that is, prints made before the captions were added. By comparing these proofs with the final prints, we can trace, for example, how some vineyards that were initially drawn in the map of Lutèce were later erased and replaced with wooded areas, or how the assistant working on the seventh map was instructed to "Abattre l'ancienne porte saint honnoré, et à sa place une boucherie."[165] But unfortunately we cannot reconstruct the early phases of the production process. Many questions remain unanswered. How were the maps first drawn? Which other maps did their authors consult? Who fancied Lutèce as an agglomeration of tiny huts? Who thought that ancient temples should look like Counter-Reformation churches? **[fig. 3.6]**

The organizing idea of Title Six was to read the city's history in terms of *accroissemens* and *clostures*, expansions and enclosures. The alternation of periods of urban growth followed by operations of urban enclosure defined the basic framework for both the text and the maps, that is, the rationale for the chapter division[166] and the structure of the map's chrono-historical sequence.

[164] BnF ms. fr. 21694, fols. 9-41.

[165] The historian Beatrice Pacha found five of these proofs at the Bibliothèque Municipale de Blois. See PACHA, *Les plans du Traité de la police*, 12-16; Beatrice PACHA and Ludovic MIRAN, *Cartes et plans imprimés de 1564 à 1815. Collections des bibliothèques municipales de la région Centre. Notices de la base BN-Opaline* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1996), 226-27.

[166] Title Six was divided into nine chapters. Except for the first and last, all chapters included in their title some combination of the terms *accroissement* and *closture*:

Delamare told the story of Paris as a tug of war between *accroissement* and *closture*. Roughly, the story went thus: The city's first *closture* was a fortification built by the Romans to defend the island on which Lutèce was established; the city eventually outgrew the island and, over a span of four centuries, expanded onto the right bank; this was the city's first *accroissement*, which eventually prompted the construction of a second *closture*; the next *accroissement* began with the Frankish kings and lasted until the late-twelfth century, when Philip Augustus built a third *closture*; over the following four centuries there would be four more *accroissemens*, each one followed by a new *closture*, either in the form of a physical barrier (with the walls built by Charles V in the late-fourteenth century and by Louis XIII in the early-seventeenth) or in the form of a juridical barrier, an 'abstract' enclosure that set limits to the expansion of the faubourgs; Henry II defined the first such *enceinte* in the mid-sixteenth century; so did Louis XIII, who established a new *enceinte* in addition to building his fortification walls; Louis XIV would then take the idea one step further: after the demolition of the no-longer-necessary walls, Paris would be

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1. "Estat & Gouvernement des Parisiens du temps des Gaulois. Lutèce leur Ville Capitale conquise par Cesar. Le Conseil Souverain des Gaules y est estably. Dans quelle consideration elle a esté sous la domination des Romains. Sa conversion sous Saint Denys. Elle est conquise par nos premiers Rois. Ils y establissent leur séjour. Clovis la choisit pour Capitale du Royaume."
2. "Situation avantageuse de la Ville de Paris. Son ancien plan, & sa premiere Closture."
3. "Premier accroissement de la Ville de Paris hors de son Isle, & sa seconde Closture, dont le temps est incertain."
4. "Accroissemens de la Ville de Paris sous nos premiers Rois, & sa troisième Closture sous le regne de Philippe Auguste."
5. "Accroissement de Paris depuis Philippe Auguste, & sa quatrième Closture commencée sous le regne de Charles V & finie sous Charles VI."
6. "Accroissemens de la Ville de Paris, depuis Charles VI jusqu'à la fin du regne de Henri III, & premier dessein de luy donner des bornes."
7. "Accroissement de la Ville de Paris, depuis le commencement du regne de Henry IV jusqu'à la fin du regne de Louis XIII, & sa nouvelle Closture."
8. "Accroissemens & embellissemens de la Ville de Paris, sa nouvelle enceinte, & son estat present."
9. "Nouvelle division de la Ville de Paris en vingt Quartiers."

defined by two abstract enclosures—a new *enceinte* delimiting the faubourgs, and the new boulevards delimiting the city.

The maps followed the same logic and presented the city in eight "differens estats": Lutèce before the Roman conquest **[fig. 3.24, map 1]**; Lutèce "conquise par les Français sur les Romains," showing the city's first *accroissement* and both its first and second *closture* **[map 2]**; Paris in the early-twelfth century, showing the extent of its medieval *accroissement* **[map 3]**; Paris under Philippe Auguste, showing the city's third *closture* **[map 4]**; and so on with the reigns of Charles V and Charles VI **[map 5]**, Charles VII to Henry III **[map 6]**, Henry IV and Louis XIII **[map 7]**, and finally Louis XIV **[map 8]**.[167]

Delamare developed the rationale of *accroissemens* and *clostures* as a way to analyze and confront one of the key preoccupations of the early modern administration: urban growth. Delamare argued that Roman governors and French monarchs alike had at all times tried to control the size of Paris. "Tant qu'elle a esté jugée trop petite," he wrote, "toutes choses ont esté faites pour son accroissement: estant parvenuë à une estenduë raisonnable & suffisante, on luy a donné des bornes."

> L'on a suivi en cela cette regle de prudence qui nous a esté laissée par Platon & Aristote, que pour rendre une ville heureuse & florissante, il luy faut donner des limites, ny trop etroites, ny trop estenduës. Ces deux sages & habiles politiques en rendoient cette raison, qu'une ville trop petite ne peut etre fournie de tous les arts & de toutes les autres choses necessaires pour rendre ses citoyens heureux; & que lors qu'elle est portée à une excessive grandeur, elle tombe necessairement sous son propre poids, ou faute de subsistance, ou

[167] At first glance, the titles of the maps are puzzling, insofar as they purport to show not a precise moment in history but rather an interval, a span of time. Map six, for example: "Sixième plan de la ville de Paris, et de ses accroissements, depuis le commencement du règne de Charles VII l'an 1422 jusqu'à la fin du règne d'Henry III l'an 1589." In fact, the map does not represent a century and a half of urban development (how could it?) but only its final moment, the city as Delamare imagined it was in 1589.

> faute de discipline, par la difficulté au Magistrat de pourvoir aux besoins d'un aussi grand peuple, & de le contenir dans son devoir.[168]

Maintaining the city within proper boundaries was a fundamental problem of police: if left unchecked, urban growth could have catastrophic consequences for the social and economic well-being of the city—at least, the administration feared as much. Beginning in the mid-sixteenth century, when "l'on commença d'apprehender que l'estenduë de cette Ville ne fust portée à une grandeur excessive," the monarchy had tried repeatedly to contain the city within proper limits, above all by prohibiting new construction in the faubourgs. The first measure of this kind was a royal edict issued in 1549 by Henry II, which gave five reasons for containing the expansion of the faubourgs. The first was to do with taxes: the residents of the faubourgs enjoyed certain tax exemptions, and there was fear that, if growth was not contained, the faubourgs would attract too many people from the provinces. The second reason concerned the organization of labor, namely a fear that the apprentices to the city's artisans would move to the faubourgs before the end of their apprenticeship and establish there their own business. The third reason concerned the *mœurs*: the administration wanted to discourage the proliferation of taverns and "lieux de débauche & de prostitution" which thrived in the faubourgs. The fourth concerned the paramount problem of provisioning: if population growth was not contained, "la disette y seroit à craindre." The fifth was public order and security:

> qu'il estoit trop difficile de maintenir l'ordre, & la discipline publique entre un si grand nombre de Citoyens; & qu'il seroit à craindre que le defaut d'une bonne Police ne jettast cette grande Ville dans le desordre, & la confusion.[169]

[168] *Traité*, 1:70 [I.6.2].

[169] *Traité*, 1:80 [I.6.6].

Despite Henri II's edict, the city kept growing. "Cette passion de bastir de tous costez, & jusques dans la Campagne des environs de Paris, fut enfin porté à tel excés, que le Roy jugea à propos d'y donner encore une fois des bornes." In 1638, Louis XIII established a new *enceinte*, marking the faubourgs' boundaries by way of stone "bornes." The rationale for this new enclosure hinged again on matters of police. In addition to the concerns for the economic, social, and moral order of the city, the policy of urban containment was now also dictated by concerns for health and sanitation: if the city were to become too big, not only would street cleaning be more difficult to carry out, the city would be "plus susceptible de mauvais air." The *arrêt* of Louis XIII warned that unregulated urban and population growth would lead to a "déreglement de la Police."

Once again, however, the *bornage* of 1638 did not succeed in stemming urban growth. "L'on bastissoit cependant de tous les costez dans les faubourgs, & beaucoup au delà des bornes qui avoient esté plantées en 1638." In 1672, Louis XIV ordered a new *bornage*:

> il estoit à craindre que la Ville de Paris parvenüe à cette excessive grandeur, n'eust le même sort des plus puissantes Villes de l'Antiquité, qui avoient trouvé en elles-mêmes le principe de leur ruine; estant tres-difficile que l'ordre & la Police se distribuent commodément dans toutes les parties d'un si grand corps.[170]

This sentence distilled the logic of police underpinning the crown's urbanistic policy: "l'ordre & la police se distribuent," order and police spread or reach through the city. In the eyes of Louisquatorzean administrators, the police was a fluid of sorts, a substance that circulated through the urban body, a healing agent that could only work its benificent powers if the body was not overgrown. In this logic, the city must

[170] *Traité*, 1:89 [I.6.8].

not only be physically contained; it must also be divided, partitioned, and structured so as to facilitate the work of the police, of the officers "chargez du bien public." Significantly, Delamare closed Title Six by transcribing *in extenso* the two royal acts that, in 1702, reorganized the city as an administrative space by redrawing the quartiers' boundaries and creating three new quartiers.[171] Paris would now comprise twenty quartiers, an arrangement that was meant to provide a more rational organization of police forces and resources—a better 'distribution' of police.

Antoine Coquart drew the fictive maps in a style remarkable for its clarity and consistency, with graphics that strengthened Delamare's reading of the city's history as a succession of *accroissemens* and *clostures*. This is most evident in the way Coquart drew the fortification walls: he consistently employed the same abstract symbol, a line punctuated by circles and squares; he made it solid to indicate actual walls, and dotted it to mark the trace of past walls. Although today this graphic technique appears conventional, in 1705 it was remarkable: Coquart's line made it possible to see the vestiges of former cities and perceive at one glance the extent of successive *accroissemens*.

More broadly, we may read Coquart's maps as illustrations of the very idea of the *ville policée*. In Title Six, Delamare articulated what we may call a paradigm of planning. This paradigm depended on the way Delamare employed the term *accroissement*: on the one hand, he used it to indicate the bridges, squares, churches, palaces, and other magnificent structures that kings and seigneurs had added to the city during its long history (Title Six can in fact be read as a condensed architectural

[171] Arrêt du Conseil, 14 Jan. 1702; Royal declaration, 12 Dec. 1702, in *Traité*, 1:92-96 [I.6.9]. On the administrative reorganization of Paris, see Robert DESCIMON and Jean NAGLE, "Les quartiers de Paris du Moyen Age au XVIIIe siècle. Evolution d'un espace plurifonctionnel," *Annales* vol. 34, no. 5 (Sept.-Oct. 1979): 956-83, esp. 967-70.

history of the city); but Delamare also employed the term in an opposite, negative sense, to indicate not so much intentional operations of *embellissement* as processes of spontaneous, anarchic, un-policed urban growth. In the eyes of Delamare, the city was an object in need of constant guidance and attention: left to its own devices, the city grew badly and chaotically (it sprawled); without planning, without the operation of *closture*, the city loses its form, order, and coherence—it loses its *police*. The dialectic between *closture* and *accroissement* was ultimately a dialectic between planned and un-planned development: the Paris of Title Six was a city that, for centuries, had been the object of rational planning.

In the fictive maps, Coquart found interesting ways to convey this idea of the planned/policed city. With the exception of the first map, where he reveled in drawing tiny (giant) huts and temples, Coquart put the emphasis not on the city's buildings but on the urban fabric as a whole. Although he used special symbols for the monuments (e.g., darker hatching and pavilion roofs), he drew most of the city and its faubourgs as clusters of generic urban blocks. In each of its historical incarnations, the city appeared as a compact mass, a coherent entity, an object that had been contained, managed, planned, policed.

There is a cartoonish quality to Coquart's maps, a graphic starkness which, in fact, enhances the reading of Paris as a *ville policée*. Coquart's distinctive clarity is especially evident when we compare his seven maps with the eighth one, Nicolas de Fer's modern Paris. **[fig. 3.31]** In the latter, the vestiges of the city's past walls are not represented; the urban fabric appears blurred; the overall legibility is compromised by an excess of graphic information, such as the names of streets; the details lack gracefulness and appear finicky; the stark contrast between solids and voids is lost; the city and its outside seem to merge into one another. Undoubtedly,

De Fer's map was cartographically more accurate, but it failed to convey the gist of Delamare's paradigm. In more than one way, de Fer appears to have missed the point. The only feature of the map that related directly to Delamare's ideas was the representation of the division of Paris into twenty quartiers. De Fer listed the new quartiers in a cartouche at bottom left. Unfortunately, he was largely unsuccessful in conveying graphically this information: he merely drew a thicker line over the street-front of the buildings located along the new boundaries—a line which remains barely legible.

Notwithstanding these flaws, the sequence of eight maps in the *Traité* was a remarkable achievement, especially when compared with the work of the artists and scholars who drew Rome. The students of Rome, who first had seen the need and value of 'drawing the past,' were interested almost exclusively in the city's heyday: their goal was to bring to life Rome's ancient magnificence; they sought to restore, renew, or conjure Rome at its most glorious. Delamare saw the representation of the city's past through a different lens. Title Six told the story of Paris both as a cautionary tale and as a narrative of progress, revealing at once the dangers of unregulated urban growth and the way those dangers had been parried by way of rational planning. In order to tell that story, it was essential that the city be pictured not only in its heyday but "dans tous les differens estats par lesquels elle a passé jusqu'à present." Delamare's Paris had been policed and planned *through its entire history*: the paradigm of the *ville policée* required that the city be represented along a temporal continuum.

Delamare's formidable accomplishment becomes more visible we compare his maps to the only example of Roman fictive cartography that attempted a representation of the city's *entire* history, namely a map of Rome made by the Dutch

draftsman and engraver Bonaventura van Overbeke (1660-1705). **[fig. 3.39]** Published in 1708 in the first volume of *Reliquiae antiquae urbis Romae*, the image included illustrations of six phases of Rome's history (*regia*, *consularis*, *imperatoria*, *victa*, *serva*, and *pontificia*).[172] The six drawings give some indication of the history of Rome's urban development, but only in very broad and somewhat pitiful strokes; the drawings were small sketches, diagrams more than maps. "QVANTA OLIM FVERIT RVINA DOCET," read the title of the map. It conveys beautifully the real aim of Overbeke and the sense of nostalgia that suffuses his work: he drew the ruins of Rome to conjure up the city's lost grandeur. (In the central image, Overbeke finally returned to the old tradition of the *mirabilia urbis*: no streets, no urban fabric, only the monuments—the city itself has almost disappeared.) Ultimately, what distinguished Delamare from Overbeke and the other students of Rome was their idea of time. One may say that, for the artists and antiquarians that studied Rome, Time (capital T) was the object: they were fascinated by the work of time, by what time did to the city—a process of erosion epitomized in the poetic figure of the ruin. For Delamare, *historical time* was the object: the prosaic Commissaire sought to register and understand urban development as a historical process.

The work of the Roman scholars was not without a political dimension. From Flavio Biondo to Overbeke, the project of reconstructing the city's past—the *instauratio urbis*—had scholarly as well as practical aims, and was in fact sponsored

[172] Bonaventura van OVERBEKE, *Reliquiae antiquae urbis Romae*, 3 vols (Amsterdam: excudit Ioannes Crellius, 1708). The book was published by Bonaventura's brother, Michael, who also produced a French edition, *Les restes de l'ancienne Rome*, 3 vols (Amsterdam: Jean Crellius, 1709). The 1708 Latin edition was reprinted in 1763 in The Hague by the publishers Pierre Gosse and Daniel Pinet.

by various popes.[173] That project, however, remained largely confined as an antiquarian and artistic endeavor. Delamare's fictive maps also were excercises in antiquarian erudition,[174] but they had a political and instrumental value unknown to the Roman scholars: Delamare's project was directly, immediately political. Indeed, the most appropriate comparison would not be with any of the maps of ancient Rome but with another image—one that the Commissaire had probably never seen, but which I trust he would have most likely appreciated: a map published in 1652 in the atlas *Newe Landesbeschreibung der zweij Hertzogthümer Schleswich und Holstein*.[175] **[fig. 3.40]** The work of the Danish cartographer Johannes Mejer (1606-74), the map juxtaposed the contemporary geography of North Frisia to the land as it existed in 1240, the year a powerful storm tide literally ate away entire portions of the land mass and redrew the region's coastline. Mejer used fictive cartography to gauge the extent of the damages brought about by a cataclysmic event; his fictive map can be seen as a testament of Frisian fear, namely the fear of what angry seas could do to their land. In a similar way, Delamare's fictive maps were prompted by fear—the fear of what unregulated urban and population growth could do to his city.

[173] On the project of *instauratio urbis*, see Manfredo TAFURI, "'Roma instaurata'. Strategie urbane e politiche pontificie nella Roma del primo Cinquecento," in Christoph Luitpold FROMMEL, Stefano RAY and Manfredo TAFURI, *Raffaello architetto* (Milan: Electa, 1984): 59-106; Maria Grazia BLASIO, "Memoria filologica e memoria politica in Biondo Flavio. Il significato della 'instauratio urbis'," in *La memoria e la città. Scritture storiche tra Medioevo e Età Moderna*, ed. Claudia Bastia and Maria Bolognani (Bologna: Il Nove, 1995): 307-17; Lola KANTOR-KAZOVSKY, *Piranesi as Interpreter of Roman Architecture and the Origins of His Intellectual World* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2006), 63-81; Pier Vittorio AURELI, *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2011), 85-140.

[174] Delamare prided himself of his scholarly erudition: he listed in the maps' very titles the authors and archives he used, a gesture which at once legitimized his fictive reconstructions on the authority of ancient sources and announced to the readers the full range of his scholarly prowess.

[175] Johannes MEJER and Caspar DANCKWERTH, *Newe Landesbeschreibung der zweij Hertzogthümer Schleswich und Holstein* (Husum: Matthias & Nicolaus Petersen, 1652). On Mejer, see GOFFART, *Historical Atlases*, 93-98.

Behind Delamare's maps loomed the specter of a non-natural and yet equally cataclysmic event: the social catastrophe of a "déreglement de la Police."

In 1725, in their *Histoire de la ville de Paris*, the Maurist fathers Michel Félibien and Guy-Alexis Lobineau found fault with Delamare's history of Paris but finally paid the Commissaire a most generous tribute:

> Nous osons attaquer ici les sentimens d'un auteur, dont nous respectons d'ailleurs le merite, & dont nous admirons le travail & la capacité. Nous souhaiterons pouvoir le suivre sur le point que nous allons traiter, comme nous avons fait souvent dans cet écrit, & comme nous le ferons encore. Car son autorité est pour nous d'un fort grand poids. Il a en effet une profonde connoissance des anciens titres. Il les cite avec fidelité; & s'il prête des interpretations à leur secheresse naturelle, elles sont ordinairement pleines de jugement, de lumieres, & même d'agrémens.[176]

Scholars of urban cartography were much less kind. Jaillot, the foremost 'historical topographer' of the second half of the eighteenth century, dismissed Delamare's fictive maps as unreliable if not altogether fanciful. In 1772, in the first volume of his *Recherches critiques, historiques et topographiques sur la ville de Paris*, he commented on Delamare's maps:

> Il est étonnant que cet objet [the state of Paris before the sixteenth century] ait été si mal traité, ce n'est pas assez de dire qu'il a été négligé: on peut se convaincre, en voyant ces Plans, que leur Auteur n'a consulté que son imagination pour les tracer; que les rues & les monuments y sont déplacés, & que les fautes dont ils fourmillent sont d'autant plus dangereuses, que la réputation si justement due au *Traité de la Police* a influé sur les Plans, qu'on

[176] Michel FÉLIBIEN and Guy-Alexis LOBINEAU, *Histoire de la ville de Paris*, 5 vols (Paris: Guillaume Desprez, Jean Desessartz, 1725), 1:xlvii. Félibien and Lobineau's criticism of Delamare did not bear on Title Six (i.e., the historico-topographical description of Paris) but on other sections of the *Traité* where Delamare discussed the history of Parisian institutions. The Maurist fathers faulted the Commissaire for having underestimated the *ancienneté* and the historical relevance of the city's municipal corps. The bulk of their critique was in a twenty-page section titled "Où l'on refute l'opinion de l'auteur du traité de la police, sur l'origine du commerce par eau, & de ses privileges dans Paris; & où l'on fait voir, que ce commerce & ses privileges constituoient l'essence du corps municipal de cette ville long-tems avant l'époque donné pour leur prétendu établissement." Ibid., 1:xlvii-lxvii.

> a cités plus d'une fois dans des contestations, & qu'on a souvent consultés pour les décider.[177]

In the nineteenth century, Alfred Bonnardot (the scholar who coined the expression "plan fictif") echoed this criticism. In his *Etudes archéologiques sur les anciens plans de Paris*, he called Delamare's maps "une suite de plans fictifs d'une monstrueuse inexactitude."

> S'il est, en effet, le premier qui ait conçu l'heureuse idée de lever des plans fictifs de la capitale, on peut affirmer qu'il l'a fort mal réalisée. [...] Accordons à De la Marre l'honneur d'avoir offert le premiers échantillons en ce genre. Mais quelle ignorance! quelle inexactitude! quelles invraisemblances! [...] il faudrait un volume pour relever les bévues de De la Marre, relatives à la disposition générale, à la direction des rues, à la forme des monuments.[178]

Bonnardot's final judgment of the maps was almost cruel: "Ils sont tout à fait indignes de nous occuper."[179]

There is some truth in this criticism, but to fault Delamare for lack of cartographic accuracy seems ungenerous and actually beside the point. To reproach Delamare on these grounds is to forget that the Commissaire drew from scratch. Delamare could—and surely did—consult several maps of Paris *chez* Nicolas de Fer, but even if we imagine a shop supplied with all the maps of the city ever made, he could at most go back to circa 1550, to the Paris engraved in Münster's *Cosmographia*. The Commissaire *had to invent the city*. Rather than judging the accuracy of his maps (or the veracity of his historical claims), it is more useful to examine the ways Delamare established his ideas.

[177] JAILLOT [Jean-Baptiste-Michel Renou de Chauvigné], *Recherches critiques, historiques et topographiques sur la ville de Paris*, 5 vols (Paris: L'auteur, Lottin l'aîné, 1772-75), 1:xvii-xviii.

[178] Alfred BONNARDOT, *Etudes archéologiques sur les anciens plans de Paris des XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, ed. Michel Fleury (1851; Paris: Agence culturelle de Paris, 1994), 9-10.

[179] Ibid., 175.

In this respect, the third chapter of Title Six ("Premier accroissement de la Ville hors de son isle; & sa seconde closture, dont le temps est incertain") is especially notable.[180] Only three pages long, this chapter stands out in the *Traité*. Delamare wrote practically all the 648 pages of volume one in an 'authorless' voice, calmly collecting facts and stating truths. In discussing the first *accroissement* of the city, the Commissaire moved from this voice: he presented ideas of his own and interpreted facts.[181]

Delamare advanced the hypothesis that the city's first expansion onto the right bank took place long before the Middle Ages; against consensus, the Commissaire argued that the area that would later be called "Ville" was first developed when Paris was under Roman rule, and that the city's first enclosure was not the wall built by Philip Augustus in the late-twelfth century but a wall built by the Romans between the years 358 and 375.

I should note right away an uncanny problem in assessing Delamare's hypothesis: his claim that the wall of Philip Augustus was not the city's first *enceinte* was at once ground-breakingly correct and monumentally wrong: recent archaeological discoveries have finally confirmed the existence of such wall; unfortunately, it was not the work of the Romans; the wall was built in the late-tenth century.[182] The point of my analysis, however, is not to ascertain whether Delamare

[180] *Traité*, 1:71-74 [I.6.3].

[181] On the difference between collecting and interpreting facts, see MOMIGLIANO, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," 286.

[182] See Hélène NOIZET, "La localisation de l'enceinte primitive de la rive droite à Paris: bilan et perspectives," *BSHPIF* vol. 135/136 (2009-10): 1-9.

'got it right.' More interesting is to look at the historiographical method with which the Commissaire established his hypothesis.

Delamare began by describing the consensus opinion. All who had written historical and topographical descriptions of the city believed that the wall of Philip Augustus was the city's first enclosure. "Cependant nous avons des preuves incontestables que long-temps avant ce Prince il y a eu un accroissement considerable, & une closture de Paris du costé Nord." In the title of the corresponding map, **[map 2, fig. 3.25]** the Commissaire referred to direct archaeological (non-literary) proofs of such enclosure, the "vestiges de cette ancienne enceinte qui subsiste encore aujourd'huy ou que l'on a vû de nos jours." In the text, he relied upon "une autre espece de preuve," namely indirect (literary) proofs, that is, mentions of the wall's vestiges that Delamare had uncovered "dans plusieurs anciens Titres conservez dans nos Archives." The most convincing of these proofs was a document that the Commissaire found in the archives of the Châtelet, namely the letters patent issued in August 1280 by Philip III in order to "borner la justice de saint Eloy," i.e., define the jurisdictional boundaries of the priory of Saint-Eloy. In the document, the priory was said to have extended up to a house near one of the city gates (Porte Baudets), "*per quam muri veteres Parisienses ire solebant*," "par où passoient autrefois les vieilles murailles de la Ville." This was the smoking gun:

> Il est donc certain qu'avant le regne de Philippe Auguste, il y avoit déja eu deux clostures de Paris; l'une dans l'interieur de l'Isle, qui renfermoit l'ancienne Ville; & l'Autre aux environs de son premier accroissement du costé du Nord.[183]

[183] *Traité*, 1:73 [I.6.3]. Sauval's *Histoire* (1724) also mentioned the existence of an *enceinte* prior to the wall of Philip Augustus: "La premiere de trois enceintes, & qui subsistoit sous le premier Rois de la derniere race, prenoit son commencement à la Porte de Paris, & alloit finir à la Porte Baudets." SAUVAL,

That the Romans had built on the island some kind of defense structure was not really a controversial argument: no author disputed that the fortification of Lutèce was the city's first *closture*. (In 1532, for example, Corrozet wrote of Julius Caesar's construction of "la premiere porte & closture de paris."[184]) Proving the second *closture*, however, took effort. "A l'égard de la seconde, comme personne n'en a parlé jusqu'à present, le temps en est plus incertain; il faut avoir recours aux conjectures."

Delamare advanced three such conjectures. The first one "se tire du silence même de nos Auteurs François." The sixth-century historian Gregory of Tours wrote a detailed history of the early kings, where he noted not only what the kings built but also the occurrence of events that may have physically transformed Paris (e.g., floods and fires): "auroit-il oublié de parler de son accroissement, & de sa nouvelle closture? Il n'y a aucune apparence." If Gregory of Tours did not mention the *closture*, it was because the *closture* was not the work of the early kings; it must have been there already, the work of the late Romans.

The second conjecture hinged on a matter of language. In his *Res gestae*, the fourth-century historian Ammianus Marcellinus called the island "Castellum Parisiorum" rather than "Urbe Parisorum," as authors before him did. This was proof that construction had already begun outside the island: the Ville was now on the right bank, and Parisians could refer to the island as the castle. From this conjecture Delamare derived the dating of the wall:

Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1:65. I was unable to study Sauval's manuscripts, but I suspect that this passage was added by Rousseau when he edited and revised them.

[184] "Et aussi esse la premiere porte & closture de Paris, & dehors fut edifiee, iouxte celle porte aulcune forteresse pour deffense de la cite, au lieu ou est de present le grand Chastellet ou les Prevostz de Paris d'antiquite tiennent leur iurisdiction royalle." Gilles CORROZET, *La fleur des antiquitez, singularitez & excellences de la noble ville, cite & universite de Paris* (Paris: Galiot du Pré, 1532), 22.

> On peut même marquer assez précisément, & avec quelque sorte de certitude le temps de cet accroissement, & de cette seconde closture de Paris, puisque cela doit avoir esté fait depuis l'an 358, que Julien passa dans les Gaules en qualité de Proconsul, jusqu'en 375, qu'Ammian Marcellin écrivit son Histoire. Ce qui s'accorde assez avec l'opinion commune, que ce Prince pendant son sejour à Paris, y fit faire plusieurs bastimens.[185]

The third conjecture also depended on matters of language. Delamare discussed changes in the way two city gates were referred to: the Porte de Paris (*Porta Parisiensis*) and the Porte Baudets (*Porta Bauda*, *Porta Bauderii*, *Porta Bagauda*, *Porta Bagaudarum*). After a dense and somewhat convoluted analysis of such nomenclature, the Commissaire concluded: "C'est donc encore un argument, ou du moins *une presomption violente*, que l'enceinte où estoit cette porte [Porte Baudets], est un ouvrage des Romains."[186]

The first thing to note about this chapter is how Delamare advanced his hypothesis by relying on a combination of different kinds of evidentiary sources: archaeological remains, literary texts, and legal documents. Most important, we should note how Delamare read those sources critically and, so to speak, creatively. In this respect, the Commissaire's three conjectures, which at first appear unconvincing and somewhat specious, are in fact extraordinary. They demonstrate Delamare's acute awareness of two differences that most historians still failed to consider: the difference between primary and secondary sources, and the difference between collecting facts and interpreting facts. It was such awareness that allowed the Commissaire to define so precisely the dating of the wall. He was dismally wrong in the actual dating, of course, but his second conjecture is remarkable: it may well

[185] *Traité*, 1:73 [I.6.3].

[186] *Traité*, 1:73 [I.6.3]. (The emphasis is mine.)

be the first instance of an author historicizing an event by surmising its *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem*. Such awareness can be read even more clearly in Delamare's first conjecture. Again, Delamare was historically wrong: Gregory of Tours was not as thorough a historian as the Commissaire claimed; his *Historia Francorum* left many things unsaid, not just the construction of the wall.[187] But the conjecture stands as an important turn in historiographical method: to the panoply of evidentiary sources that one may use to write history, Delamare added a new kind of evidence: the evidence of absence.

In discussing the phantomatic first wall of Paris, Delamare advanced new historiographical and interpretive strategies. Unfortunately, the Commissaire was off by six hundred years. His conjectures, though, were a remarkable leap of historical imagination.

A history of Title Six would not be complete without an account of the afterlife of Delamare's fictive maps.

The maps first appeared in 1705, in volume one of the *Traité*.[188] Pierre and Jean Cot, the book's publishers, began immediately to print them separately and to

[187] Delamare's faulty reading of Gregory of Tours was noted by Pierre-Nicolas Bonamy at the beginning of two lectures he read at the Académie des Inscriptions on 7 April 1739 and 26 February 1740. [Pierre-Nicolas] BONAMY, "Recherches sur la célébrité de la ville de Paris avant les ravages des Normands," *Mémoires de littérature tirés des registres de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, vol. 15 (1743): 656-91 at 656-57, 672-73.

[188] *Traité*, 1:67-96 [I.6.1-9].

sell them as a set.[189] **[fig. 3.41]** In 1722, Michel Brunet reprinted the maps *telles quelles* in the *Traité*'s second edition and also sold them as a separate set.[190]

The maps were re-engraved for the pirated edition of the *Traité* made in Amsterdam in 1729.[191] These are practically identical to the original ones, except for a few corrections to the texts (e.g., Coquart's signature was removed; the year 1705 was replaced in maps one and three with the years 1728 and 1729) and some minor changes to the maps' decorative motifs. In 1755, two publishers based in Amsterdam and Leipzig re-issued the Amsterdam re-engravings as an album titled *Le theatre de la ville de Paris*.[192] **[fig. 3.49]**

In the early 1710s, Nicolas de Fer commissioned Antoine Coquart to produce a new version of the maps, smaller in format and without any reference to Delamare or the *Traité*. These he published in 1714 the *Suite de l'Atlas curieux* and also sold as a set.[193] After de Fer's death, the shop was taken over by his son-in-law, Guillaume Danet. In 1724, Danet issued the reduced maps as an album titled *Plans historiques de la ville de Paris*[194] and included them in his re-edition of de Fer's *Les beautés de*

[189] One such set is at NYPL Maps division, Atlas cases, La Mare, N. de, Maps of the City of Paris. The set was later completed with the ninth map of Paris, which appeared in 1738 in volume four of the *Traité*.

[190] *Traité-2*, 1:83-112 [I.7.1-9].

[191] *Traité-A*, 1:68-94 [I.7.1-9].

[192] *Le theatre de la ville de Paris dans ses differens ages et son agrandissement jusqu'a-present, en huit plans, publiés par Mrs. de La Mare et de Fer* (Amsterdam and Leipzig: Arkstee & Merkus, 1755).

[193] Nicolas de FER, *Suite de l'Atlas curieux* (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1714). See also BOUTIER, SARAZIN and SIBILLE, *Les plans de Paris*, entries no. 178-84.

[194] *Plans historiques de la ville de Paris* ([Paris]: [Danet], 1724).

la France.[195] **[fig. 3.44]** In 1724, some of the copies of Sauval's *Histoire* were bound with the 1714 re-engravings.[196] **[fig. 3.45]** Three of the 1714 re-engravings were engraved anew for the 1735 abridged duodecimo edition of Félibien and Lobineau's *Histoire de la ville de Paris*.[197] **[fig. 3.46-48]**

The most curious re-use of the maps was made in the late 1760s. The prolific *littérateur* Pons-Augustin Alletz had the maps re-engraved and further reduced in size to fit the octavo format of *Le géographe parisien*, a pocket-size guidebook that he published in 1769 under the pseudonym Le Sage, with a prominent dedication to Antoine de Sartine, Lieutenant Général de Police.[198] **[fig. 3.50-58]**

The book on the *voirie*

In April 1723, two months before his death, Delamare appointed Anne-Louis Lecler du Brillet as his *continuateur*.

Lecler's biographical portrait can be quickly sketched, for little is known. We have no idea of his date of birth, no record of his education, and no information on his family. Of his life before 1723, all we can say is that he began to be employed by

[195] Nicolas de FER, *Les beautés de la France* (Paris: Chez le Sr. Danet, 1724).

[196] One such copy is at the Houghton Library, f Fr 7200.11*. Henri SAUVAL, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, 3 vols (Paris: Charles Moette and Jacques Chardon, 1724).

[197] Pierre-François Guyot DESFONTAINES, Jean DU CASTRE D'AUVIGNY and Louis François Joseph DE LA BARRE, *Histoire de la ville de Paris*, 5 vols (Paris: Charles-Jean-Bapt. Delespine fils, 1735). See also BOUTIER, SARAZIN and SIBILLE, *Les plans de Paris*, entries no. 213-15. (Félibien and Lobineau's *Histoire* was originally published in 1725 in five folio volumes; volume one included a map of modern Paris engraved by Coquart.)

[198] LE SAGE [Pons-Augustin Alletz], *Le géographe parisien*, 2 vols (Paris: Valleyre l'ainé, Veuve Duchesne, Laurent Prault, Desaint, Delalain, 1769). See also BOUTIER, SARAZIN and SIBILLE, *Les plans de Paris*, entries no. 290-96.

Delamare around 1721.[199] The reason for his appointment as *continuateur* is uncertain.[200]

Lecler's life after 1723 remains murky, but we can at least retrace, in the pages of the *Almanach royal*, the trajectory of what appears to have been a relatively successful professional career. From 1728 to 1750, Lecler served as Procureur du Roi at the Amirauté de France, the jurisdiction charged with overseeing private and commercial navigation throughout the kingdom. Although he kept this title until 1758, from 1750 he served as one of two Lieutenants Généraux Civils, Criminels et de Police at the Prévôté de l'Hôtel du Roi, the institution responsible for maintaining order and police at court and on royal grounds. From 1728 to 1750, he lived on the Rue de Grenelle Saint-Honoré, in a house into which he probably moved Delamare's archive. After 1750, he shuffled between Paris and Versailles.[201] (The Prévôté de

[199] Accounts of payments for the years 1716 to 1723 (money paid to Delamare and his research team by the Hôtel-Dieu with the proceeds of ticket sales at Parisian theaters) attest that the late Delamare had three assistants: Le Camus, Du Tremblay, and Lecler. Le Camus and Du Tremblay were employed since at least 1716, at a yearly salary of, respectively, 1,200 and 800 livres. Payments to Lecler are attested from 1722, at a rate of 1,000 livres per year. See "Etat des personnes employées par le Comm[issai]re Delamare à ses recherches et aux copies des pieces qui luy sont necessaires pour la composition de ce qui luy reste à donner au public de son Traitté de la police," and "Etat des sommes payées par M[essieur]s les Reveceurs généraux de l'Hôtel Dieu pour la composition et l'impression du livre du Traité de la police," BnF Joly 144, fols. 107, 124-26. See also DIAMENT, "Recherches sur la police parisienne," 183-84; PACHA, *Les plans du Traité de la police*, 33

[200] A late 1720s excerpt from the 1723 act of appointment referred to Lecler as "Me Anne Louis Le Clerc, avocat au parlement, demeurant avec led[it] S[ieur] Delamare." Unfortunately, this tidbit of information is of dubious trustworthiness: it comes from a mémoire written by Lecler to obtain money for his research—a text in which he had every reason to embellish both his status and his closeness to Delamare. It is possible that Lecler resided chez the Commissaire, but I could find no proof of him practicing as an Avocat at the Parlement, at least not in the records of the *Almanach royal*. See "Mémoire sur la continuation du Traité de la Police, servant à faire connoitre que Monseigneur le Premier President et Monseigneur le Procureur general sont protecteurs de cet ouvrage, et seuls dispensateurs du fonds que M. Delamare a assigneé pour la perfection de ce Traité," BnF Joly 144, fols. 127-30 at 129. This document is also reproduced in BONDOIS, "Le commissaire Delamare," 345-46.

[201] *Almanach royal* (1728), 194 [Amirauté]; (1730), 196; (1731), 212; (1732), 212; (1733), 212; (1734), 212; (1735), 214; (1736), 214; (1737) 215; (1738), 215; (1739), 212; (1740), 221; (1741), 224; (1742), 225; (1743), 222; (1744), 221; (1745), 221; (1746), 221; (1747), 222; (1749), 223; (1750), 224; (1751), 171 [Prévôté], 224 [Amirauté]; (1752), 171, 224; (1753), 171, 230; (1754) 171, 229; (1755), 171, 230; (1756),

l'Hôtel was a 'deambulatory' institution: one of the two Lieutenants was stationed in Paris, the other followed the king; they switched every year.)

As Delamare's *continuateur*, Lecler was in charge of completing the *Traité*'s seven remaining books. He set to work on the book on the *voirie* (Book Six) in the summer of 1723, and completed most of the remaining research and the writing in about seven years. It would take him eight more years, however, to publish the book, principally because of a dispute over the *Traité*'s copyright: for almost a decade, Lecler battled with the trustees of the Hôtel-Dieu, who claimed ownership of the book's *privilège*; the trustees also tried to back out of the agreement they had signed with Delamare in 1716, and refused to pay the compensation that was due to the *continuateur*.[202]

The book on the *voirie* was published in 1738 by the Parisian *libraire* Jean-François Herissant. **[fig. 3.68]** This was the fourth volume of the *Traité*. Unfortunately, it was also the last. Delamare's project of a twelve-book *summa* of the police was to remain unfulfilled, for Lecler never managed to publish anything else and never appointed a further *continuateur*. He kept collecting police ordinances until the mid 1740s and undertook some research in preparation for a fifth volume of the *Traité*, on the subject of public security. About 1750, however, at the time he

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176, 239; (1757), 177, 240; (1758), 179, 219; (1759), 179 [Prévôté]; (1760), 182. From 1738 onward, the *Almanach royal* began to tag each officer's name with the year of his appointment (an important measure of one's seniority and rank). In the section on the Prévôté de l'Hôtel, Lecler's year of appointment was given as 1750. For reasons that puzzle me, in the section on the Amirauté de France, Lecler's name was consistently tagged with the year 1712. A typo repeated for two decades is unlikely, but it is also unlikely that Lecler was appointed in 1712, for his name began to appear in the roster of the Amirauté only from 1728 onward.

On the Prévôté de l'Hôtel du Roi and the Amirauté de France, see the relative entries in Michel ANTOINE et al., *Guide des recherches dans les fonds judiciaires de l'ancien régime* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1958): 11-15, 257-82.

[202] The dispute can be tracked via a batch of letters and mémoires at BnF Joly 144, fols. 127-224. See also *Histoire générale de Paris*, 112-15; BONDOIS, "Le commissaire Delamare," 323-32; DIAMENT, "Recherches sur la police parisienne," 226-36.

accepted the position at the Prévôté de l'Hôtel, Lecler appears to have abandoned all research on the police. He died in 1760, in almost complete obscurity. Beside his authorship of Book Six, his only other claim to remembrance came by accident: in January 1757, at Versailles, he was the magistrate who conducted the eleven-day interrogation of the regicide Damiens.[203]

The early modern notion of *voirie* is not easily defined. In many ways, the term *voirie* was laden with ambiguities similar to those ingrained in the term *police*. *Voirie* indicated at once an actual object, namely the streets, the roads, the *chémins*—all the so-called *voies publiques*—and the jurisdictional and administrative powers that were exercised over such *voies*. In 1680, in his *Dictionnaire françois*, Pierre Richelet defined it as "une des parties de la police, qui regarde les grands chemins."[204] In 1694, in the first dictionary of the Académie Française, the *voyerie* was "La charge du Voyer," the Voyer being the "officier preposé pour avoir soin de raccomoder les chemins à la campagne & faire garder les allignemens dans les villes."[205] These definitions were precise, yet they failed to convey the extent of the physical and conceptual domain subsumed under the notion of *voirie*. It might be useful to recall some arguments made by Jean Domat in his *Droit public*, of 1697.

Domat argued that in nature, in the "multitude infinie des choses de toute nature," one could distinguish two kinds of things, and two different kinds of use.

[203] Lecler discharged himself well in such extraordinary circumstances. He got to the crux of the matter right away: first *interrogatoire*, eleventh question: "Interrogé quel est le motif qui l'a porté à attenter à la Personne du Roi./ A dit que c'étoit à cause de la Religion." Alexandre-André LE BRETON, *Pièces originales et procédures du procès fait à Robert-François Damiens, tant en la Prévôté de l'Hôtel qu'en la Cour de Parlement* (Paris: Pierre-Guillaume Simon, 1757), 45.

[204] RICHELET, *Dictionnaire françois*, s.v. "Voierie."

[205] *Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise*, s.v. "Voyerie," "Voyer."

The first kind were things "d'une telle necessité, qu'aucun ne sçauroit vivre sans en avoir un usage libre et continuel," above all air and light. The use of such things did not require "industrie" or "travail," everyone had the use of air and light independent of the will of others. "Ainsi," he wrote,

> la police n'y a rien à regler. Elle peut seulement prendre les précautions pour tenir l'air pur, le soin de deffendre qu'on ne mette & n'expose rien dans les lieux publics, qui puisse l'infecter, & le rendre mal sain.[206]

The second type of things were those "qui sont necessaires aux hommes pour la nourriture, le vêtement, l'habitation, & pour toute autre sorte de divers besoins," namely "la terre, les eaux," and everything that they carried and produced.

> C'est pour cet usage de cette seconde espece de choses, que comme elles sont toutes necessaires dans la societé des hommes, & qu'ils ne peuvent les avoir & les mettre en usage, que par des voies qui demandent des différentes liaisons & communications entr'eux, non seulement d'un lieu à un autre, mais de tout païs à tout autre, & entre les nations les plus éloignées, Dieu a pourvû par l'ordre de la nature, & les hommes par la police, à faciliter ces communications.[207]

God had created seas and rivers so they may also serve as *voies de communication* and allow the commerce of the things necessary for the sustenance of society. On land, the *voies de communication* were the work of the police.

> Et c'est par la police, qu'on a fait des villes, & d'autres lieux où les hommes s'assemblent, & se communiquent par l'usage des ruës, des places publiques, & des autres lieux propres à cet usage, & que ceux de chaque ville, de chaque province, de chaque nation, peuvent communiquer à tous autres de tous pays, par les grands chemins. Ainsi, pour toutes ces communications par terre & par eau, on a eu besoin des regles qu'on a établies par cette police.[208]

[206] DOMAT, *Le Droit public,* 224 [bk. 1, tit. 8, "De la police pour l'usage des mers, des fleuves, des rivieres, des ports, des ponts, des ruës, des places publiques, des grands chemins, & autres lieux publics, & de ce qui regarde les eaux & forêts, la chasse, & la pêche"].

[207] Ibid., 224-25.

[208] Ibid., 225.

Although Domat did not use the term *voirie*, he articulated the main rationale of the *police de la voirie*: the police ordered and regulated cities, streets, and roads—public space in general—so as to facilitate the circulation of goods and people and thereby sustain and enhance the public good.

Delamare built upon this understanding of the *police de la voirie* and expanded it considerably. In 1705, in the preface to the *Traité*, he sketched a quadripartite scheme for Book Six:

> Comme ce n'est pas un point moins capital à l'utilité publique, je rapporte avec le mesme soins dans le SIXIÈME LIVRE tout ce qui la concerne. Ainsi j'y traite I. Des bastimens, de leur origine, des matereaux differens qu'on y employe, & des ouvriers qui les mettent en œuvre. II. Des ruës & des voyes publiques: leur pavé, leur nétoyement; des dangers & des obstacles qui les rendent moins seures ou moins commodes. III. Les grands chemins suivent cet ordre; & je n'ay rien oublié de ce qui les regarde. IV. On y trouvera aussi à cette occasion l'origine des postes, & des voitures publiques, & tous les réglemens qui ont esté faits pour en établir l'ordre & la discipline. Je ne repeterai point icy que sur toutes ces matieres, de même que sur les précedentes, je rapporte tout ce que l'histoire nous en apprend, tout ce que l'ancien droit en a dicté, & ce que les ordonnances modernes ou nouvelles y ont ajoûté.[209]

This scheme—whereby the *police de la voirie* consisted in the management of buildings, streets, roads, and communications—was to remain the basic framework for Book Six, even though Lecler, in the final work, would eventually develop and re-arrange it, muddling somewhat Delamare's neat four-part program.

[209] *Traité*, 1:[xi] ["Préface"]. Although neither Delamare nor Lecler acknowledged Domat in the *Traité*, there is no doubt that they both knew well his work. Lecler, in particular, took notes from Domat's *Droit public* and transcribed several passages. One of these may have shaped Lecler's ideas as to what constitutes public space: "Il ne faut pas comprendre dans les biens du domaine les places publiques, les grands chemins et les autres choses de cette nature qui sont hors du commerce des particuliers et destinées à l'usage du public, car ces sortes d'immeubles ne produisant aucun revenu ne se comptent pas au nombre des biens, et les droits qu'y ont le public et le souverain sont d'une autre nature que le droit que donne la proprieté [...] Le Prince regle l'usage des choses publiques." BnF ms. fr. 21703, fol. 143, Lecler quoting from DOMAT, *Le Droit public,* 161 [bk. 1, tit. 6].

The Commissaire had left to his *continuateur* the draft of an introductory essay, some indication of books and archives to consult, and several research notes on the history of the institutions with *voirie* authority.[210] **[fig. 3.64-65]** Most important, he had taught him his "système." In an eight-page "Avertissement" that served as preface to Book Six, Lecler acknowledged his debt to Delamare:

> J'ai toujours regardé la Préface du Traité de la Police, comme le chef-d'œuvre de M. de la Mare; je me persuade même de plus en plus qu'il n'y a rien d'essentiel à ajouter au plan qu'il a donné de son Système: ainsi, ce que l'on peut faire de mieux pour remplir un si beau dessein, est de suivre la route que ce grand Homme a tracée.[211]

Lecler followed the "route" traced by Delamare in several ways. First, he followed the Commissaire in terms of method. From the very beginning, Lecler set about writing Book Six as a historicized compendium of *voirie* regulations rather than as a simple description of current practices. As he explained at the beginning of the book, in a two-page section titled "Du plan de cette police, son étymologie, son utilité, & sa division," the *voirie* could only be understood through the historical method:

> il est impossible de bien entendre les Lois qui ont été faites pour perfectionner & pour maintenir cette Police, si l'on ignore les circonstances qui leur ont donné lieu; les temps où elles ont été rendues publiques, & les changemens qui sont survenus: la methode la plus simple nous conduit à cette

[210] Delamare's research notes for the book on the *voirie* are at BnF ms. fr. 21684, fols. 378-89, 399-408; BnF ms. fr. 21705, fols. 19-50, 155-62, 198-206. Delamare's draft of the preface is at BnF ms. fr. 21563, 7-12.

[211] *Traité*, 4:[i] ["Avertissement"]. At the end of the text, after noting how fortunate he was to have been able to "connoître l'ordre de son [Delamare's] travail, & l'idée de son systême," Lecler wrote that this was "le seul avantage dont j'ai profité dans le peu de temps que je lui ai été associé; car pour le fonds des matieres qui restoient à traiter, je puis dire que tout ce qu'il ma laissé, consiste dans des notes ou indications d'Auteurs à voir, & des Registres des dépôts publics à consulter, pour en tirer les autorités, les loix, & les ordonnances qui doivent composer la suite de ce Traité; mais il est sensible que c'est un foible secours, & que des recherches de cette nature ne servent tout au plus qu'à mettre le Continuateur en état de vérifier, de recueillir, & d'étudier avant que de mettre en œuvre; elles l'obligent même à revoir ce qui avoit été vû auparavant, parce que celui qui écrit ne doit s'en rapporter qu'à soi-même, sur-tout lorsqu'il s'agit d'établir des maximes ou des régles générales pour le maintien de l'ordre public." *Traité*, 4:[v-vi] ["Avertissement"].

> connoissance utile; c'est l'Histoire, prouvée par les Ordonnances; & les Ordonnances, expliqueées par l'Histoire.[212]

Like his teacher, Lecler was a very good archivist.[213] In fact, Book Six is especially notable for the wealth of documentary sources that Lecler collected and transcribed: royal legislation, *arrêts* of the Parlement, ordinances issued by the Hôtel de Ville, the Châtelet, and the Bureau des Finances, police sentences, as well as a trove of other documents not directly pertaining to the *voirie* but essential for understanding the way cities were actually built and regulated, for example the statutes of the Parisian building trades. Unfortunately, unlike Delamare, Lecler was a relatively mediocre historian—careful, methodical, yet ultimately pedantic and unimaginative. It did not help that he was not particularly talented as a writer. To be sure, Delamare's first three volumes of the *Traité* were not pleasing to read; every so often, however, the Commissaire did come up with graceful sentences, as when he introduced the etymology of the word *police* by noting that the Greek language "a toûjours esté abondante en noms énergiques."[214] This was not the case with Lecler, who wrote long, flat, and unwieldy sentences, and rarely managed to find *le mot*

[212] *Traité*, 4:2 [VI.1].

[213] An important part of Lecler's research consisted in the making of detailed chronological lists of police measures. Lecler's skills as an archivist can be seen, for example, in his careful compilation of police ordinances concerning street cleaning. "Table d'un Recueil de divers reglemens & ordonnances pour le nettoyement des boües depuis 1639 jusques en 1660; Reglemens pour empescher les ordures, salletez & immondices dans la ville de Paris depuis 1640 jusques en 1660," BnF ms. fr. 16742, fols. 76-79. **[fig. 3.66]** A further proof of Lecler's skills is offered by a table made by the commissioner Dupré, who correlated the entries in the *Livre des métiers*, the *Livres de couleur*, and the *Bannières* with an "extrait qu'en a Mr Le Cler." The table indicates that Lecler had in his archive at least five of the oldest registers of the Châtelet and, most important, that he had itemized the entries of all registers into an "extrait" of some 1,500 pages. "Registres du Ch[âte]let rangéz suivant l'ordre chronologique des plus anciennes pieces," BnF n.a.f. 243, fol. 94. **[fig. 3.67]**

[214] *Traité*, 1:1 [I.1].

juste. It also did not help that Lecler, unlike Delamare, did not wear his erudition lightly. The last paragraph of the "Avertissement" is revealing:

> Ma principale vûë a été de faire chose utile, si je suis assez heureux pour avoir réussi dans ce premier ouvrage, je continuerai mes travaux avec plaisir; mais, je le repete, le Public même est interessé à me secourir, & à me faire part de ses lumieres pour conduire cette grande entreprise à sa fin. *Utilitas publica sicut ad conservationem respicit omnium, ita debet perfici studio ac labore cunctorum, quia magnae laudis occasio est, si in causa communi aliquid singulariter videatur impleri.* Cassiodor. Lib. 5. Epist. 18.[215]

Lecler could expect most of his readers to know Latin, yet the untranslated quotation from Cassiodorus strikes a clumsy and pretentious note. In reading Book Six, one senses a kind of anxiety, as if Lecler felt he had to prove on every page that he was the rightful and deserving successor of Delamare—that he could match and even out-do the Commissaire in erudition.

In addition to adopting Delamare's historical method, Lecler shared his predecessor's ambition as a theorist. As the Commissaire inscribed the police within a grand historical narrative—what we would call a history of civilization—Lecler framed the *voirie* as a subset of the police encompassing *all* the practices by which the great nations of antiquity—and their greatest successor, France—had ordered, regulated, and perfected their cities and their territories. The true import of Book Six was Lecler's effort to comprehend in one single volume the entire spectrum of practices pertaining to the *voirie* as well as a history and a comprehensive analysis of

[215] *Traité*, 4:[viii] ["Avertissement"]. Lecler's quotation is from the *Variae*, a collection of diplomatic letters written in the first half of the sixth century by the Roman consul Cassiodorus on behalf of Theodoric and other Ostrogoth rulers. The passage is now in *Cassiodori Senatoris Variae*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctorum Antiquissimorum*, tome 12 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), 154 [bk. 5, letter 18]. The sentence could be translated thus: "Just as it cares for the preservation of all [citizens], so public service must be accomplished through the effort and work of everyone, because it is an opportunity of great praise if each one [of the citizens] brings his own contribution in the common cause."

the way cities were actually built. The scope of Book Six was the built environment in its entirety.

The structure of Book Six is not immediately clear and, in fact, is not easily summarized.[216] The best way to comprehend the volume—a massive 800-page folio, largely taken up with the text of *voirie* and *police* regulations—is to look at its table of contents. The front matter comprises a dedicatory letter to Louis XV (4 pages), an *éloge* of Delamare (5 p.), and an introductory *avertissement* (8 p.). The main text is then divided into fifteen *titres* (sections), with more or less self-explanatory titles:

1.	Du plan de cette police, son étymologie, son utilité, & sa division	2 pages
2.	Des bâtimens en général	6
3.	De la largeur & de l'allignement des rües	5
4.	De la police établie en France sur le fait des bâtimens	122
5.	Des incendies en général, & de ceux de la ville de Paris en particulier	32
6.	Du pavé de Paris	32
7.	Du nettoyement des rues	95
8.	Des inondations	28
9.	De la liberté & de la commodité de la voye publique	26
10.	De l'embellissement & de la décoration des villes	49
11.	Suite de la description historique & topographique de Paris, & son état présent	37
12.	Des voitures en général	31
13.	Des grands chemins, des ponts & chaussées	85
14.	Des postes & messageries	86
15.	De la jurisdiction de la voirie	144

When compared with Delamare's original scheme, Lecler's sequence appears haphazard. One fails to see, for example, why the sections concerning streets (nos. 3,

[216] As with the *Traité* as a whole, Book Six has often been used as a documentary source by historians of early modern France but has never been the object of a proper study. A valuable analysis is in Robert CARVAIS, "L'ancien droit de l'urbanisme et ses composantes constructive et architecturale, socle d'un nouvel 'ars' urbain aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Jalons pour une histoire totale de l'urbanisme," *RHSH*, no. 12 (2005): 17-54 at 52-54. See also Françoise CHOAY, *La règle et le modèle. Sur la théorie de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme* (Paris: Seuil, 1980), 38-39; Pedro FRAILE, "The Construction of the Idea of the City in Early Modern Europe: Pérez de Herrera and Nicolas Delamare," *JUH* vol. 36, no. 5 (Sept. 2010): 685-708 at 699-702.

9) or those concerning buildings (nos. 2, 4) should not be contiguous. It would be unjust, however, to fault Lecler for lack of theoretical coherence. The notion of *voirie*, as understood by Delamare and Lecler, covered an extremely vast territory and a heterogeneous set of practices; much like today's practices of urban planning—or, in fact, the modern notion of urbanism—the *voirie* did not lend itself easily to systematization. Moreover, we should remember that, in writing Book Six, Lecler had very few models upon which to rely; he was largely treading new ground.

"Cette partie de notre droit public sous ce titre de *Voirie*," read the opening sentence of section one, "si simple & si commun, renferme plusieurs matieres très-interessantes au service de l'Etat & au bonheur des Peuples."

> Elle a pour objet propre & immediat le logement, la regularité des édifices; l'étendue, l'allignement, la liberté & la commodité des rues, des places publiques & des grands chemins; & pour objet plus éloigné, mais bien plus considerable, la facilité du commerce, & la correspondance des Citoyens entre eux & leurs Voisins, & avec les Etrangers; la Religion en ce qui regarde les Temples & les Eglises consacrées au culte divin; la santé, l'abondance des provisions nécessaires pour le soutien, & pour les agrémens de la vie; la commodité & la diligence des postes, des voitures publiques, & de la marche des armées: ainsi l'on commence à voir l'excellence de cette Police, dont les soins sont d'autant plus importans, qu'ils renferment par un rapport & par un enchaînement admirables, presque toutes les autres parties de l'administration publique qui ont servi, ou qui serviront de matieres à ce Traité.[217]

The grounds for such expansive understanding of the *voirie*, Lecler found in the etymology of the word, which he traced to the Latin *via*:

> de ce dernier nom nous avons fait par une version, ou une imitation un peu forcée, celui de *Voirie*; sous lequel nous avons compris l'Ædilité, ou le soin des bâtimens, aussi bien que celui des Voyes publiques.[218]

[217] *Traité*, 4:1 [VI.1].

[218] *Traité*, 1:2 [I.1]. Jean-Louis Harouel has argued that the etymology of *voirie* from *via* or *voye*, which dated to the middle ages, was erroneous. According to him, the origin of the term is to be found in the

The vignette in section one illustrated these two objects—the care of buildings and the care of *voies publiques*—with a scene depicting three workers laying down a *chémin* and two putti looking over an architectural drawing. **[fig. 3.69]**

Sections two presented a short and rather simplistic history of architecture—a story of origins in which men emerge out of their savage state, slowly improve "la construction grossiere & rustique des premiers logemens," and eventually, "au lieu de ces amas confus de logemens mal rangés," build "des villes d'une régularité, d'une symmétrie & d'une élegance capables de charmer la vûe, & de rendre le commerce & la société des citoyens plus commodes & plus utiles."[219]

Lecler then discussed "l'application que l'on peut faire de ces notions generales à notre usage present dans la construction de nos édifices." He began with Vitruvius's precepts for the proper siting of new cities.[220]

> Apres avoir pris tous ces mesures pour bien placer la Ville, il ne s'agit plus que de la bâtir; toute sa beauté, selon le sentiment des plus habiles Architectes, doit consister en ces trois points.
>
> 1. La largeur & l'allignement des rues.
> 2. La belle Architecture des édifices; il faut qu'ils soient fixés à une certaine hauteur, qu'ils n'anticipent point sur les voyes publiques, & qu'ils soient toujours entretenus en bon état.
> 3. Le pavé, la propreté, la commodité des rues, des places publiques & des grands chemins.[221]

Carolingian institution of the *vicaria* and in the role of the *vicar*, the *vicaria*'s military commander, chief of justice, and financial administrator. Up until the thirteenth century, *voierie/vicaria* was thus a form of *justice*. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, *voierie* began to also indicate the police of streets exercised by a city. There began then a "glissement sémantique" that would equate *voyer* with the agent charged with the maintenance of *voies*. Jean-Louis HAROUEL, *L'embellissement des villes. L'urbanisme français au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Picard, 1993), 32; ID., "Les seigneurs et la voirie sous l'Ancien Régime," in *Etudes sur l'ancienne France, offerts en hommage à Michel Antoine*, ed. Bernard Barbiche and Yves-Marie Bercé (Paris: Ecole des Chartes, 2003): 189-207 at 197. On the definition of the *voirie*, see also Katia WEIDENFELD, "Le contentieux de la voirie parisienne à la fin du Moyen Age," *Revue Historique* vol. 301, no. 2 (Apr.-June 1999): 211-36, esp. 213-14.

[219] *Traité*, 4:3-4 [VI.2.1].

[220] Lecler read Vitruvius in Claude Perrault's translation. Claude PERRAULT, *Les dix livres d'architecture de Vitruve, corrigez et traduits nouvellement en françois, avec des notes & des figures* (Paris: Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1673).

The principles underpinning the *police de la voirie* were straightforward: streets should be wide and well aligned; buildings should be of sound structure, limited in height, and not encroaching over the street; streets and public places should be kept clean and unencumbered.

In section three, Lecler introduced the main concerns of the police with respect to the street and, more generally, with respect to the *embellissement* of cities. After a brief history of how the ancient Romans had ensured the regularity of their cities by establishing rules for the width of streets and the height of buildings, Lecler discussed how, "dans les premiers siècles,"

> nos ancètres [...] ne songeoient guères qu'à se loger commodément; mais lorsq'il eurent assuré leurs conquêtes par la force des armes, ils donnerent dans le goût des bâtimens, & à mesure qu'il fit progrès parmi eux, l'on vit corriger la difformité des édifices, & l'irregularité des rues.[222]

Again, this was the narrative of civilization, whereby the French gradually changed the face of their cities and replaced old houses with comfortable and sumptuous buildings, the "éternels monumens de la belle Architecture." Paris, the model and the paragon for all French cities, had reached its "état de perfection" by degrees. "L'ouvrage de plusieurs siècles," the city had become "la plus commode & la plus florissante Ville du monde" because of the magnificence of the kings, the wealth of its citizens, and "les soins de la Police."

> En effet, il est reservé à la Police de veiller sur la régularité, & sur la forme des bâtimens; de prescrire l'allignement, la construction, & la hauteur des maisons; de conserver la largeur & la liberté de la voye publique; d'empêcher les entreprises qui pourroient nuire aux passans, ou causer de la difformité; d'entretenir la propreté dans les rues par le moyen du pavé & du nettoyement; en un mot, les halles, les marchez, les places publiques, & tout ce qui

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[221] *Traité*, 4:8 [VI.2.3].

[222] *Traité*, 4:10 [VI.3].

> interesse, ou la décoration de la Ville, ou la commodité des habitans, se trouve du ressort de la Police.[223]

This is a basic summary of the subjects that Lecler would discuss in sections four to twelve. We may note that, although Lecler had the ambition to write of the *voirie* as it obtained in all cities throughout the kingdom, Book Six was concerned almost exclusively with the city of Paris. Throughout the text, Lecler consistently employed the term "police" in its broadest sense: whenever he wrote that "la Police" looked after this or that issue, he referred collectively to all the institutions with police authority—the crown, the Parlement, the Hôtel de Ville, the Lieutenance de Police, and the Bureau des Finances. In this sense, all that concerned "la décoration de la Ville" and the "commodité" of its inhabitants fell under the purview of the police.

Lecler noted that, in France, there existed no general law defining the width of streets. In Paris, he added, it was common to distinguish three kinds of streets, "les grandes, les moyennes & les petites, pour chacune desquelles il n'y a pas même de largeur fixée." *Grandes* were those from seven to ten *toises*; *moyennes*, from four to six; *petites*, six, nine, or eighteen feet wide.

> A considerer cette inégalité, il semble que la largeur des rues soit arbitraire [...] Cependant la commune largeur des rues est de cinq toises; elle a paru la plus convenable suivant la pratique.[224]

As for the question of street alignment, Lecler touched briefly on a few of the regulations that governed the matter, for example the royal edict of December 1607, which called for property owners to obtain an alignment by the Grand Voyer before any construction. He did not clarify how the system of alignment actually worked;

[223] *Traité*, 4:10 [VI.3].

[224] Ibid.

the reader would find such information, he wrote, at the end of the book, in section fifteen:

> L'on peut voir dans le Titre de la Jurisdiction de la Voirie bien d'autres dispositions sur le fait des allignemens: il sera même facile de le rassembler, sans s'assujettir à une longue lecture, parce qu'en marge des Reglemens géneraux je fais mention de toutes les matieres qu'ils contiennent.[225]

Section three gives a good measure of the strength and limits of Book Six. Throughout the book, Lecler offered a wealth of important information on the *voirie* of Paris; his brief remark on the customary classification of street sizes is a good example. He occasionally advanced perceptive and, at times, even critical comments, primarily by pointing out certain deficiencies in the regulatory apparatus. In general, however, Lecler did not convey in a convincing manner the history of the practices of the *voirie* and the way those practices were actually excercised in eighteenth-century Paris. The book's sections are very uneven in terms of structure, focus, level of detail, and overall clarity. The heterogeneity of the practices of the *voirie* is certainly a key reason for such unevenness. The book's inconsistencies may be also traced to Lecler's work method. Lecler was a compiler: he wrote Book Six mainly by stringing together, either in full transcript or with page-long excerpts, the text of the regulations and supplying afterwards the required introductions and transitions. Most disheartening, Lecler rarely paused to interpret the facts of the *voirie* or to describe and explain them synthetically.

Lecler's treatment of the matter of street alignment is revealing. He repeatedly insisted on its importance, most notably in section two ("De la largeur & de l'allignement des rües") and in section ten ("De l'embellissement & de la

[225] *Traité*, 4:13 [VI.3].

décoration des villes"). His emphasis was not misplaced. *Alignement*—the procedure by which a public authority set the limits of properties with respect to the street—was arguably the most essential tool of early modern urbanism. Alignment permits were required for any new construction, reconstruction, or facade renovation; issuing those permits was one of the primary functions of the officers of the *voirie*. In Paris, all prospective builders were required to obtain permission from the Trésoriers de France at the Bureau des Finances and, depending on the location of their property, from the Bureau de la Ville (which had oversight over public squares, the boulevards, and the quais) or the Lieutenance Générale de Police (which was responsible for buildings located at street intersections, for which it issued so-called *alignements d'encoignure*).

Despite his intention to "faire chose utile," Lecler never managed to explain how the administration actually dealt with the alignment of streets or, for that matter, how an individual could obtain an alignment permit. Section fifteen—the book's longest, the part where Lecler had told the reader he would find all the necessary information—was altogether unhelpful. Lecler traced there the history of the jurisdiction of the *voirie*; he gave excerpts and transcripts of the countless measures issued since the Middle Ages to define and entrust the functions of the *voirie*, from a royal charter of the year 999, which "met la Voirie au rang des droits de Justice," to various *arrêts* issued in the 1730s by the Conseil du Roi to regulate the competences of the Trésoriers de France. In the margins, he did provide short summaries of the laws and regulations, but even the most attentive reader would be hard pressed to find an answer to the simplest practical question. Ultimately, the ways of the *voirie* remained buried in the legalese of the hundreds of legislative and administrative measures that Lecler so painstakingly compiled.

The most convincing parts of Book Six are those where Lecler momentarily let go of his obsession for documentary thoroughness. Section twelve is an example. There Lecler discussed the rules concerning the different kinds of "voitures" that could be had for hire in Paris—the "carrosses à l'heure," the "carrosses de remise," the "chaises portées à bras," and the "chaises à deux roües" (the so-called "broüettes")—and the police of the "charrettes" that were used to transport goods within the city. When examining the "voitures de loüage," Lecler abandoned his normal method of compilation. He listed the dates of eleven police ordinances issued between 1683 and 1731 to regulate public carriages, and added the following:

> mais comme il n'est point nécessaire de donner toutes ces pièces qui chargeroient trop l'impression par leur longueur, je vais les extraire & poser les faits qu'elles decident sous autant de paragraphes, qui ne contiendront que le texte des ordonnances.[226]

The four pages that followed offered a clear summary of the key regulations concerning taxis—among others, the obligation to affix a medallion, the rule prescribing that carriages be "numerotés sur le derriere," the prohibition to park "à double rang," the rule setting the minimum age of taxi-drivers at eighteen, and the obligation that "les cochers qui auront leurs carrosses sur les places, serviront la premiere personne qui se présentera." Any modern scholar—and, most likely, his contemporaries as well—wishes that Lecler had been as consistently synthetic throughout the book.

The second-most sizable section of the book was section four ("De la police établie en France sur le fait des bâtimens"). Lecler outlined the functions of the police with respect to building construction and, most important, traced an

[226] *Traité*, 4:444 [VI.12.2].

unprecedented and remarkably detailed picture of the Parisian building trade in its entirety. Lecler distinguished between four types of buildings: religious, royal, public, and private. For the first three, he discussed a variety of rules, including a 1676 royal ordinance that prohibited construction "dans les lieux & places qui pourroient convenir aux bâtimens de son [the king's] Château de Saint Germain en Laye" and the customary obligation for the *entrepreneurs* of public buildings to guarantee their work for at least fifteen years.

The bulk of the section was devoted to private construction. Lecler dealt first with building materials (lime, sand, gypsum, stone, brick, and wood) and the rules that governed their production, sale, and *mise en œuvre*. Then, he examined the functions and duties of all the workers involved in the building process (the *maîtres* of the various building trades—*maçons*, *charpentiers*, *plombiers*, *serruriers*, etc.) and those of the officers involved in the oversight of such process (the Jurez Experts des Bâtiments, the Greffiers des Bâtiments, the Maîtres Généraux des Bâtiments, etc.). The section ended with brief analyses of three issues: the height of buildings, the police of so-called "périls imminents," and the rules concerning entablatures and other "ouvrages en saillie, dont on doit craindre la chûte dans les rues."

Lecler began his discussion of building heights with a remark on the Paris real-estate market:

> Tout le terrain de Paris est precieux, mais on ne l'estime pas également dans le commerce des choses. La situation plus ou moins commode, agréable, ou marchande, augmente ou diminue à proportion le prix des emplacemens; il y en a beaucoup en effet qui se vendent plus que les maisons ne coûtent à bâtir; la cherté de l'un & de l'autre, fait que la plûpart ne songe qu'au revenu, l'on ne trouve jamais sa maison trop élevée.[227]

[227] *Traité*, 4:122 [VI.4.13].

He noted that, although there existed no law "certaine" concerning the height of buildings, in practice it was common among Parisian builders not to exceed fifty to sixty feet for stone buildings and forty-eight feet for wood structures.

> La licence que quelques particuliers s'estoient donnée de contrevenir à cet ancien usage, a fourni l'occasion aux Trésoriers de France de chercher les expédiens convenables pour arrêter le cours d'un abus également préjudiciable à la beauté de la Ville, & à la sureté des Citoyens.

The reference was to the Trésoriers' ordinance of August 1667—"la seule qu'il y a sur cette matière"—which prohibited the construction of buildings taller than eight *toises* at the entablature.[228]

On the subject of "périls imminents," the regulatory apparatus was more substantial. The protection of the public from building collapses and other accidents of the kind was a central function of the police; police authorities could order property owners to do repairs of buildings that menaced ruin and, in the worst cases, they could order their demolition. Lecler quoted from a measure of 1698, an ordinance issued by the Lieutenance Générale de Police that enjoined building owners to "pourvoir au plûtôt à la sureté de leurs maisons, tant au dedans qu'au dehors, en sorte qu'il n'y ait aucun danger pour les passans ni locataires," on pain of a 500-livre fine. "Nous n'avons pas autre chose sur le fait de l'entretien des maisons," added Lecler:

> ce qui ne suffit pas certainement pour remplir toutes les parties & tous les cas qui sont à prévoir pour la sureté publique dans la construction des bâtimens: l'on conviendra en effet que les accidens les plus ordinaire arrivent par les chutes d'entablemens, de cheminées, de plinthes, de balcons, & d'autres

[228] *Traité*, 4:123-24 [VI.4.13]. Ordinance, Bureau des Finances de la Généralité de Paris, 18 Aug. 1667, BnF ms. fr. 21696, fol. 24. **{Appendix 4}**

> ouvrages en saillie, adhérans aux murs des maisons; cependant il n'y a ni Lois generales ni particulieres qui soient entrées dans ce détail.[229]

The most detailed regulations were those concerning entablatures. Lecler discussed a relatively recent one, an ordinance issued by the Maître Général des Bâtiments in April 1721, weeks after an accident in the rue Neuve-Notre-Dame, in which three people were killed by a falling cornice. **[fig. 3.70]** He also reproduced the drawing that illustrated the ordinance, a diagram showing the methods for attaching entablatures in *moellon* (rubble-stone), masonry, and wood structures. **[fig. 3.71]** This image clearly illustrates Lecler's preccupation with documentary accuracy; it also attests to the fundamental ambiguity of purpose of Book Six. Lecler envisioned an impossible book, an encyclopaedic work that would provide not only a history of the *police de la voirie* and a systematic compilation of *voirie* regulations, but also a practical manual and a building code of sorts. He tried to assemble into one volume all that pertained to the building of the city—to produce an impossibly comprehensive science of the city.

Lecler's encyclopaedic ambition is especially evident when we compare Book Six with the few texts that had been published in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth century on the subject of the *voirie*. These dealt with the technical questions that arose in the actual excercise of the *voirie* and, especially, with the nettling disputes of jurisdiction, above all the endlessly debated question whether the seigneurs in the countryside and the police officers in urban centers could pretend to a right of *voirie* vis-à-vis the Trésoriers de France. The title of a 1686 book by Michel de Frémin (c. 1631-1713), a Trésorier de France in Paris, is a good example of this

[229] *Traité*, 4:124 [VI.4.14].

sort of text: *Exposition des coutumes sur la largeur des chemins, sur la destination des péages, sur la question 'Si la voyerie est une suitte de la haute justice', & sur la durée de la garantie des ouvrages publics*.[230]

The one exception within this genre was the work of Gerard Mellier (1674-1729), a Trésorier de France in Brittany, the author of a *Traité du droit de voyrie*, published in 1709, and of a *recueil* of laws and ordinances concerning the Trésoriers, published in 1712.[231] "Le Droit de Voyerie," explained Mellier in his *Traité*,

> est l'inspection sur les reparations des chemins, des ponts & chaussées, du pavé des ruës; sur les alignemens d'édifices, l'aposition des enseignes, des auvents, des estallages, & sur les autres saillies, avances, & les encombrements de la voye publique.[232]

Mellier traced brief and rather well-informed histories of the way ancient nations had regulated their *voie publique* and analyzed the current French practice. He examined royal legislation, customary laws, and urban ordinances; he discussed the key *voirie* issues of the width of roads and the height of buildings; he pointed out the lack of general laws and the divergencies between the various French *coûtumes*; he argued the Trésoriers' case in the jurisdictional dispute with the officers of the police.

There are many similarities between Mellier's *Traité* and Lecler's Book Six. In fact, there is a very direct connection between the two books. In the summer of 1734, Lecler heard that the Parisian publisher Pierre Prault was set on printing a new

[230] Michel de FRÉMIN, *Exposition des coutumes sur la largeur des chemins, sur la destination des péages, sur la question 'Si la voyerie est une suitte de la haute justice', & sur la durée de la garantie des ouvrages publics* (Paris: Charles Saugrain, 1686).

[231] Gérard MELLIER, *Traité du droit de voyrie, contenant un recueil des edits, declarations, arrests & reglemens qui ont attribué la connoissance de ce droit aux Tresoriers de France Generaux des Finances* (Paris: Nicolas Simart, 1709); ID., *Recueil d'edits, declarations, arrests et reglemens concernant les offices des Trésoriers de France, Generaux des Finances de Bretagne* (Nantes: Jacques Mareschal, 1712). For a summary of Mellier's *Traité*, see *Journal de Trévoux* (Oct. 1709): 1752-55.

[232] MELLIER, *Traité du droit de voyrie*, 1.

edition of Mellier. He wrote immediately to the Procureur Général, one of the main sponsors of the *Traité de la police*:

> mon correcteur qui travaille à la table de mon livre m'assure qu'il a refusé de faire celle du vol. de Prault a cause de la conformité des matières: il faut pour cela que l'on ait eu communication de mes feuïlles; le peu de fidelité qu'il y a dans toute l'imprimerie me le fait craindre avec raison, surtout après que l'on a vu mon impression comme abandonnée durant 3 ans consécutifs.[233]

The following year, Prault republished Mellier's *Traité* as an introduction to a comprehensive *recueil* of *voirie* legislation, with the title *Code de la voyerie*.[234] Lecler's concerns are understandable: the two books covered a similar ground and would most likely have a similar audience. Book Six, however, was a fundamentally different kind of text, not only more thorough in the compilation of laws and less partisan with respect to jurisdictional questions, but also infinitely broader in scope.

Section five dealt with urban fire. Lecler discussed the few police regulations that addressed building practices: the Bureau des Finances' 1667 ordinance on building heights, which also enjoined property owners to cover with plaster the *pans de bois* so they may better resist fire, and an ordinance issued in 1672 by La Reynie, which prescribed the proper way to build and maintain chimneys. (Matters of construction fell largely outside the scope of the police and the *droit public*; they were the province of the building trades, and were regulated by the *coûtumes*.) With respect to fire prevention, the main task of the police was not the regulation of building practices but the regulation of dangerous behavior: the central part of section five described police measures such as the prohibition to burn hay in the

[233] LECLER to Joly de Fleury, 6 Aug. 1734, BnF Joly 144, fols. 218-19.

[234] Prault published the book both as a one-volume quarto and as a two-volume duodecimo: Gérard MELLIER, *Code de la voyerie* (Paris: Pierre Prault, 1735); ID., *Code de la voyerie*, 2 vols (Paris: Prault pere, 1735).

street and the prohibition to throw "petards ou fusées." Lecler then discussed the regulations for the "secours d'hommes dans le temps d'incendie," for example the conscription of masons and *charpentiers* in case of fire. He also described the methods that were used to extinguish fire, above all the workings of the "pompes publiques," thirty "machines sur quatre roues" manned by the so-called Garde des Pompes, a corps of firemen created in 1699 by the Lieutenant Général de Police.

In section six, Lecler discussed the *pavé de Paris*—its history, its quality and form, the quarries where it was made, and the way it was produced, transported, installed, repaired, and inspected. He concluded with a chapter on who paid for the "premier pavé des rues."[235]

Section seven dealt with *nettoiement*. In the first half of the section, Lecler gave a maniacally detailed history of street cleaning in Paris from the Middle Ages to present. In the second half, he examined the regulations addressed to all Parisians (e.g., the requirement to sweep the portion of the street in front of one's house), the ad-hoc rules established for the *métiers* (e.g., the "Blanchisseurs & Blanchisseuses qui font la lessive" were prohibited from throwing "la charrée" in the streets), and the functions of all the workers involved in street-cleaning operations (e.g., the *maîtres vidangeurs*, the *balayeurs* of the city's markets, the *tombereaux*). Lecler also described the "égouts publics pour l'écoulement des eaux," a system of under-ground and above-ground conduits maintained by the Hôtel de Ville and the Lieutenance Générale de Police. The section's last chapter, on the *police du nettoiement* in provincial cities, was barely two pages long: the practices of street cleaning varied

[235] Lecler traced the century-long question whether the "premier pavé des rues" was the charge of the *seigneur haut-justicier*, the *seigneur censier*, or the *proprietaires des maisons*, and concluded that it was customary for building owners to pay. *Traité*, 4:196-99 [VI.6.8].

throughout the kingdom; "tout concourt à faire voir que les Provinces ont besoin des Réglemens faits pour la Police de Paris."[236]

When discussing the regulations addressed to Parisians, Lecler touched briefly on the obligation to install latrines in all houses, an issue that Delamare had discussed in *Traité*'s first volume, in the book on public health.[237] The key requirement was article 193 of the Paris *coûtume* ("tous proprietaires de maisons de la Ville & Fauxbourgs de Paris sont tenus avoir latrines & privez suffisans en leurs maisons"), which was confirmed in several police ordinances. This was one of the few cases in which the police intervened in private construction. The police had authority over matters of public concern—health, safety, the overall welfare of the city; it did not enter inside buildings. Indeed, most of the articles of the *coûtume* that dealt with buildings were questions of relations between private owners, above all the matters of *mitoyenneté* (party walls and boundaries between contiguous properties) and *servitudes* (whether, for example, one could pierce lights and openings overlooking a neighboring property). Pierre Bullet, one of the few seventeenth-century architects who investigated the technical and juridical questions of architecture, explained it well: in the "Explication des articles de la coûtume qui regardent les Bastimens" that he appended to his *Architecture pratique*, of 1691, he commented on article 193: "Cet Article regarde la Police, & n'est point du fait des Experts."[238]

Section eight dealt with flooding, a problem for which the city of Paris had not yet found a definitive infrastructural solution. Lecler traced the history of a project

[236] *Traité*, 4:293 [VI.7.8].

[237] *Traité*, 4:254 [VI.7.3]; *Traité*, 1:536-38 [IV.4.2].

[238] Pierre BULLET, *L'architecture pratique* (Paris: Estienne Michallet, 1691), 312.

spearheaded in 1651 by the Bureau de la Ville to dig a canal from the Porte Saint-Antoine to the Porte du Temple that would receive the overflow of the Seine. Dropped for lack of money, the idea was taken up again after the "prodigieuse inondation" of March 1658. The military engineer Pierre Petit, Intendant des Fortifications, drew detailed plans of the canal, but the project was again dropped. "Depuis 1658," wrote Lecler,

> on a renouvellé souvent de semblables propositions, mais elles n'ont point eu plus de succès; ainsi l'on se trouve également exposé à la chute des ponts, à la ruine des maisons voisines de la riviere, & à l'interruption du commerce, par la difficulté qu'il y a d'aborder les quartiers qui se trouvent environnés, & comme assiegés par les eaux.[239]

In terms of prevention, there was little the police magistrates could do other than ordering that the Seine be cleared of "bateaux vuides, parce que lors du dégel, les glaces venant à se rompre, ne se trouvent point arrêtées dans le passage." Every winter, the police issued regulations to prepare for the *dégel*:

> les précautions & les soins de la Police consistent principalement à procurer la liberté du passage dans les rues; à faciliter l'écoulement des eaux lorsque les dégels arrivent, & à empêcher que les égouts ne soient engorgés.[240]

The police ordered that the "glaces" accumulating in the streets be placed "en piles" along the walls "afin que la fonte en soit plus lente," and enjoined all *proprietaires* to "faire vuider les caves qui ont été inondées," to prevent damage to the buildings' foundations and "la corruption qui se feroit pendant les chaleurs, dont l'air pourroît être infecté."

In section nine, Lecler described the measures issued by the police to keep the street free of obstacles and "embarras," including the injunctions addressed to the

[239] *Traité*, 4:298 [VI.8.2].

[240] *Traité*, 4:321 [VI.8.4].

métiers to not leave material in the street, and the regulations concerning "saillies & avances," namely the prescriptions for the *étalages*, the awnings, and the signs of Parisian shops and boutiques.[241] In the section's last chapter, Lecler discussed two recent police initiatives to improve the "commodité de la voye publique": the installation of signs indicating the name of streets[242] **[fig. 3.74-78]** and the order to "arroser" the pavé during the summer.[243]

Section ten, "De l'embellissement & de la décoration des villes," is the book's most idiosyncratic. Lecler continued the discussion of section three, where he had insisted on the regularity of buildings and the alignment and cleanliness of streets. Many other factors contributed to the beauty of cities:

> l'on ne peut pas dire en effet qu'une Ville soit belle, si l'on trouve dans son enceinte des places vagues, des maisons en ruine ou inhabitables, si les ponts, les ports & les quays ne sont spatieux, commodes & bien entretenus; si les halles, les marchés, & les fontaines ne sont régulierement distribués pour la commodité des habitans; enfin pour qu'elle soit belle, il faut que l'on y voit des places publiques, des édifices ou monumens erigés à la gloire du Souverain & à l'honneur de la Nation; il faut après cela fixer l'étenduë ou la

[241] The measure of reference for these matters was the *arrêt* of November 1666, which prescribed the following: *pas de pierre*, *seuils de portes*, *marches*, and other building elements could not project more than 8 *pouces*; awnings were to be at 10 feet from the ground, no more than 3 feet deep in the *grandes rues*, two-and-a-half in all other streets; *enseignes* were to be placed "sur une même ligne," not lower than 15 feet from the ground. Arrêt du Conseil, 19 Nov. 1666, BnF ms. fr. 16847, fol. 146; *Traité*, 4:332-33 [VI.9.2]. In October 1669, La Reynie issued an ordinance to reduce all *enseignes* to the same width, height, and projection; installed 13 feet from the ground, they would carry a standard-size *tableau* (18 *pouces* by 2 feet) and project a maximum of 3 feet. *Traité*, 4:336-37 [VI.9.2].

[242] Police ordinances on "écriteaux posez au coins des ruës," 30 July 1729, 3 June 1730, BnF ms. fr. 21692, fols. 302-05.

[243] A police ordinance of June 1726 required Parisian to *arroser* (to sprinkle water) in front of their houses "durant les chaleurs," twice a day, at 10AM and 3PM. The practice was deemed beneficial to "la salubrité de l'air, & la facilité des voitures," but was eventually found "incommode & peu sûre" for pedestrians. In June 1730, the ordinance was reissued in modified form: streets were to be *arrosées*, but a space along the walls, about two feet wide, was to be left un-watered. *Traité*, 4:347-48 [VI.9.5]. The *arrosage* modification was decided by the Lieutenant Général de Police, the Prévôt des Marchands, the Procureur Général, and the Premier Président, at the Assemblée de Police of 24 March 1729. See BnF ms. fr. 11356, fol. 91 [no. 49, "Projet pour faire arroser les rües l'été"].

> grandeur d'une Ville, & la contenir dans des bornes convenables, pour qu'elle ne perisse par son propre poids.[244]

Two of the primary charges of the police were the oversight of buildings menacing ruin and of "places vuides & vagues"—what we would call urban blight.

> Après avoir pourvû au pavé & au nettoyement des ruës; après en avoir reglé la largeur & l'allignement; les deux principaux objets de la décoration d'une Ville consistent, 1. à ne souffrir dans son enceinte aucune place vuide & vague qui puisse interrompre la suite des bâtimens; 2. à entretenir les maisons en bon état pour ne rien laisser de difforme ni désagréable à la vûë, *ne deformetur aspectus urbis*; c'est à ces motifs qu'il faut rapporter l'obligation que la Police impose à tous proprietaires de bâtir sur le terrain qui lui appartient; obligation imprescriptible comme faisant partie du droit public, & privilegiée jusqu'au point d'emporter la confiscation de l'emplacement.[245]

Lecler discussed here the "rétablissement des Villes après des accidens imprévûs ou forcez." He recalled some recent examples of cities struck by flooding and fire, and described the emergency measures implemented in Rennes after the fire of 1720, in particular the financial initiatives (e.g., tax exemptions and facilitations for the obtainement of loans) devised by the administration to jumpstart the reconstruction. "La France regarde ces malheurs particuliers," he wrote referring to floodings and fires, "comme des pertes de l'Etat."[246]

Lecler then compiled a heap of information concerning the police of bridges, ports, quais, markets, public fountains, and public squares in Paris—a jumble of facts and practices that is impossible to summarize without listing them all. Among other things, he described: the prohibition to "adosser" any structure to royal and public buildings; the functions of the municipal officers responsible for the maintenance of

[244] *Traité*, 4:349 [VI.10.1].

[245] *Traité*, 4:351 [VI.10.2].

[246] *Traité*, 4:353 [VI.10.2].

public fountains; and the cases in which the police, in order to maintain the continuity of the urban fabric, could "défendre aux proprietaires de démolir leurs maisons." Lecler concluded the section with the description of an "établissement singulier": in 1676, Louis XIV had a large number of swans moved to the Isle Maquerelle, a small island west of Paris later renamed Isle des Cygnes; the king entrusted such *embellissement* to La Reynie, who issued ordinances that prohibited entry into the island and forbad taking the swans' eggs or hurting the birds in any way. Lecler called this "établissement" a "nouvel agrément." He quoted from the 1676 ordinance, which called for the swans to be put "*sous la protection publique*," his italics.[247]

When read alongside the comment on the damages of flooding and urban fire being "pertes de l'Etat," Lecler's remark on the public benefit of the swans is telling. The practices that Lecler assembled in section ten do not necessarily cohere into any clearly defined policy of urban renewal. What is remarkable, however, is the attempt to consider those practices together—to *make them cohere*—to imagine a unitary strategy comprising the solutions for urban blight, the emergency measures to deal with calamities, the practices of managment of public space and urban infrastructure, and even the swan affair. These were all matters of public concern; they could all be put under the heading of *embellissement*.

In section eleven, Lecler continued Delamare's historical and topographical description of Paris (Title Six) and discussed the "accroissemens & embellissemens" under Louis XV (e.g., the construction of the Château d'Eau at the Palais Royal, the

[247] *Traité*, 4:397 [VI.10.4]. Several copies of the ordinance, which was reissued regularly from 16 October 1676 to 12 December 1695, are at BnF ms. fr. 21696, fols. 254-69.

reconstruction of the Pont de Bois, and the repair of the Grand Egout).[248] Most important, Lecler documented the so-called Travail des Limites, the latest attempt at *bornage* of the city and its faubourgs.

The Travail des Limites was launched on 18 July 1724, with a royal declaration that repeated the rationale of past *clostures*—"empécher le cours de cet agrandissement qui seroit un jour le principe de sa perte."[249] Once again, the primary fear was demographic growth, the potential *disette*, and the resulting problems for public order.[250] The declaration's key disposition was article 7, which prohibited, in the faubourgs, the building of "aucune maison à porte cochère"—in other words, large houses. The idea was not to entirely block urban development—houses "à petites portes," up to two storeys, were allowed—but to slow it down and recenter it toward the city. (The declaration permitted new construction in the city, but prohibited the opening of new streets.) The faubourgs were to be "bornés chacun à la dernière maison"; stone signs were to be installed on the faubourgs' outermost buildings. **[fig. 3.73]**

[248] At the beginning of section eleven, Lecler praised Delamare for having proved the existence of the first wall of Paris, but corrected the Commissaire's dating. Relying upon Félibien's *Histoire de la ville de Paris*, he maintained that the wall was built at the end of the ninth century.

[249] Royal declaration, 18 July 1724, AN G/7/446. On the Travail des Limites, see Jeanne PRONTEAU and Isabelle DÉRENS, *Introduction générale au travail des limites de la ville et faubourgs de Paris, 1724-1729* (Paris: Paris Musées, 1998); Isabelle DÉRENS, "Le travail des limites," in *Les enceintes de Paris*, ed. Béatrice de Andia (Paris: Délégation général à l'action artistique de la ville de Paris, 2001): 133-40.

[250] Lecler mentioned also another reason, one not stated in the royal declaration of 1724: "l'inclination que les Grands & les riches Citoyens faisoient paroître pour bâtir & pour se loger dans les Fauxbourgs, alloit déja trop loin pour n'en pas craindre les suites; le Roi jugea qu'il étoit temps de les prévenir[.]" *Traité*, 4:402-03 [VI.11.2]. Lecler outlined the same idea also in section ten, in a chapter titled "Les maisons des fauxbourgs doivent être moins élevées que celle de la ville": "Ce point de discipline a pour objet, d'obliger les Grands & les Riches de faire leur séjour dans les Villes, pour en maintenir la splendeur; les Réglemens n'ont point d'autres vûës." *Traité*, 4:394 [VI.10.4].

With respect to previous attempts at *bornage*, the main novelty of the Travail des Limites was that the administration devised a comprehensive and effective strategy of implementation and enforcement. The Bureau de la Ville and the Bureau des Finances were entrusted with verifying compliance; every year, in April, they were to inspect all faubourgs and sanction illegal construction. The rules were strictly enforced: the Bureau de la Ville, responsible for issuing building permits, denied countless requests, permitting only small buildings or identical reconstruction.[251] A team was commissioned with conducting a *recensement* of all the houses with *porte cochère*.[252] Jean Beausire, the Maître Général des Bâtiments de la Ville, and his son, Jean-Baptiste, were entrusted with producing cadastral maps of all the faubourgs' large houses. This massive work of documentation—comprising maps of 188 streets and some 1,700 houses with *porte cochère* or *porte charretière*—was compiled in thirteen folio volumes, copies of which were given to the Conseil, the Parlement, the Bureau des Finances, and the Bureau de la Ville. A vignette in one of these volumes shows Hercules pointing to the columns that marked the limits of the world; he sits on a stone block inscribed "NEC PLUS ULTRA."[253] **[fig. 3.72]**

[251] See Isabelle DÉRENS, "Eléments d'une étude topographique, architecturale et sociologique des faubourgs parisiens au XVIIIe siècle: les permis de construire de la sous-série H² des Archives nationales, 1724-1766," *CREPIF*, no. 38 (Mar. 1992): 93-114.

[252] In January 1726, to facilitate the operation of *recensement*, a royal declaration ordered that the *portes cochères* be inscribed with street numbers. In March 1728, the numbering was extended to all houses in the faubourgs. The *procès-verbaux* of the operations of *recensement*—three massive registers running to some 2,000 pages—are at AP, V.DD5 1 to 3.

[253] *Limites de la ville et fauxbourgs de Paris, fauxbourg S.t Honoré, tome 9.eme, ordonnées par la declaration du Roy des 18 Juillet 1724 et 29 Janvier 1726* (1732), BHVP Ms Na 492 Réserve 150. A 90-page manuscript "abregé" of the 13-volume work, titled "Limites de la ville et faubourgs de Paris," is at BnF ms. fr. 18785. A 50-page manuscript "précis de l'ouvrage" is at BHVP CP 3131.

On 20 August 1724, Lecler wrote to the Procureur Général to propose that Book Six include a map representing the city and the faubourgs "dans l'etat ou ils sont reduits par cette nouvelle loi dont vous etes le principal mobile."

> Le Plan que je propose, sera le premier ou l'on verra la veritable enceinte de Paris, personne ne s'est encore attaché a ce point interessant. M. Delamare même nous a bien decouvert et etabli toutes les fois que la ville a été close, et fermé de murailles, mais il n'est point entré dans le detail, de son étendüe, de ses bornes, et de ses limites. Il avoit sans doute reservé cet examen au livre de la voirie.[254]

Lecler asked the Procureur for permission to see the plans and the *procès-verbaux* that Beausire was about to begin. The Procureur responded enthusiastically:

> J'aprouve infiniment, Monsieur, ce que vous marquez au sujet des limites de Paris. J'ai parlé au Sr Beausire qui est chargé par arrest de dresser les plans, et nous tâcherons d'en faire lever un qui puisse estre inseré dans votre livre. Je prevoy par avance qu'il sera tres utile.[255]

Lecler was given access to the work of the Beausires and of the officers who conducted the *recensement*. He put this information to use. In the late 1720s, he approached the map maker Jean Delagrive, who had just completed a large-scale, extraordinarily accurate map of Paris. Lecler commissioned from him two maps for Book Six: the "Plan de Fontaines"[256] **[fig. 3.81]** and the "Neuvième plan," **[fig. 3.82]** a map of Paris and the faubourgs indicating the location of the 294 stone *bornes* that were installed during the Travail des Limites.[257] (Following Delamare's

[254] LECLER to Joly de Fleury, 20 Aug. 1724, BnF ms. fr. 21694, fols. 67-70.

[255] JOLY DE FLEURY to Lecler, 27 Aug. 1724, BnF ms. fr. 21694, fol. 71.

[256] Jean Delagrive, "Plan des fontaines de la ville et des faubourgs de Paris," 1730, BnF cartes Ge C 9768. Two prints, dated 1735 and 1737, are at BHVP G 82 and G 83.

[257] Jean Delagrive, "Neuvième plan de Paris," 1735, BHVP A 31. Another print, dated 1737, is at BHVP A 186. (In May 2012, a hand-colored copy of the "Neuvième plan" **[fig. 3.82]** was at Alexandre Antique Prints, Maps & Books, online at http://www.alexandremaps.com.)

example, Lecler signed both maps with the acronym "M. L. C. D. B.," Monsieur Le Cler Du Brillet.)

"Ce Plan," reads the map's legend, "represente Paris avec ses accroissemens sous le Regne de Louis XV, ses Embellissemens et l'Etenduë qui semble être fixée pour toujours à la grandeur de la Ville et des Faubourgs." Delagrive marked on the map the different kinds of *bornes* that were installed on the outermost houses of the faubourgs as well as on the houses along the boundary between the city and the faubourgs. In section eleven, Lecler gave the history of the Travail des Limites and the full transcript of the relevant legislation. He concluded with a ten-page "Etat des bornes de la Ville et des Fauxbourgs de Paris."

Lecler wanted Book Six to be useful:

> rien ne m'a plus flatté dans cette entreprise que de pouvoir y recueillir pour l'utilité du Public tout le fruit du grand travail des Limites de Paris; [...] outre la satisfaction que l'on a de voir tout Paris dans cet ouvrage jusqu'à la derniere maison de chaque faubourg, la Police y reconnoît ses opérations, & les particuliers y trouvent la sûreté des acquisitions & des bâtimens qu'ils peuvent faire dans la suite.[258]

He imagined that his work would be helpful to officers in charge of enforcing the *bornage* and to the public at large. In the "Etat des bornes," the entries are thus:

> Faubourg S. Antoine / Rue de Charenton / Borne posée dans le mur de face de la maison du sieur Hardy, à 64 toises au delà de la rue de la Grange-aux-Merciers, à droite.

And thus:

> Faubourg S. Germain / Rue de Babylone / Borne posée à l'endroit de l'allignement extérieur du Rempart, au bout de la rue de Babylone, sur un Pilier de pierre.

[258] *Traité*, 4:405 [VI.11.3].

294 surprisingly meticulous entries—a surfeit of information at once extraordinary and puzzling.

The "Plan des Fontaines" is a map of the city's water-supply system. **[fig. 3.81]** The novelty of this map can be seen when compared to earlier maps such as the "Plan des fontaines et des conduites et communications des eaues publiques" in Pierre Bullet and François Blondel's map of Paris, of 1676, **[fig. 3.79]** and Nicolas de Fer's "Plan de la conduite des eaües des fontaines publiques," of 1716. **[fig. 3.80]** Delagrive did not draw a diagram; he overlaid the water system onto an actual map of the city. More important, he represented the water system in its entirety. In the "Plan des Fontaines," Delagrive drew not only the city's fountains and the main water conduits but also the water pumps, the *regards*, the *puits*, the water reservoirs, the *châteaux d'eaux*. The "Plan des Fontaines" is an infrastructural map—it treats fountains and water conduits not as isolated artifacts but in infrastructural terms, as nodes and links of an urban system.

Neither of the maps was meant to serve as a planning tool, the way, for example, Bullet and Blondel's *plan/projet* did. Book Six as a whole was not conceived as a project of urban reform. The goal of Lecler—and of Delamare before him—was to describe, not to change. (Delamare, we may note, seems never to have entertained the idea that, after drawing eight maps of Paris from antiquity to the present, one could extend the trajectory and draw a future state of Paris.) The project underlying Book Six and the *Traité de la police* was of a different sort—it was a quest for knowledge. The *Traité* was an unprecedented, systematic compendium of all the

practices of urban management.[259] Delamare and his *continuateur* consumed themselves for decades trying to produce a new science, an immense body of knowledge on the workings of the city.

In the "Avertissement," Lecler announced that he already had "un second Tome prêt à mettre sous la presse," which would comprise the *Traité*'s book seven (public security) and book eight (liberal arts and sciences).[260] He did not, in fact, have that much ready. For a few years after 1738, Lecler continued to collect methodically ordinances and other police documents, but he managed to write little: he left only one substantial piece of writing, a draft for a history of street lighting.[261] At that time, he must have been committed to finishing Delamare's project: in 1739, he obtained rare permission to borrow books from the king's library.[262] By the mid 1740s, he had lost both interest and stamina. In 1745, he stopped collecting police ordinances.[263] He maintained a relationship with the Procureur Général until the late

[259] After years studying the *Traité*, I am still astonished by its scope. If one were to write the Book Six of today's New York City, one would have to compile the regulations and the practices of at least this many departments: Department of Buildings (DoB), Department of Design and Construction (DDC), Department of City Planning (DCP), Department of Environmental Protection (DEP), Office of Long Term Planning and Sustainability (OLTPS), Department of Sanitation (DoS), Fire Department (NYFD), Police Department (NYPD), Office of Emergency Management (OEM), Office of Labor Relations (OLR), Department of Transportation (DoT), and Taxi and Limousine Commission (TLC).

[260] *Traité*, 4:[vi-vii] ["Avertissement"].

[261] BnF ms. fr. 21684, fols. 77-117.

[262] "Le S. Le Clerc Du Brillet s'etant chargé de travailler a la continuation du Traité de la police m'a fait representer qu'il a besoin dans le cours de ce travail de prendre communication de plusieurs livres imprimés et manuscrits de nôtre bibliotheque [...] j'approuve a que vous fassiez remettre aud. S. Le Clerc du Brillet les livres imprimés ou manuscrits pieces et memoires de ma bibliotheque[.]" LOUIS XV to Bignon, 22 Apr. 1739 (copy), BnF ms. fr. 21566, fol. 439.

[263] The last relevant documents I could find date to the summer of 1745: a police sentence condemning a "piqueur" for having left too much sand on the pavé (3 Sept. 1745, BnF ms. fr. 21687, fols. 241-42)

1740s, although he mostly answered requests for historical documents in Delamare's archive.[264] About 1750, Lecler abandoned all research. Part of the reason may have been financial: in 1752, he sold 140 copies of Book Six to the Parisian *marchand libraire* Theodore Le Gras, together with "les cuivres des plans et des vignettes en cas de reimpression."[265]

Through the 1740s and the early 1750s, Lecler corresponded with the police commissioner Guillaume-Boniface Dupré (??-1764). Dupré was assembling an archive of police regulations *à la* Delamare. He was also working on a treatise of his own, subject unknown; he completed a draft in 1751 but, apparently, never finished it.[266] Dupré often asked Lecler for copies of documents in the archive.[267] In return, he offered different kinds of advice and information: he kept finding mistakes and omissions in Delamare's *Traité*, and suggested that Lecler correct them in a future edition;[268] he also offered advice on Lecler's research for the book on public safety.[269]

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and a police ordinance enjoining Parisians to make preparations for "un feu d'artifice en réjoüissance de l'heureux retour de Sa Majesté" (7 Sept. 1745, BnF ms. fr. 21722, fols. 145-46).

[264] One example, of February 1748: the Procureur Général wrote that he had found in the *Traité* only one article of a 1635 regulation concerning "fumiers" exposed in the streets, and asked if Lecler could send him more documentation on the matter. JOLY DE FLEURY to Lecler, 24 Feb. 1748, BnF ms. fr. 21806, fol. 80.

[265] Contract between Lecler and Theodore Le Gras, 28 Mar. 1752, BnF ms. fr. 21566, fol. 307.

[266] "J'ay fini mon Traitté ou j'ay discuté des points interessans et assez difficiles; je compte vous l'envoyer, non pas veritablement pour le garder, mais pour le lire; la raison, c'est qu'il ne laisse pas d'estre un peu long et que les copistes me ruinent." DUPRÉ to Lecler, 28 May 1751, BnF n.a.f. 243, fol. 75.

[267] In 1753, Dupré asked Lecler for a copy of the minutes of the Conseil de Police: "En travaillant sur la police je me suis apperçu que la seance du 10 x.bre [December] 1666 manque toutte entiere dans ma copie du proces verbal des assemblées tenuës pour la reformation de la police." DUPRÉ to Lecler, 16 Feb. 1753, BnF n.a.f. 243, fol. 86-86v.

[268] "Bien m'en a pris de verifier le passage cité par M. Delamare au sujet du Chevalier du Guet tome 1 page 255 en marge duquel il cite Suetone, Dion, Fenestella et Pomponius Laetus; des 4 auteurs Fenestella est le seul qui rapporte quelque chose d'approchant. Voicy ses termes, *tribunis et super armes clarissimo viro* [...] On n'y trouve point ces termes que rapporte M. Delamare, *ex equestri ordini electo* [...]." DUPRÉ to Lecler, 16 June 1743, BnF n.a.f. 243, fol. 5.

Dupré seemed poised to take over Lecler's role as *continuateur*.[270] About 1758, he offered to buy the archive. The two could not agree on a sum, the sale did not take place, and Lecler died without appointing a *continuateur*. Shortly after Lecler's death, Dupré approached Lecler's widow:

> Madame, Je viens d'apprendre avec le dernier chagrin la perte que vous avez faitte, vous sçavez l'amitié qui nous liait depuis plus de vingt ans [...] vous sçavez, Madame, qu'il y a environ deux ans j'ay offert une somme à M. le Cler pour les cartons du Commissaire la Mare, comme il me croioit plus opulent que je ne suis, nous n'avons pu convenir ensemble; si vous pouvez disposer de ces papiers pour le meme prix je suis encore dans la meme disposition.[271]

Again, the sale did not take place. It is unclear into whose hands the archive passed. There is evidence of it again only on the eve of the Revolution. In 1787, the Delamare collection was owned by Louis-Paul Abeille (1719-1807), an early supporter of Quesnay and of physiocratic doctrine, the author of several studies on the commerce of grain, including the *Lettre d'un négociant sur la nature du commerce des grains*, of 1763, and *Principes sur la liberté du commerce des grains*, of 1768. By the late 1780s, Abeille was Inspecteur Général at the Bureau du Commerce. In November 1787, he wrote to the Baron de Breteuil, the Sécretaire d'Etat à la Maison du Roi:

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[269] In June 1743, on his return from a vacation in Saint-Cloud, Dupré wrote: "J'ay trouvé dans les <batelets> un homme qui avoit eté a Londres, je l'ay questionné sur la maniere dont cette ville etoit illuminée il m'a dit qu'il y a un trottoir de chaque coté de la pluspart des ruës que sur le bord de ces trottoirs il y a d'espace en espace des pilliers de bois a la hauteur de la main sur laquelle on pose des lanternes qui sont comme des yeux de boeuf et que dans ces lanternes il y a une lampe qui eclaire." DUPRÉ to Lecler, 5 June 1743, BnF n.a.f. 342, fol. 18.

[270] Jean-Claude Hervé, in his study of the Dupré collection, discounted the idea that Dupré wanted to continue the work of Delamare and claimed, unconvincingly, that Dupré put together the collection only for his private use, as "un outil documentaire très efficace pour faire face à n'importe lequel des problèmes qui doit affronter quotidiennement un responsable de la police parisienne au milieu du XVIIIe siècle." Jean-Claude, HERVÉ, "L'ordre à Paris au XVIIIe siècle: les enseignements du "recueil de règlements de police"," *RHMC* vol. 34, no. 2 (Apr.-June 1987): 185-214 at 200-01. (The Dupré collection is at BnF ms. fr. 8046 to 8117.)

[271] DUPRÉ to Madame Lecler, 17 Apr. 1760, BnF ms. fr. 21566, fol. 313.

> La lettre que vous avez écrite à M. Le Noir relativement à la collection rassemblée par le commissaire de la Marre [...] m'a été communiqué. Cette collection, qui est depuis longtems à la Bibliothèque du Roi, renferme, de plus en plus, une multitude de pièces qui ont à la vérité des points de contact avec la police de Paris et la police générale du royaume [...]
>
> Je n'ai eu besoin d'aucun effort pour consentir à laisser dans la Bibliothèque du Roi cette réunion nombreuse, unique dans son genre et trop précieuse pour rester entre les mains d'un particulier. Et je n'ai fait aucune difficulté d'accepter deux mille écus en dédomagement, quoique cette somme ne soit pas proportionnée à la valeur de l'objet acquis."[272]

In April 1788, Jean-Charles-Pierre Lenoir, former Lieutenant Général de Police and current Garde de la Bibliothèque du Roi, bought the Delamare collection from Abeille, for 6,000 livres, money provided by the Maison du Roi.[273]

The Delamare collection was *dépouillée* and catalogued between 1848 and 1858 by the *chartiste* Sainte-Marie Mévil (Charles-Marie-Henri Mévil, 1824-69).[274]

In 1860, as part of a scholarly project sponsored by Baron Haussmann, the Commission Municipale des Travaux Historiques began to assemble a collection of original documents for the production of a *Histoire générale de Paris*. In 1866, when the book was published, the editors wrote that Haussmann "a fait étudier [the Delamare collection] pendant cinq années (1861-1865), afin de savoir quel pourrait être le meilleur parti à prendre."[275]

[272] ABEILLE to Breteuil, 27 Nov. 1787, in Fernand BOURNON, "Documents relatifs à la Bibliothèque du Roi, 1777-1791," *La correspondance historique et archéologique* vol. 15 (1908), 286-87.

[273] See BRETEUIL to Lenoir, 30 Apr. 1788, AN O/1/432, fols. 159-60. See also Léopold DELISLE, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la bibliothèque imperiale*, 3 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1868-81), 1:551; Maxime de SARS, *Le Noir, lieutenant de police, 1732-1807* (Paris: Hachette, 1948), 211.

[274] See L. D. [Léopold Delisle?], [Obituary of Sainte-Marie Mévil], *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, Revue d'érudition consacrée spécialement a l'étude du moyen-âge* vol. 30, tome 5 (1869): 365-67; MUSART, *La réglementation du commerce des grains en France au XVIIIe siècle*, 241-42.

[275] *Histoire générale de Paris. Collection de documents fondée ... par M. le B.on Haussmann ... et publiée sous les auspices du conseil municipal*, ed. Lazare-Maurice Tisserand et al. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1866), 115.

Epilogue. Toward a *ville policée*

The paradox of this research is quickly revealed: the *ville policée* was an aspiration more than a reality. Despite the creation of the Lieutenance de Police and the attempt of the administration to implement coherent and effective strategies of urban control, Paris was never turned into a well-ordered city. With respect to the questions of the *voirie*, the best illustration of the failure of the administration to overcome the gothic intricacy of the urban fabric is the saga of one street, the Rue du Cardinal Lemoine. The year is 1756. The main protagonist is Jean Delagrive.

One Sieur Marsy owned three contiguous houses on the Quai de la Tournelle, next to the Porte Saint-Bernard. **[fig. 4.1]** The easternmost of these, which stood right at the end of the Pont de la Tournelle, was in precarious conditions, and Marsy wanted to rebuild it. Delagrive saw a once-in-a-blue-moon opportunity for *embellissement*: if one were to buy Marsy's house, it would be possible to open a street through the property of the Cardinal Lemoine, all the way to the Rue des Fossées Saint-Victor, next to the Seminaire des Bons Enfants. Delagrive drew a plan of the area; he marked in yellow the house to be demolished and dotted in the alignment of a street.[1] The project needed little explanation. "Lors qu'il se presente des occasions faciles de donner des debouchés aux passages publics, et de procurer la communication d'un quartier à un autre, il est naturel de les saisir." The entire operation would cost "au plus 120 mille livres" and would produce effects both practical and aesthetic. The purchase and demolition of one single building would allow for the creation of a straight connection between the quartiers of Saint-Antoine

[1] Jean DELAGRIVE, project for a new street at the Pont de la Tournelle, 1756, AN F/14/184/A.

and Saint-Victor. The new street—aligned with the Pont de la Tournelle, the Rue des Deux Ponts, the Pont Marie, and the Rue des Nonaindières (today's Rue de Fourcy)—would create an extraordinary urban "enfilade."

By 1756, Delagrive was a well-known and widely admired figure. The Géographe de la Ville de Paris, he was the author of several maps of Paris, including two published in the *Traité de la police*, and for two decades had been working on the production of the city's first urban cadastre. In short order, Delagrive presented his street project to the institutions that had a say on the *embellissement* of Paris: the Direction Générale des Bâtiments du Roi, the Bureau de la Ville, the Bureau des Finances, and the Lieutenance Générale de Police. He also contacted the Académie Royale d'Architecture. All his efforts were for nought. In May 1756, a dispirited Delagrive wrote a final plea. (Unfortunately, the addressee of this letter is unknown; I suspect it was Louis Phélypeaux, Marquis de la Vrillière, the Secrétaire d'Etat à la Maison du Roi.) The letter is worth quoting in full:

> Monsieur,
>
> Le plan que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous envoyer vous annonce le motif de cette lettre; je ne vous demande que le temps d'y jetter les yeux et de lire mes remarques. Tous le monde approuve l'idée que je donne de joindre le quartier St Antoine à ceux de St Victor de St Marcel et de Ste Genevieve par la ruë que je propose en face du Pont de la Tournelle; il ne s'agit que de trouver des citoyens qui veuillent se prêter à la faire réussir. J'ai donné pareil plan à l'academie d'architecture pour avoir son suffrage; je l'ai communiqué à Mr Soufflot pour en conferer avec Mr de Marigny. Il dit avec raison que cela ne les regarde pas. J'en ai presenté un pareil à Mr le President Vigneron pour en faire part au Bureau des finances. Ces messieurs disent qu'ils ont les bras liés par la declaration donnée en 1724 pour regler les limites de Paris laquelle [...] porte défense d'ouvrir aucune nouvelle ruë. [...] Mr Berryer qui a l'inspection sur les encoignures des ruës existantes ne se mêle pas d'en dresser de nouvelles. Je communiquerai cet après midi le même projet à Mr le Prévôt des marchands; mais la depense et les embarras de la Place de Louis XV, me font sentir d'avance sa reponse, et le Sr Marsy qui va démolir sa maison dés cette semaine aura le tems de la rebatir avant que le Bureau de la Ville ait donné sa décision. Néanmoins si l'on manqua l'occasion presente qui presse on ne la retrouvera peut être jamais.

> Il ne s'agit pour le present que d'acheter la maison du Sr Marsy: c'est l'objet au plus de 20 mille livres. On aura le loisir d'acheter le reste dans des temps plus opportuns. Je ne vois que vous, Monsieur, qui sois en état de procurer cet agrément et cette commodité à la ville, et à un quartier des plus disgracieux et des plus incommodes, si l'idée se trouve de vôtre gout. Tous ceux à qui j'en ai parlé, et nommément Mr Soufflot, m'ont conseillé de vous ecrire. Vous aimez l'ordre, la decoration et l'avantage general des citoyens. Ces sortes d'entreprises sont directement de vôtre ressort; vous parlez au Roi lorsqu'il vous plait, et il vous ecoute avec plaisir.
>
> Quant à moi il me suffit d'avoir fait la proposition. J'ai emploié mon temps et mon argent à lever les plans, à en faire plusieurs dessins, et à les communiquer à tous ceux qui par leur etat peuvent ou doivent y prendre part; mon devoir de citoyen est rempli. Vous êtes saisi de l'affaire, je ne me mêle plus de rien.[2]

Monsieur replied with a brief *apostille*. He judged the project "avantageux" and wished Delagrive well, "mais ce qui concerne le percement des rues de Paris ne me concerne pas." Monsieur too washed his hands of the matter.

Delagrive's simple project of *embellissement* by *alignement* was to remain a paper proposal for almost a century. In 1765, in his *Monumens érigés en France à la gloire de Louis XV*, Pierre Patte mentioned it as an example of a missed opportunity, yet another proof of everything that was wrong in the planning of Paris.[3] In the late 1780s, Charles de Wailly included the same street proposal in his "Projet d'utilité et d'embellissement pour la ville de Paris."[4] But, for decades, nothing was done. The

[2] DELAGRIVE to Phélypeaux[?], 12 May 1756, AN F/14/184/A.

[3] "Depuis environ cinquante ans, près de la moitié de Paris a été rebâtie, sans qu'il soit venu dans la pensée de l'assujettir à aucun plan général, & sans avoir encore cherché à changer les mauvaises distributions de ses rues. Lorsqu'il s'est trouvé des maisons à y reconstruire, on a cru avoir beaucoup fait en élargissant la voie publique de quelques pieds: on a laissé échapper les occasions favorables de faire différens percés avantageux qu'il eût été facile de pratiquer, pour former, soit des débouchés, soit des communications utiles." An example was a house on the Quai Saint-Bernard, "dans l'allignement du pont Marie & du pont de la Tournelle, laquelle termine ce percé qu'il eût été très-intéressant de continuer jusques derrière le collège du cardinal le Moine." Pierre PATTE, *Monumens érigés en France à la gloire de Louis XV* (Paris: Chez l'auteur, Desaint, Saillant, 1765), 213.

[4] On de Wailly's "Projet d'utilité et d'embellissement pour la ville de Paris," see Isabelle BACKOUCHE, *La trace du fleuve. La Seine et Paris, 1750-1850* (Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 2000), 270-73; Jean-Yves SARAZIN, ed., *Rêves de capitale. Paris et ses plans d'embellissement* (Paris:

Rue du Cardinal Lemoine was to be opened only in the early 1840s by the Préfet de la Seine, Claude Rambuteau.[5]

The saga of Delagrive's street is an almost tragi-comic illustration of the fundamental inefficiency and inadequacy of the institutions entrusted with the city's urbanism. The story is particularly striking when we consider that the one goal and criterion of Delagrive's proposal—street alignment—had been for more than a century the keystone of the *police de la voirie*.

Insofar as the administration saw practically all problems of police as problems of circulation, street alignment was considered the cure to many ills. In the eye of the administrators of early modern Paris, circulation—the smooth and safe circulation of air, people, and goods—was the precondition for the welfare of the city. The principle of alignment was clearly stated in the royal edicts and police ordinances that governed the *voirie*: streets should be wide and well aligned; buildings should be of sound structure, limited in height, and not encroaching over the street; streets and public places should be kept clean and unencumbered. The *ville policée*—the figure of a clean, uncongested, unpolluted, odorless urban environment—could not exist without straight, regular streets.

Alignement—the procedure by which a public authority set the limits of properties with respect to the street—was one of the most essential tools of early modern urbanism. In Paris *intra muros*, three institutions issued alignment permits:

Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2003), 24-25; Céline ILLIG, "Le projet monumental de Pierre Patte pour l'île de la Cité à Paris, 1765," in *Claude Nicolas Ledoux et le livre d'architecture en français. Etienne Louis Boullée, l'utopie et la poésie de l'art*, ed. Daniel Rabreau and Dominique Massounie (Paris: Centre des monuments nationaux, Monum, Editions du patrimoine, 2006): 144-54 at 159.

[5] "Une nouvelle rue va s'ouvrir entre le pont de la Tournelle et la rue des Fossés-Saint-Victor: ce sera la rue du Cardinal-Lemoine." [Claude-Philibert Barthelot de RAMBUTEAU], "Discours de M. le Préfet de la Seine, prononcé à la Chambre de Commerce le 23 Decembre 1842," *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* vol. 3 (1842): 471-76 at 472.

the Bureau de la Ville was competent for properties along the boulevards, along the river, and in public squares; the Lieutenance Générale de Police handled buildings located at street intersections; all other properties fell under the purview of the Bureau des Finances. The administrative procedures for obtaining an *alignment* were relatively simple.[6] The main problem was that none of the three institutions with authority on *alignement* had power to decide on the course of a street, a power that rested solely with the Conseil d'Etat. In fact, the Lieutenance de Police, the Bureau des Finances, and the Bureau de la Ville did not produce alignment plans. When they issued a permit, they would watch that a new or renovated building would not encroach over the street, but they did not (and could not) dictate alignments consistent with an overall plan.[7] As a result, the alignment of Parisian streets remained a piecemeal affair. Many buildings were "retranchés"; in some streets, buildings' facades were incrementally aligned; but, overall, the street layout of the city was never truly rectified, and most street fronts retained the jagged, irregular profile that so aggravated our police officer François-Jacques Guillotte when he examined the planning of the Rue de la Huchette.

A number of factors contributed to this state of affairs. Some of the reasons were financial. All through the eighteenth century, both the crown and the municipality were constantly short of funds: with some exceptions—notably the

[6] In the appendixes, I provide two examples of such administrative procedures: an alignment permit issued in 1701 by the Bureau des Finances, for a building in the Rue des Orties; and an "alignement d'encoignure" issued in 1768 by the Lieutenance Générale de Police to the architect Nicolas Le Camus de Mezières, for a building located at the corner of the Rue de Grenelle and the Rue Coquillère. AN H/2/2123; AN Y/9507/A, fols. 237-38. **{Appendix 5-6}**

[7] Alignment plans were made only when a new street was created, in which case the Maître Général des Bâtiments du Roi et de l'Hôtel de Ville was responsible for drafting a *plan particulier* indicating the limits of all concerned properties. See, for example, the alignment plan drafted in 1719 by Jean Beausire for the opening of the Rue de Bourgogne, in the Faubourg Saint-Germain. AN H/2/2127. **{Appendix 7}**

Place Louis XV, an operation that was successful mainly because the monarchy already owned the land—royal and municipal authorities were unable to conduct urban initiatives of significant scale. Private developers too faced considerable financial obstacles: some new (regular) streets were created in the faubourgs, but in the city center the cost of real estate and the fragmentation of properties made the opening of a new street a rare event. Some problems were institutional, including a shortage of specialized personnel in the institutions entrusted with the *voirie*, the persistence of jurisdictional conflicts, and the general lack of coordination among the various parties. One may also mention the difficulties in the use of eminent domain: the administrative procedures for the so-called "retrait d'utilité publique" were clearly defined, but expropriation was not exercised often, in part because the authorities could rarely afford to compensate the property owners. In addition, building owners complied only reluctantly with the regulatory system and, in many cases, tried to game it outright since complying with an *alignement* usually resulted in a "retranchement," with consequent loss of valuable square footage.

This litany of problems accounts for the ultimate failure of the administration to turn Paris into a well-ordered city. To be sure, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the city did see some improvements along lines advocated by police administrators, including the demolition of the houses built on the bridges, the renovation of the quais along the river, and the removal of the Cimetière des Innocents from the city center. But the urban fabric as a whole was not significantly transformed. As the fate of Delagrive's street project shows, it was only in the nineteenth century that the city's administrators—in particular, Claude Rambuteau and his more famous successor to the post of Préfet de la Seine, Baron Haussmann—found effective operational, institutional, and financial ways to implement structural

urbanistic reforms. In the eighteenth century, the project of the *ville policée* was essentially frustrated.

This sobering assessment notwithstanding, it would be a mistake to conclude that the work of the police had only a negligible impact on the city's urbanism. In particular, we should note how, in the second half of the century, the discourse of police would increasingly inform the work of architects and urban reformers. This can be seen, for example, in the heightened attention of several thinkers for practical problems such as fire prevention or urban sanitation and, more generally, in the way the question of *embellissement* was fundamentally rethought in terms utilitarian and functional rather than simply aesthetic. Pierre Patte is, in this respect, the best example: the pioneering character of his urban reform proposals owes greatly to the fact that he, more than any other architect, understood the relevance of the prosaic problems of *police* and *voirie*. Another example is Maille Dussausoy, the author of *Le citoyen désinteressé*, of 1767, which advanced "diverses idées patriotiques, concernant quelques établissemens et embellissemens utiles à la ville de Paris," including a proposal for an improved fire-fighting system and a proposal for the establishment of a "caisse" to be employed in the functional and aesthetic *embellissement* of the city; significantly, the book was dedicated to Antoine de Sartine, the Lieutenant Général de Police.[8]

More broadly, the discourse of police was critical to the emergence of a new consciousness of the very scope of urban planning. This can be seen most clearly in the way police administrators and urban reformers alike insisted on the need to

[8] Maille DUSSAUSOY, *Le citoyen désinteressé, ou Diverses idées patriotiques, concernant quelques établissemens et embellissemens utiles à la ville de Paris* ..., 2 vols (Paris: Gueffier, 1767-68).

subject the city to the discipline of a master plan. In 1737, the members of the Assemblée de Police (Premier Président, Procureur Général, Lieutenant Général de Police, and Prévôt des Marchands) praised Delagrive's project for a new map of the city complete with an urban cadastre, which promised to become a critical tool for managing the city.[9] Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, many authors called for the making of a *plan général* that would dictate street alignments for the entire city. Guillotte did so in 1749, in the *Mémoire*. Patte proposed much the same in 1765 and, again, in 1769, in the *Mémoires sur les objets les plus importans de l'architecture*, where he called for "un plan général suffisament détaillé" in order to achieve an "embellissement total."[10] On similar lines was Dussausoy. "Il est étonnant," he wrote in *Le citoyen désinteressé*,

> que depuis qu'on fait des accroissement à la ville de Paris, malgré les bornes que l'on y met journellement, on ne se soit pas encore occupé du soin de faire dresser un plan général, où seroient marqués les percés, alignemens & redressemens des rues qu'il conviendroit de faire pour la décoration de cette ville & la commodité de ses habitans.[11]

This goal too was frustrated. In 1771, an enterprising municipal officer, Pierre-Joseph Lavalar, then Commissaire Général de la Voirie de la Ville et Faubourgs de Paris,

[9] Assemblée de Police, 10 Jan. 1737, BnF ms. fr. 11356, fol. 308 [no. 622, "Continuation par le Sr. de la Grive d'un nouveau plan de Paris"].

[10] Pierre PATTE, *Mémoires sur les objets les plus importans de l'architecture* (Paris: Rozet, 1769), 63.

[11] DUSSAUSOY, *Le citoyen désinteressé*, 1:202. The clause "malgré les bornes que l'on y met journellement" was a reference to a series of measures issued in 1765 to, once again, set limits to urban growth. Although the new legislation continued the policy of containment that was last implemented in 1724-28, the building restrictions were tempered. "Les Rois nos prédecesseurs ont pris en différens temps diverses mesures pour fixer les limites de notre bonne ville de Paris: Nous avons aussi, par nos déclarations des 18 juillet 1724, 29 janvier 1726, 23 mars & 14 septembre 1728, & juillet 1740, expliqué nos intentions à ce sujet; mais les changemens survenus depuis, & la construction d'un grand nombre d'édifices, bâtis contre la disposition de ces derniers règlemens, nous déterminent à nous expliquer de nouveau sur cet objet; & comme l'expérience nous a rassurés contre les craintes qui avoient été les principaux motifs de nos précédentes déclarations, nous avons résolu d'en tempérer la rigueur, & de faire cesser toute inquiétude sur le passé, en fixant irrévocablement pour l'avenir les bornes dans lesquelles nous entendons que soient renfermés la ville & les faubourgs de Paris, & réglant la manière dont il sera permis de bâtir dans lesdits faubourgs." Royal declaration, 16 May 1765, AN AD/✠/966.

proposed that he be entrusted with the making of such a *plan général*.[12] In a mémoire "pour prouver l'utilité de lever un plan general des ruës de Paris et des fauxbourgs pour fixer invariablement l'ordre des alignements des ruës et des constructions des maisons," he offered a scathing critique of the existing city:

> On voit des maisons baties sans principes, des ruës difformes, mal distribuées, des alignemens faits sans proportion relativement à la situation et à l'etat des ruës, des enclaves de droite et de gauche, des terreins inégaux; de là naissent les embarras que l'on eprouve dans les ruës. Le daffaut de seureté dans le passage des citoyens et les accidens facheux qui surviennent journellement, de la encore moins de propreté et moins de salubrité dans l'air; ces abus donnent lieu à des contestations nombreuses pour les parties.

For Lavalar, as for many other critics, the existing system of issuing alignment permits was dysfunctional. "L'arbitraire decide presque toujours les operations qui souvent encore sont mal executés," he wrote. "Chacun cherche à se procurer l'alignement le plus avantageux pour soy, le moins juste pour ses voisins et le moins commode pour le public." A *plan général* would eliminate such arbitrariness. "Ce plan dressé par des vuës generalles, raisonnées, uniformes, simples et consequentes," he wrote, "parviendra avec le tems à detruire les abus et à procurer tout ensemble le bien public et l'embellissement de la ville." Unfortunately, Lavalar's project went nowhere. In fact, a large-scale *plan général* would be completed only in 1791, thanks to the labors of Edme Verniquet, an architect employed at the Bureau des Finances

[12] Pierre-Joseph LAVALAR, "Memoire dressé par le S.r Pierre Joseph Lavalar Commissaire general de la Voierie, pour prouver l'utilité de lever un plan general des ruës de Paris et des fauxbourgs pour fixer invariablement l'ordre des alignements des ruës et des constructions des maisons," 1771, AN Q/1/1133/6. In the same folder, see also "Projet d'arret du Conseil que j'ai remis a M. De Sartine," a six-page document that Lavalar submitted to the Lieutenant Général de Police.

who began measuring the city on his own in the late 1770s and eventually was able to find institutional support for his massive project from the mid 1780s.[13]

Finally, the discourse of police marked the work of cultural critics and utopian thinkers. The clearest example is the utopia proposed in 1770 by Louis-Sébastien Mercier in his *L'an deux mille quatre cent quarante*. The book's conceit is well known: Mercier imagined to fall asleep for almost seven centuries and to wake up in the Paris of the year 2440. In 1770, everything was a mess; the city was overcrowded; the air, "empoisonné"; disorder ruled. "Je suis dégoûté de Paris comme de Londres," he wrote. "Toutes les grandes villes se ressemblent; Rousseau l'a fort bien dit. Il semble que plus les hommes font des loix pour être heureux en se réunissant en corps, plus ils se dépravent, & plus ils augementent la somme de leurs maux." In 2440,

> Tout étoit changé. Tous ces quartiers qui m'étoient si connus, se présentoient à moi sous une forme différente & récemment embellie. Je me perdois dans des grandes & belles rues proprement allignées. J'entrois dans des carrefours spacieux où regnoit un si bon ordre que je n'y appercevois pas le plus léger embarras. Je n'entendois aucun de ces cris confusement bizarres qui déchiroient jadis mon oreille. Je ne rencontrois point de voitures prêtes à

[13] The call for a master plan was often paired with a call for a master planner, a sort of urban czar that would see to both the production of a *plan général* and the enforcement of street alignments. Interestingly, both Guillotte and Patte proposed appointing Jean Delagrive. I should also note a similar proposal advanced in January 1792 by a young Jean-Baptiste Say, before he embarked on a career as an economist. Responding to a call issued by a municipal officer named Desmousseaux, who had asked citizens to submit projects for the *embellissement* of Paris, he wrote: "Je voudrais aussi que la commune instituât une place que je nommerai de Grand Voyer. Il aurait la direction de tout ce qui concerne la voirie. Il proposerait au corps municipal, ou au conseil général, tous les plans & les ordonnances qu'il croirait nécéssaires. [...] Cette magistrature que je crois nécéssaire dans une immense ville ne ressemblerait point à celle de l'ancien régime, puisqu'il n'y aurait ici rien de secret ni d'arbitraire." Jean-Baptiste SAY, "Sur les ameliorations & les embellissements de Paris," 17 Jan. 1792, BHVP CP 3456. In passing, we may note that Say proposed a novel idea on the subject of "Hauteur des maisons," namely a proposal to allow building in setback over the height limits prescribed by the 1783-84 legislation, which set ratios between the width of streets and the height of buildings (Royal declaration, 10 Apr. 1783, AN AD/✠/1060; Letters patent, 25 Aug. 1784, AN AD/✠/1066): "S'il fallait absoluent composer avec la cupidité des proprietaires, ne pourrait on pas leur accorder que lorsqu'ils auraient elevé leurs maisons jusqu'à la hauteur prescrite par les reglemens, ils pourraient les elever davantage pourvu que ce fut en retraite de la premiere élévation du même nombre de pieds qu'ils les eleveraient de plus?"

> m'écraser. Un gouteux aurait pû se promener commodement. La ville avoit un air animé, mais sans trouble & sans confusion.[14]

The Paris of the future was not really a futuristic city: Mercier, for instance, did not see the coming of new means of transportation and communication or the architectural possibilities of new building techniques. Nor were the future Parisians living in a socially and politically utopian city: they still had a king, as well as most of the institutional arrangements of their eighteenth-century ancestors. The city, in a word, was roughly the same, but everything functioned smoothly; things had finally been ordered rationally, including the institutions of the police. In 1770, "Parmi tant de reglemens de police, tout est en desordre. Ce ne sont partout qu'entraves, qu'embarras, qu'usages contraires au bien public." In 2440, "Une police vigilante embrassoit tous les rangs & tous les faits."[15] The Paris of the twenty-fifth century was a *ville policée*.

[14] Louis-Sébastien MERCIER, *L'an deux mille quatre cent quarante, Rève s'il en fût jamais* (Londres [Paris]: s.n., 1771), 14-15.

[15] Ibid., 6, 48.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

Archives, libraries

AN	Archives nationales
APP	Archives de la Préfecture de Police
AP	Archives de Paris
BHVP	Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris
BmO	Bibliothèque municipale d'Orléans
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
cartes	Cartes et plans
est.	Estampes et photographie
Joly	Collection Joly de Fleury
monnaies	Monnaies, médailles et antiques
ms. fr.	Manuscrits français
n.a.f.	Nouvelles acquisitions françaises
NYPL	New York Public Library
gen. res.	General research division
maps	Map division

Journals

Annales	*Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*
AHRF	*Annales historiques de la Révolution française*
BEC	*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*
BSHPIF	*Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*
CREPIF	*Cahiers du Centre de recherches et d'études sur Paris et l'Ile-de-France*
FHS	*French Historical Studies*
HES	*Histoire, économie et société*
JHI	*Journal of the History of Ideas*
JMH	*Journal of Modern History*
JSAH	*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*
JWCI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*
JUH	*Journal of Urban History*
MEFRIM	*Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome; Italie et Méditerranée*
MSHPIF	*Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*
RHMC	*Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*
RHSH	*Revue d'histoire des sciences humaines*

Books

Encyclopédie	*Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert. University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Projet (Spring 2011 edition), ed. Robert Morrissey, http://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu
Traité	*Traité de la police*, 4 vols (1705, 1710, 1719, 1738).
Traité-2	*Traité de la police*, 2nd ed., 2 vols (1722).
Traité-A	*Traité de la police*, [pirated 2nd ed.] 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1729).

Digital collections

Arachne	German Archaeological Institute and Archaeological Institute of the University of Cologne, http://arachne.uni-koeln.de
BM	British Museum, http://www.britishmuseum.org
ECHO	European Cultural Heritage Online, http://echo.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de
Gallica	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque numérique Gallica, http://gallica.bnf.fr
INHA	Institut national d'histoire de l'art, http://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr
Oderik	Collection of maps of Paris at the website "Parisbalades" maintained by Bruno Decorte, alias Oderik, http://parisbalades.fr.nf
REX	Royal Library, National Library of Denmark and Copenhagen University Library, http://www.kb.dk
RMN	Réunion des musées nationaux, http://www.photo.rmn.fr
VIA	Visual Information Access, http://via.lib.harvard.edu

(As of 28 July 2012, all links to online sources appear to be working.)

Archival documents

Archives nationales

AD/✠ (Sources législatives et réglementaires imprimées)

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390	Edict of creation of the Lieutenance de Police, Mar. 1667 (1678 print).
392	Judgement of the Chambre du Trésor related to the making of the Papier Terrier, ordering building owners to install signs over the buildings' doors, 22 Sept. 1667 (1752 print).
426	Royal declaration on city limits, 26 Apr. 1672 (original and 1752 print).
580	Ordinance of the Trésoriers de France regulating "les pas de pierre, seuils, marches, portes, avances des maisons," 1 Apr. 1697.
644	Arrêt of the Conseil d'Etat on alignments and pavé, 26 May 1705.
715	Reglèment issued by the Maître Général des Bâtiments du Roi on the police of buildings, 1 July 1712.
790	Police ordinance on carriages, 2 May 1725.
804	Letters patent on the procès-verbaux of "recensement & bornage" of the city limits, 29 Mar. 1728.
855	Police ordinance on carriages, 9 Mar. 1740.
964	Arrêt of the Conseil d'Etat on alignements, 27 Feb. 1765.
966	Royal declaration fixing the city limits, 16 May 1765.
978	Royal ordinance regulating the military in the city, 1 Mar. 1768.

983	Police ordinance issued by the Lieutenant Général, Civil, Criminel & de Police de la Prévôte de l'Hôtel du Roi on indecency in royal palaces and gardens, 11 Apr. 1769.
1022	Ordinance of the Bureau des Finances on stalls, 1 Feb. 1776; arrêt of the Conseil d'Etat on the width of roads, 6 Feb. 1776.
1060	Royal declaration on the opening and alignment of streets, 10 Apr. 1783.
1066	Letters patent on the height of buildings, 25 Aug. 1784.
1087	Ordinance of the Bureau des Finances fixing the minimum distance of new constructions from the city walls, 16 Jan. 1789; arrêt of the Parlement permitting the sale of eggs during Lent, 21 Feb. 1789.
1188	Edict of creation of the Lieutenance de Police, Mar. 1667.

AE (Musée des documents français)

II/2897	*Les Héros de la Ligue*, 1691, http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/archim/accueil.html

F/14 (Travaux publics)

184/A, 184/B	Voirie, 1740-90 (boulevards, pavé, etc.). Delagrive, project for the opening of a new street facing the Pont de la Tournelle, 1756; Chézy, mémoire on the pavé, 1781; leases for the entretien of the pavé, 1770s and 1780s.
187/A	Streets and quais, 1704-82. Project of letters patent for the embellishment of the city along the river, late 1760s; draft of letter with a project for letters patent to set the width of streets, 1769.
187/B	Alignements, 1725-88. "Rapports d'alignement" and building permits along the boulevards, 1730s and 1740s; Le Sueur, *Projet d'utilité et d'embellissement, pour la ville de Paris*, 1790; Le Sueur, manuscript, "Idées pour la propreté de Paris."

G/7 (Contrôl Général des Finances)

446	Letters, mémoires, etc., on city limits. Royal declaration, 18 July 1724; letters patent, 12 Aug. 1724; royal declaration, 23 Mar. 1728; letters patent, 29 Mar. 1728; royal declaration, 28 Sept. 1728; manuscript with observations "pour servir a l'interpretation de la declaration du roy du 18 Juillet 1724"; manuscript, "Idée generalle du travail des limites."
1643	Letters of Delamare to the Contrôleur Général related to Delamare's activity during the dearth of 1709-10.
1728	Letters and mémoires concerning a dispute between Delamare and Delafosse, 1711-13.

H/2 (Bureau de la Ville de Paris)

1847	Register of deliberations of the Bureau de la Ville, 1716-18.
1962	*Avis concernant les personnes noyées qui paroissent mortes*, 1772.

2123, 2124	Voirie and alignements. Requests to the Trésoriers de France.
2127	Alignements and building permits, 1701-33.
2129/2	Alignements and building permits, 1756-58.
2132/1	Alignements and building permits, 1776-77.
2137/1	Building permits, 1726.
2137/2	Building permits, 1728.
2138/1	Building permits, 1729.
2140/2	Building permits, 1736.
2142/2	Building permits, 1739.
2146/1	Building permits, 1755.
2147/2	Clôture de Paris, 1788-91.
2166	Ecoulement des eaux, égouts, 1665-1789. Various *Tableau de l'illumination du rempart de Paris*, 1780s.
*/1880/2 to 6	Chronological répertoire of the Dupré collection, 1115-1744.
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O/1 (Maison du Roi)

432	Letter of the Secrétaire d'Etat à la Maison du Roi to Lenoir concerning the purchase of the Delamare collection, 30 Apr. 1788.

Q/1 (Titres domaniaux)

1090/1, 1090/2	Water and fountains.
1100	Clôture de Paris. Manuscript, "Mémoire sur les limites de la ville de Paris," late 1780s.
1101	Clôture de Paris. Documents on city limits, late 1780s-early 1790s.
1102/1, 1102/2	Opening and alignment of streets.
1103	*Échange fait entre le Roy et Monseigneur l'Archevêsque de Paris*, 1718; project for letters patent concerning "le plan general des embellissements de Paris," 1769.
1107	*Lettres de validation de contrats de ventes et concessions de places pour l'hostel de ville de Paris*, 1786.
1108	Manuscript, "Etat alphabetique du nom des rues, places, marchés," 1728; *Table du terrier de 1767*.
1109	*Etat des maisons qui se trouvent dans chacune des rües de la ville*, 1740; letters patent, 22 Apr. 1769; documents on water provision.
1110	Documents on the pavé, late 1780s.
1120	Moreau, manuscript, "Limites de Paris," 1779.
1133/5	"Jugements d'ensaisinements" issued by the Bureau de la Ville, 1771-89.

1133/6	Lavalar, mémoire on a general plan of alignments.
*/1099/1 to */1099/10/B	Fac-simile reproduction of the Terrier du Roi.

Y (Châtelet de Paris)

9498, 9499	Police ordinances and sentences, 1668-1787.
9505/A, 9505/B	Alignements d'encoignure, 1668-1738.
9506/A, 9506/B	Alignements d'encoignure, 1739-60.
9507/A, 9507/B	Alignements d'encoignure, 1761-89.
14370/A,	Police paperwork of Delamare, 1673.
14370/B	Police paperwork of Delamare, 1674-81.
14371	Police paperwork of Delamare, 1684-88.
16116	Arrêt of the Conseil d'Etat, 2 June 1693; royal declaration, 29 June 1694 (1744 print).
17159	Royal edict creating nineteen new offices of Commissaire-Enquêteur-Examinateur, Feb. 1674.
17160	Royal edict creating a new Châtelet, Feb. 1674.
17161	Royal edict reuniting the new Châtelet to the old, Sept. 1684.
17188	Royal edict regulating the jurisdictions of the Lieutenant Général de Police and the Prévôt des Marchands, June 1700.

Z/1/F (Chambre du Trésor, Bureau des Finances, Chambre du Domaine de la Généralité de Paris)

44, 456, 533, 811, 828, 904, 905, 922	Plumitifs, registers of ordinances on the voirie, documents on city limits, etc.

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V.DD5 1 to 3	"Procès-verbal des limites de Paris," 1724-28.
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130404	Judgement of the Présidents-Trésoriers de France condemning to the carcan a worker of the pavé, 22 Aug. 1785.
A 31	Delagrive, "Neuvième plan de Paris," 1735.
A 135	Plan "Lutetia, Paris," early 1680s.
A 186 a	Delagrive, "Neuvième plan de Paris," 1737.
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11355	Chronological table of edicts, declarations, arrêts, sentences, etc., in the *Traité*, 378-1738.
11356	Minutes of the Assemblées de Police, 1728-40.
16742	Recueil of documents on the police.
16847	Minutes of the Conseil de Police (copy, incomplete); "Estat de distribution a Messieurs les commissaires departi pour la reformation de la police de la ville de Paris des matieres concernant lad. police," 1666 (copy); "Memoire pour travailler a la reformation de la police de la ville fauxbourgs et banlieue de Paris," 1666.
18785	Manuscript volume, "Limites de la ville et faubourgs de Paris."

22149	Documents on Poncet de la Grave's *Projet d'embellissement de Paris*.
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8049	1660-1709. Summary of the Conseil de Police.
8050	1709-44.
8057	Repertory of various recueils on the police; registers of the Juré-Crieur, 1594-1745; recueils of Delamare, Menyer, and Parisot.
8091	Excerpts from the manuscripts of the king's library concerning the police.
8093	Arrêts of the Parlement, 1677-1727.
8103	Recueil of the police commissioner Parisot.

Collection Delamare (mss. fr. 21545-21808)

21558	Code de la police, 17th c.
21563	Draft tables of contents of the *Traité*.
21565	Alphabetical table of items in the Delamare collection; notes by Delamare; draft for the book on the voirie.
21566	Correspondence.
21583	Police commissioners.
21591	Scellés et inventaires.
21631	Fountains, water carriers.
21663	Assaisonnement.
21673, 21674	Voirie.
21683	Pavé.
21684 to 21688	Street cleaning, lanterns.
21692, 21693	Voie publique.
21694, 21696	Topography of Paris.
21703, 21705	Ponts et chaussées, juridiction de la voirie.
21707, 21709	Security and public order.
21722	Réjouissanes publiques.
21743	Books.
21806	Mélanges.

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113	Documents on the problem of caterpillars; letter of Lecler du Brillet to Joly de Fleury, 19 Jan. 1732.
126	Letters of Delamare to Joly de Fleury on the marée, 1720.
144	Documents on the funding of the *Traité*, 1716-34.
185	Letter of Delamare to Joly de Fleury on police inspections of hostels and lodging-houses, 18 Nov. 1721; letter by Delamare to Joly de Fleury, 23 Jan. 1722.
283	"Procuration curieuse du Sieur Pierre-Alexis Delamair," 1731.

1318	Documents on stalls, late 1730s-40s; "Projet pour l'execution d'un plan détaillé de la ville et des faubourgs de Paris."
1321	Documents on street cleaning, 1748-52; documents on voirie, 1735-37.
1413	Magnytot affair, 1779; arrêt of the Parlement following the mandement of the Archbishop of Paris, ordering public prayers, 8 Aug. 1735.
1420	Documents on the demoliton of the Petit Châtelet, 1719.

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Appendixes

Below are the transcripts of eight documents of some interest for the history of the police and of Parisian urbanism. The first four are printed acts concerning the policing of the city; the other are manuscript documents prepared for the obtainment of alignment and building permits.

1. Edict of creation of the office of Lieutenant de Police, 1667

The royal edict of March 1667 is the single most important legislative act in the history of the police of early modern France. The edict established the post of Lieutenant de Police de la Ville, Prévôté, et Vicomté de Paris and authoritatively defined what was to be the scope of the police for more than a century: "to guarantee the peace of the public and of individuals, to purge the city of what can cause disorder, to secure abundance, and to make everyone live according to his condition and duty." The text of the edict is followed by an "excerpt" from the records of the Parlement, attesting that the sovereign court registered the law on 15 March 1667.

The text transcribed here **[fig. A.1]** is that of a 1678 printing produced to settle a dispute between the Lieutenant de Police and the Lieutenant Civil over who had the right to "receive" certain officers at the Châtelet such as the comptrollers of hay and the measurers of fabrics. The edict and its registration are followed by an *arrêt* of the Conseil d'Etat, which resolved in favor of the Lieutenant de Police.

Source: AN AD/✠/390. See also *Traité*, 1:131-32 [I.8.4]; FÉLIBIEN, *Histoire de la ville de Paris*, 4:211-13; PEUCHET, *Collection des lois*, 1:119-26; ISAMBERT, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises*, 18:100-03; COLBERT, *Lettres*, 6:392-94.

EDIT DU ROY,

Du Mois de Mars 1667.
Verifié en Parlement le 15. desdits mois & an.

Portant creation de la Charge de Lieutenant de Police de la Ville, Prévôté, & Vicomté de Paris, des-unie de celle de Lieutenant Civil.

LOUIS par la grace de Dieu Roy de France & de Navarre: A tous presens & à venir: Salut. Nôtre bonne Ville de Paris étant la Capitale de nos Etats, & le lieu de nôtre séjour ordinaire, qui doit servir d'exemple à toutes les autres Villes de nôtre Royaume, Nous avons estimé que rien n'étoit plus digne de nos soins, que d'y bien regler la Justice & la Police; & Nous avons donné nôtre application à ces deux choses: Elle a été suivie de tant de succez, & plusieurs defauts de la Police ont déja été si

heureusement corrigez, que chacun, excité par les commoditez qu'il en reçoit, concourt & preste volontiers la main pour la perfection d'un si grand Ouvrage: Mais il est necessaire que la reformation que Nous y apportons soit soutenuë par des Magistrats. Et comme les Fonctions de la Justice & de la Police sont souvent incompatibles, & d'une trop grande étenduë, pour être bien exercées par un seul Officier dans Paris, Nous aurions resolu de les partager, estimans que l'administration de la Justice contentieuse & distributive, qui requiert une presence actuelle en beaucoup de lieux, & une assiduité continuelle, soit pour regler les affaires des Particuliers, soit pour l'inspection qu'il faut avoir sur les Personnes à qui elles sont commises, demandoit un Magistrat tout entier. Et que d'ailleurs la Police qui consiste à assurer le repos du Public & des Particuliers, à purger la Ville de ce qui peut causer les desordres, à procurer l'abondance, & à faire vivre chacun selon sa condition & son devoir, demandoit aussi un Magistrat particulier qui pût être present à tout. A CES CAUSES & autres Considerations à ce Nous mouvans, de l'Avis de nôtre Conseil, & de nôtre certaine science, pleine puissance, & autorité Royale, Nous avons éteint & supprimé, & par ces Presentes signées de nôtre main, éteignons & supprimons l'Office de Lieutenant Civil de notre Prevost de Paris, dont étoit pourvû le feu sieur d'Aubray, sans que pour quelque cause, prétexte, & occasion que ce soit, ledit Office puisse être cy-aprés rétably ny crée de nouveau; Ce faisant Nous avons Creé, Erigé, & Etably, & par ces mêmes Presentes, Créons, Erigeons, & Etablissons en titre d'Offices formez, deux Offices de Lieutenans de nôtre Prevost de Paris, dont l'un sera nommé & qualifié nôtre Conseiller & Lieutenant Civil du Prevost de Paris; & l'autre nôtre Conseiller & Lieutenant dudit Prevost de Paris pour la Police: Pour être lesdites deux Charges remplies & exercées par deux differents Officiers, & sans que cy-aprés elles puissent être jointes & reünies, pour quelque cause, & sous quelque pretexte que ce puisse être. Et pour regler les Fonctions desites Charges, Voulons & Nous plaît, qu'au Lieutenant Civil appartienne la reception de tous les Officiers du Châtelet, ensemble la connoissance de toutes actions personnelles, réelles, & mixtes; de tous Contrats, Testamens, Promesses, Matieres Beneficiales & Eccleasiastiques, de l'apposition des Scellez, Confection des Inventaires, Tueteles, Curateles, Avis de Parens, Emancipations, & toutes autres matieres concernant la Justice contentieuse & distributive, dans l'étenduë de la Ville, Prevôté, & Vicomté de Paris, pour en faire les Fonctions en la même forme & maniere que les precedens Lieutenans Civils ont eu droit & pouvoir de ce faire, dans les mêmes Chambres & Sieges, & avec les mêmes Officiers; à l'exception toutefois des matieres concernant la Police; precedera ledit Lieutenant Civil celuy de Police, dans toutes les Assemblées generales & particulieres, sans dépendance néanmoins, autorité, ny subordination de l'un à l'autre; mais exerceront leurs Fonctions separément & distinctement chacun en ce qui les concernera. Et quant au Lieutenant de Police, il connoîtra de la sûreté de la Ville, Prevôté & Vicomté de Paris; du port d'Armes prohibées par les Ordonnances; du Nettoyement des Ruës & Places publiques, circonstances & dépendances; donnera les ordres necessaires en cas d'incendie, ou d'inondation; connoîtra pareillement de toues les Provisions necessaires pour la subsistance de la Ville, amas, magasins qui en pourront estre faits, du taux & prix d'icelles; de l'envoy des Commissaires, & autres Personnes necessaires, sur les Rivieres, pour le fait des amas de Foin, bottelage, conduite & arrivée d'iceluy à Paris, comme faisoit cy-devant le Lieutenant Civil, exerçant la Police; Reglera les Etaux des Boucheries & Adjudication d'iceux. Aura la visite des Halles, Foires & Marchez, des Hôtelleries, Auberges, Maisons-Garnies, Brelands, Tabacs, & lieux mal-famez. Aura la connoissance des Assemblées

illicites, tumultes, seditions, & desordres qui arriveront à l'occasion d'icelles: des Manufactures & dépendances d'icelles: des Elections des Maîtres & Gardes des six Corps des Marchands, des Brevets d'Apprentissage, & Reception des Maîtres, de la Reception des Rapports, des Visites desdits Gardes, & de l'Execution de leurs Statuts & Reglemens, & des Renvois des Jugemens ou Avis de nôtre Procureur sur le fait des Arts & Métiers, & ce en la même forme & maniere que les Lieutenans Civils, exerçans la Police, en ont cy-devant bien & dûëment usé. Pourra étalonner les Poids & Balances de toutes les Communautez de la Ville & Faubourgs d'icelle, à l'exclusion de tous autres Juges. Connoîtra des Contraventions qui seront commises à l'execution des Ordonnances, Statuts & Reglemens faits pour le fait de l'Imprimerie par les Imprimeurs, en l'impression des Livres & Libelles deffendus; & par les Colporteurs en la vente & distribution d'iceux. Les Chirurgiens seront tenus de luy donner les declarations de leurs blessez, & qualitez d'iceux. Pourra connoître de tous Delinquans & trouvez en flagrant delict, en fait de Police, leur faire & parfaire leur Procez sommairement, & les juger seul, sinon és cas où il s'agira de peines afflictives, & audit cas, en fera son rapport au Presidial, en la maniere accoûtumée. Et generalement appartiendra audit Lieutenant de Police l'execution de toutes les Ordonnances, Arrests, & Reglemens concernant le Fait d'icelles, circonstances & dépendances, pour en faire les Fonctions en la même forme & maniere qu'ont fait ou eu droit de faire les cy-devant pourvûs de la Charge de Lieutenant Civils exerçans la Police. Le tout sans innover ny préjudicier aux Droits & Jurisdictions que pourroient avoir, ou possession en laquelle pourroient estre les Lieutenans Criminel, Particulier, & nostre Procureur audit Chastelet, mêmes les Prevosts des Marchands & Echevins de ladite Ville, de connoistre les matieres cy-dessus mentionnées. Ce qu'ils continuëront de faire bien et dûëment, comme ils auroient pû faire auparavant. Seront tenus les Commissaires du Châtelet, Huissiers & Sergens, d'executer les Ordres & Mandemens desdits Lieutenans Civil & de Police, même les Chevalier du Guet, Lieutenant Criminel de Robe-courte, & Prevost de l'Isle; Comme aussi les Bourgeois, de prester main-forte à l'execution des Ordres & Mandemens, toutesfois & quantes qu'ils en seront requis. Aura ledit Lieutenant de Police, son Siege ordinaire & particulier dans le Chastelet, en la Chambre presentement appellée la Chambre Civile; & entendra en icelle les Rapports des Commissaires, & y jugera sommairement toutes les matieres de Police, les jours de chacune Semaine, ou à tels jours qu'il jugera necessaire; & aura en outre la disposition d'une autre petite Chambre à côté, jusqu'à ce qu'il ait été par Nous pourvû sur le fait desdites Chambres. Joüiront lesdits Lieutenans Civil & de Police, chacun à leur égard, des mêmes Droits, Avantages, Honneurs, & Prerogatives, qui ont appartenu, & dont ont bien & dûëment joüi, ou dû jouïr, les cy-devant Lieutenans Civils en l'une & l'autre desdites Fonctions; Et sera procedé à leur Reception esdites Charges au Parlement, & Installation en leurs Sieges, en la maniere accoutumée: Nous reservant au surplus la libre & entiere disposition desdites Charges, pour en disposer toutes fois & quantes que bon Nous semblera, en remboursant à ceux qui seront pourvûs d'icelles, les sommes convenuës pour raison de ce, suivant leurs consentemens cy-attachez, sous le contre-scel de nostre Chancellerie. SI DONNONS EN MANDEMENT à nos Amez & Feaux Conseillers, les Gens tenans nôtre Cour de Parlement à Paris, que ces Presentes ils ayent à faire Registrer, & icelles executer selon leur forme & teneur: Cessant & faisant cesser tous troubles & empêchements qui pourroient estre donnez, nonobstant tous Edits, Declarations, & autres choses à ce contraires, ausquelles Nous avons dérogé & dérogeons par ces Presentes: CAR TEL EST NOSTRE PLAISIR. Et afin que

ce soit chose ferme & stable à toûjours, Nous avons fait mettre nostre Scel à cesdites Presentes, Données à Saint Germain en Laye au mois de Mars l'an de Grace mil six cent soixante-sept, & de nostre Regne le vingt-quatriéme. Signé, LOUIS. Et plus bas, par le Roy, DE GUENEGAUD. Et scellée sur lacs de foye du grand Sceau de cire verte. Et ensuite est écrit: Registrées, oüy & ce requérant le Procureur General du Roy, pour estre executées selon leur forme & teneur, aux charges portées par l'Arrest de ce jour; A Paris en Parlement ce quinziéme Mars mil six cent soixante-sept. Signé, DU TILLET.

Extrait des Registres de Parlement.

VEU par la Cour, les Lettres Patentes du Roy en forme d'Edit, données à S. Germain en Laye au mois de Mars de la presente année 1667. signées Loüis, & plus bas, De Guenegaud, & scelées sur lacs de foye du grand Sceau de cire verte: Par lesquelles, & pour les causes y contenuës, ledit Seigneur aurait éteint & supprimé l'Office du Lieutenant Civil du Prevost de Paris, dont étoit pourvû le défunt Sieur Aubray, sans que pour quelque cause, pretexte & occasion que ce puisse estre, ledit Office soit cy aprés étably ny créé de nouveau: Ce faisant auroit ledit Seigneur créé, érigé, & étably en Titre d'Offices formez, deux Offices de Lieutenant dudit Prevost de Paris, dont l'un sera nommé & qualifié, son Conseiller & Lieutenant Civil du Prevost de Paris: & l'autre son Conseiller & Lieutenant dudit Prevost de Paris pour la Police, pour estre lesdites deux Charges remplies & exercées par deux differens Officiers, sans que cy-aprés elles puissent estre jointes & réünies, pour quelque cause & pretexte que ce soit. Et pour regler les Fonctions desdites Charges; Veut & luy paist ledit Seigneur, qu'au Lieutenant Civil appartienne la Reception de tous les Officiers du Chastelet: ensemble la connoissance de toutes actions personnelles, réelles & mixtes; de tous Contrats, Testamens, Promesses, Matieres Beneficiales & Ecclesiastiques; de l'Apposition des Scellez, des confections d'Inventaires, Tuteles, Curateles, Avis de Parens, Emancipations, & toutes autres matieres concernant la Police. Et quant au Lieutenant de Police, il connoistra de la seureté de la Ville, Prevosté & Vicomté de Paris; du port d'Armes; du nettoyement des Ruës & Places publiques, ainsi que plus au long contiennent lesdites Lettres à la Cour adressantes. Veu aussi l'Acte portant Demission de ladite Charge de Lieutenant Civil, faite par Me Antoine d'Aubray entre les mains dudit Seigneur, en remboursant audit Sieur d'Aubray, la somme de Trois cens mille livres; ledit Acte portant consentement à la Suppression de ladite Charge de Lieutenant Civil, dont était pourvû défunt Me Dreux d'Aubray son pere, passé pardevant de Beauvais & le Foing Notaires, le 3. Mars 1667. Autre Acte du dix Mars ensuivant, portant Ratification de l'Acte cy-dessus, par les Heritiers dudit défunt Me Dreux d'Aubray. Autre Acte dudit jour troisiéme Mars 1667. par lequel Me Gabriel Nicolas de la Reynie, déclare avoir agréable la Charge de Lieutenant de la Police, en remboursant par luy audit Sieur d'Aubray, & autres ses Coheritiers, la somme de Deux cent cinquante mille livres: Et outre auroit consenty, qu'en le remboursant par ledit Seigneur Roi, ou le faisant rembourser des Deux cent cinquante mille livres, qu'il est tenu de payer audit Sieur d'Aubray, & à ses Coheritiers, que ledit Seigneur puisse disposer toutefois & quantes de ladite Charge de Lieutenant de Police. Conclusion du Procureur General. Oüy le Rapport de Me Claude Mesnardeau Conseiller en la Cour: Et tout consideré; LADITE COUR a Ordonné & Ordonne, que lesdites Lettres seront Registrées au Greffe d'icelle pour estre executées selon leur forme & teneur, aux clauses & conditions y contenuës; & nommément sans innover

ny préjudicier aux Droits & Jurisdiction des Commissaires de la Cour sur le fait de la Marée, ny à ceux que peuvent avoir les Lieutenans Criminel & Particulier, & le Substitut du Procureur General audit Chastelet, & le Bailly du Palais; comme aussi les Prevost des Marchands & Echevins de la Ville de Paris, dans lesquels ladite Cour les a maintenus & gardez, pour en joüir ainsi que par le passé; même ledit Substitut dudit Procureur General, dans le droit de donner ses Conclusions dans tous les Jugemens & Affaires de Police, qui seront instruites à sa Requeste: Et outre, à la charge que toutes les contestations qui interviendront entre les Officiers dénommez esdites Lettres, pour raison de leurs Charges; & de toutes les Appellations qui seront interjettées des Jugemens desdites Juges, & toutes Oppositions à iceux Jugemens, seront jugées par la Cour en la maniere accoûtumée. FAIT en Parlement le quinziéme Mars mil six cens soixante-sept. Collationné. Signé, DU TILLET.

Extrait des Registres du Conseil d'Estat.

VEU par le Roi état en son Conseil son Edit du mois de Mars 1667. portant suppression de l'Office de Lieutenant Civil du Prevost de Paris, dont étoit pourveu le Sieur d'Aubray, & établissement en titre d'Offices formez de deux Offices de Lieutenans dudit Prevost, dont l'un sera nommé & qualifié Lieutenant Civil du Prevost de Paris, & l'autre Lieutenant dudit Prevost pour la Police, pour être lesdites Charges remplies & exercées par deux differens Officiers, & en faire l'exercice & fonction chacun à leur égard, ainsi qu'il est porté par ledit Edit: La Requeste presentée audit Conseil par le Sieur le Camus pourveu de l'Office de Lieutenant Civil crée par ledit Edit, tendant a être rétabli dans le droit de recevoir les Aulneurs de Toille & les Jure de la Marchandise de Foin, attendu que ledit Edit porte précisement qu'au Lieutenant Civil appartiendra la reception de tous les Officiers du Chastelet: que ledit Sieur d'Aubray qui l'a précedé en a joüi & lui même en a été en possession sans aucune contradiction jusques au seize Février 1675. Que Sa Majesté par Arrest de son Conseil a ordonné que tous lesdits Officiers du Chastelet seront receus alternativement par les Lieutenans des deux Chastelets; & ceux de Police pardevant le Lieutenant de Police: Et que depuis cet Arrest le Sieur de la Reynie pourveu dudit office de Lieutenant de Police, s'est mis en possession de recevoir les Officiers de la Marchandise de Foin, & veut presentement obliger les aulneurs de Toille de se faire recevoir & prêter serment devant lui. VEU aussi la Requeste du Sieur de la Reynie servant de réponse à celle dudit Sieur le Camus, par laquelle il convient que l'Edit du mois de Mars 1667. porte qu'au Lieutenant Civil appartiendra la reception de tous les Officiers du Chastelet, qu'il l'a toujours entendu de la sorte, & qu'il n'a jamais prétendu en recevoir aucuns, par la raison qu'ils sont tous Officiers du Chastelet; mais ledit Sieur Lieutenant Civil ne peut pas raisonnablement induire du droit qui lui appartient de recevoir tous les Officiers du Chastelet celui de recevoir les Officiers de Police qui ne sont pas Officiers du Chastelet; Que l'on entend par les Officiers du Chastelet, les Conseillers, Avocats du Roy, Juges Auditeurs, Substituts, Receveurs des Espices, Certificateurs de Criées, Receveurs des Consignations, Commissaires aux Saisies Réelles, Greffiers du Chastelet, Commissaires Examinateurs, Notaires, Procureurs, Huissiers & Sergens, Greffiers des Auditeurs, Audianciers aux Auditeurs, Prevosts des Justices Royales resortissant au Chastelet: les Avocats & Procureurs du Roy des Sieges, les Notaires Royaux, Notaires Apostoliques, Messagers Royaux, Greffiers des Affirmations des Voyages, Lieutenats du Lieutenant Criminel de

Robbecourte, Medecins & Chirurgiens des Chastelets: Que jamais on n'a mis en doute que tous ces Officiers ne soient Officiers du Chastelet, ni confondus les qualitez des Officiers de Justice & du Chastelet d'avec les Officiers de Police; Et l'on n'a point compté au nombre des Officiers du Châtelet, les Officiers de Police: Comme les Jurez Contrôlleurs de la Marchandise de Foin, les Courtiers & Debardeurs de Foin, Gardes des Halles, Placiers des Halles, Balayeurs des Halles, Ambaleurs sous-cordes, Roy des Violons, Vendeurs & Contrôlleurs de Bétail, Langayeurs de Porcs, Compteurs & Déchargeurs de la Halleaux Toilles, Vendeurs de Cuirs, Courtiers, Lotisseurs & Visiteurs de Cendres, Aulneurs de Toille, Courtiers de Laine; Vendeurs de Volaille, Vendeurs de Veaux; Greffiers des Grains, Mesureurs de Grains, Porteurs de Grains: Que tous ces Officiers n'ont aucun rapport avec le Lieutenant Civil, & exercent leurs fonctions sous la Jurisdiction de la Police. Les Lieutenans Civils ont receu ces Officiers comme ayant la Jurisdiction de la Police, & la separation en a été faite en termes clairs parledit Edit du mois de Mars 1667. Et par l'Arrest du Conseil du seixiéme Février 1675. il est expressement porté qu'à l'égard des Officiers de Police, il seront receus pardevant le Lieutenant General d'icelle: Et oüy le Rapport du Sieur Colbert Conseiller ordinaire au Conseil Royal, Contrôlleur General des Finances. LE ROY ESTANT EN SON CONSEIL, A Ordonné & Ordonne que l'Edit du mois de Mars 1667. & ledit Arrest du seiziéme Février 1675. seront executez selon leur forme & teneur, & en consequence que les Jurez Contrôlleurs de la Marchandise de Foin, les Aulneurs de Toille & autres Officiers de Police de la Ville & Faux-bourgs de Paris seront receus pardevant le Lieutenant General de Police de ladite Ville de Paris. Fait au Conseil d'Estat du Roy, Sa Majesté y étant, tenu à Saint Germain en Laye le dix-septiéme Décembre mil six cens soixante dix-huit. Signé, COLBERT.

2. Police ordinance concerning ne'er-do-wells, 1670

Issued in September 1670 by the Lieutenant de Police, this ordinance addressed the disturbance of public order caused by bands of "ne'er-do-well artisans, vagabonds, and people of no social standing" who had taken to loitering near city gates and to throwing stones with slingshots. The measure illustrates the rationale of police action, at once repressive/punitive and preventive/proactive. The punishment of disorderly behavior (in this case, a penalty of imprisonment for whomever would be found with a slingshot) was always accompanied by an attempt at preempting and discouraging such behavior (in this case, through a strategy of co-option: the ordinance made parents and guardians responsible "in their own and private name" for "all the offences and accidents" that may be caused by their young).

As with all police ordinances, the ordinance concerning ne'er-do-wells was made into an *affiche*. **[fig. A.2]** Printed on sheets measuring about twenty by fourteen inches, the posters were affixed in prominent public spaces throughout the city and on the houses of police commissioners.

Source: BnF ms. fr. 21693, fol. 294.

DE PAR LE ROY,
ET MONSIEUR LE PREVOST DE PARIS
OU MONSIEUR SON LIEUTENANT DE POLICE

SUR ce qui Nous a esté remontré par le Procureur du Roy, Que depuis peu de temps plusieurs Artisans faineans, vagabons & gens sans condition, avec lesquels se joignent plusieurs jeunes garçons, s'assemblent journellement hors les Portes de la Ville, & sur les Rempars, & au bas du Quay des Augustins, Quay des Orphévres, & Quay de Guenegaud, & s'attaquoient les uns les autres à coups de pierres jettées avec frondes, mesmes jusques pardessus lesdits Quais, dont il est déja arrivé plusieurs accidens; de sorte qu'il est tres-necessaire d'empescher de telles assemblées, & reprimer lesdides insolences & voyes de fait: Requerant y estre pourveu. NOUS, faisant droit sur ladite Remontrance, Avons fait & faisons tres-expresses inhibitions & deffences à toutes personnes de quelque âge & condition qu'elles soient, de plus à

l'avenir s'assembler par troupes hors lesdites Portes de la Ville, sur les Rempars d'icelle, au bas des susdits Quais, ny ailleurs, jetter des pierres avec Frondes ny autrement, les uns aux autres, ny aux passans. Enjoint à eux de tenir chacun en leurs maisons, & de se comporter par les ruës modestement, sans offenser qui que ce soit de paroles ny de fait, à peine de la vie contre lesdits Artisans & gens sans condition; & contre les Peres & Meres, Maistres & Maistresses des Enfans & jeunes Garçons, de répondre en leurs propres & privez noms de tous les delits & accidens qui en pourroient arriver. Et à cette fin permettons aux Commissaires du Chastelet, & à tous autres Officiers de Iustice d'emprisonner tous ceux qu'ils trouveront saisis de Frondes, & aller ausdits lieux, & faire en sorte que la force en demeure au Roy & à la Iustice, le tout nonobstant oppositions ou appellations quelconques. Et à ce qu'aucun n'en pretende cause d'ignorance, sera la presente Ordonnance leuë, publiée & affichée à la sortie desdites Portes, & ausdits Quais, & par tout ailleurs où besoin sera. Ce fut fait & ordonné par Messire GABRIEL NICOLAS DE LA REYNIE, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils d'Estat & Privé, Maistre des Requestes ordinaire de son Hostel, Lieutenant de Police de la Ville, Prevosté & Vicomté de Paris, le treiziéme iour de Septembre 1670. Signé,

DE LA REYNIE. DE RYANTS.

SAGOT, Greffier.

Leu, publié à son de Trompe & cry public, & affiché par tous les endroits accoustumez de cette Ville & Faux-bourgs de Paris, par moy Charles Canto, Iuré Crieur du Roy en ladite Ville, Prevosté & Vicomté de Paris, sous-signé, accompagné de Hierosme Tronsson, Iuré Trompette du Roy, & de deux autres Trompettes, le Lundy 15. Septembre 1670.

Signé, CANTO.

3. Police ordinance concerning kites, 1736

This 1736 police ordinance prohibited the flying of kites in the streets. A good illustration of Montesquieu's dictum that the police "is constantly occupied with details," the ordinance is also a good example of the way in which the seemingly disparate concerns for urban infrastructure, public safety, and public morality were routinely combined.

The ordinance is transcribed here from a booklet printing. **[fig. A.3]** Although the standard form of publicity for police ordinances was the *affiche*, the measures were also printed as small *cahiers*. Arguably, the handier, easier-to-archive format was useful for police officers. Primarily, though, these *cahiers* addressed the need of a larger audience: they were sold in bookstores and by *colportage*, for they could be useful to judges, lawyers, *procureurs*, and all other *gens de loi*.

Source: BnF ms. fr. 21693, fols. 365-66.

ORDONNANCE
DE POLICE

Qui fait deffenses d'élever des Cervolans dans les Ruës & Places publiques de cette Ville.

Du seize Octobre 1736.

SUR ce qui Nous a esté remontré par le Procureur du Roy; Que quoique par nostre Ordonnance du onze Septembre mil sept cens trente-six & autres précédemment renduës concernant la liberté & la sûreté des ruës, il soit fait très-expresses inhibitions & deffenses à toutes personnes de joüer dans les Ruës ou Places publiques au Volant, au Bastonnet, aux Quilles & autres Jeux dont les Passans puissent estre incommodez ou blessez, ou les Lanternes publiques cassées, à peine de deux cens livres d'amende, quelques jeunes Gens cependant se donnent encore la licence d'élever dans les Ruës ou Places publiques des Cervolans, ce qui occasionne les mêmes inconveniens. A ces causes requeroit le Procureur du Roy qu'il Nous plût y Pourvoir. NOUS, faisant droit sur le Requisitoire du Procureur du Roy, disons que notre Ordonnance dudit jour onze Septembre dernier sera executée selon la forme & teneur, & y augmentant, faisons très-expresses inhibitions & deffenses à tous

Compagnons de Boutiques, Artisans, Gens de Livrée, & à tous autres d'élever dans les Ruës & Places publiques de cette Ville, des Cervolans, à peine de pareille amende de deux cens livres contre chacun des Contrevenans, & de plus grande peine en cas de recidive; de laquelle amende les Peres & Meres demeureront civilement responsables pour leurs Enfans, & les Maistres & Maistresses pour leurs Garçons de Boutiques, Apprentifs ou Domestiques. Mandons aux Commissaires au Chastelet, & enjoignons aux Inspecteurs & aux Officiers de Police, de tenir la main à l'execution de la presente Ordonnance, qui sera lûë, publiée & affichée aux lieux accoustumez, à ce que personne n'en ignore, & executée nonobstant & sans préjudice de l'appel. Ce fut fait & donné par Nous RENÉ HERAULT, Chevalier Seigneur de Fontaine Labbé, & de Vaucresson, Conseiller d'Estat, Lieutenant Géneral de Police de la Ville, Prevosté & Vicomté de Paris, le seize Octobre mil sept cens trente-six.

Signé, HERAULT.

MOREAU.

MENARD, *Greffier*.

L'Ordonnance cy-dessus a esté lûe & publiée à haute & intelligible voix, à son de Trompe & Cry public, en tous les lieux ordinaires & accoutumez, par moy Jacques Girard, Huissier à Cheval au Chastelet de Pars, Juré-Crieur ordinaire du Roy, de la Ville, Prevosté & Vicomté de Paris, y demeurant ruë des Arcis, Paroisse Saint Merry, soussigné; accompagné de Louis-François Ambezar, Jacques Hallot, & Claude-Louis Ambezar, Jurez Trompettes, le 23 Octobre 1736. à ce que personne n'en prétende cause d'ignorance, & affichée ledit jour esdits lieux.

Signé, GIRARD.

De l'Imprimerie de P. J. MARIETTE, Imprimeur de la Police.

4. Ordinance on the height of buildings, Bureau des Finance, 1667

Issued in August 1667 by the Bureau des Finances, this ordinance prohibited the construction of buildings taller than eight *toises* at the entablature (about 15,60 meters). Although never properly enforced and, by all appearances, virtually ignored by architects and builders, this ordinance marked the first attempt by a Parisian institution with *voirie* authority to set limits to the height of buildings.

The document is trascribed here from a copy in Delamare's archive. **[fig. A.4]** The text is printed on a large, poster-size sheet, almost square in format. The top of the document was probably cut; it would have carried, in larger type, the name of the institution issuing the ordinance and the formula "De par le Roy."

Source: BnF ms. fr. 21696, fol. 24. See also PERROT, *Dictionnaire de voierie*, 493-95; WALKER, *Collection complète*, 1:239-41.

SVR ce qui nous a esté remonstré par le Procureur du Roy; Qu'ayant cy-deuant rendu plainte des abus qui se commettoient iournellement par les Proprietaires des Maisons de la Ville & Fauxbourgs de Paris, au sujet des éleuations des Murs de face & pans de bois qu'ils faisoient sur les ruës, lesquelles outre qu'ils ne gardoient aucunes mesures ny regularité dans la façade des Maisons, ils les éleuoient d'vne hauteur si excessiue, que les ruës en estoient obscurcies, & les voisins en souffroient beaucoup d'incommoditez, que d'ailleurs cette grande éleuation pouuoit causer des inconueniens facheux, lesdits murs & pans de bois pouuant plus facilement tomber par leur propre poids, comme il a remarqué à ceux nouuellement faits dans la ruë S. Vincent, lesquels quoy qu'à peine acheuez sont tous deversez, & que pource il nous eût requis d'y pourueoir ainsi qu'ils appartiendroit. NOUS aurions rendu nostre Ordonnance le 19. Iuilliet dernier, portant injonction aux Maistres des oeuures de Maçonnerie & Charpenterie des Bastimens du Roy de venir au Bureau pour nous donner leur aduis sur ce qu'ils trouueroient estre necessaire; ce qu'ayant fait le 21. Iuilliet dernier après les auoir entendus, Nous leur aurions ordonné d'en conferer entr'eux, & de bien examiner tous les expediens necessaires pour remedier aux abus qui se commettent, & en suitte nous en donner leur aduis par écrit, dont Michel Villedo & Simon d'Espine Maistres des Oeuures de Maçonnerie des Bastimens de sa Majesté, & Sebastien Bruant Maistre des Oeuures de Charpenterie desdits Bastimens satisfaisants à nostre Ordonnance auroient donné leur aduis le 8. du present mois au Procureur du Roy, qui nous auroit representé, & requis que de nouueau il nous plûst pourueoir sur les remontrances inserées en nostre Ordonnance du 19. Iuillet dernier, ensemble sur le retranchement des saillies & aduances des Maisons qui sont sur ruës

conformement aux Ordonnances cy-deuant données, que les pans de bois & murs de face faits depuis deux ans soient visitez, pour en cas que les hauteurs soient excessiues y pourueoir ainsi qu'il sera jugé necessaire pour la seureté & vtilité publique. VEV les Ordonnances et Reglements faits au sujet de la Voyrie, le rapport desdits Maistres des Oeuures des Bastimens du Roy en forme d'aduis du 8. Aoust dernier, nostre dite Ordonannce du 19. Iuillet precedent, NOVS ayant égard audit requisitoire du Procureur du Roy, & en attendant qu'il ayt plû à sa Majesté pourueoir aux ordres necessaires pour l'ornement, decoration, elargissement des ruës de cette Ville & Fauxbourgs d'icelles: AVONS ORDONNÉ & ordonnons aux Maistres des Oeuures des Bastimens du Roy & Commis à la Voyrie de faire visite generale dans la Ville & Fauxbourgs de Paris pour connoistre les saillies & coudes de Maisons ou les pans de bois & murs sont caducs, desquels ils dresseront leur rapport, pour iceluy veu estre ordonné sur l'abatis d'iceux, & les Maisons tirées au droit alignement des autres: Faisons deffences à tous Proprietaires de Maisons de cette dite Ville & Fauxbourgs de Paris de construire à l'aduenir aucuns murs de face ny pans de bois de hauteur de plus de huit thoises depuis le retz de chaussée des ruës iusques à l'entablement au dessus duquel nous ordonnons qu'à l'aduenir lesdites Maisons & Bastimens seront couuerts en crouppe de pauillon du costé desdites ruës. FAISONS pareillement deffences ausdits Proprietaires de faire faire aucunes pointes de Pignon formes rondes ny quarrées: ENIOINT ausdits Proprietaires de faire couurir à l'aduenir les pans de bois de lattes, clouds & plastre tant dedans que dehors, en telle maniere qu'ils soient en estat de pouuoir resister au feu, autrement & à faute de ce faire & en cas de contrauention à ce que dessus seront lesdits Proprietaires & ouuriers qui trauailleront ausdits bastimens condamnez à cent cinquante liures d'amende applicable à l'Hospital General, & les ouurages abatus & démolis à leurs frais & despens; ENIOIGNONS aussi ausdits Maistres des Oeuures des Bastimens du Rou & au Commis à la Voyerie de faire rapport des Maisons ou il y a eu des pans de bois éleuez d'vune hauteur excessiue depuis deux ans, pour iceluy veu estre ordonné ce que de raison, & de tenir la main à l'execution de la presente Ordonnance, laquelle sera leuë publiée & affichée par tous les Carrefours & autres endroits de cette Ville & Fauxbourgs, & executée nonobstant oppositions ou appellations quelconques. FAIT au Bureau des Finances, à Paris le 18. iour d'Aoust 1667.

Extrait des Registres du Bureau des Finances en la Generalité de Paris.

5. Alignment permit, Bureau des Finances, 1701

Alignement—the procedure by which a public authority set the limits of properties with respect to the street—was arguably the most essential tool of early modern urbanism. In Paris *intra muros*, three institutions issued alignment permits: the Bureau de la Ville was competent for properties along the boulevards, along the river, and in public squares; the Lieutenance Générale de Police handled buildings at street intersections; all other properties fell under the purview of the Bureau des Finances.

The procedure for obtaining an alignment from the Bureau des Finances was relatively simple. A complete dossier would have comprised four documents: the building owner's request; the Bureau's ordinance authorizing the alignment; the *procès verbal* of the alignment operation; and the declaration that the owner would submit upon completion of the work. Unfortunately, these dossiers have been dispersed. (Records of the Bureau des Finances are conserved in the Z/1/F series at the Archives Nationales; the Bureau's *registres d'audience* can be used to trace when a permit was issued, but the dossiers themselves appear to have been lost.)

Fragments of the Bureau's alignment permits survive in the Archives Nationales' H/2 series (Bureau de la Ville). The document transcribed here **[fig. A.5]** is the *procès verbal* of an alignment operation of 1701. The owner of a building in the Rue des Orties, opposite the Galerie du Louvre, wanted to rebuild the jambs of his *porte cochère*; the Bureau issued the authorizing ordinance on November the 8th; the alignment operation took place on the 10th. The procedure, which basically consisted in the stretching of a string along the building's facade, was conducted by Denis Pasquier, Trésorier de France and Grand Voyer in the *généralité* of Paris, accompanied by the Procureur du Roi at the Bureau des Finances and by Pierre

Moreau, the Commissaire Général de la Voirie of Paris and faubourgs. The officers completed the alignment operation by engraving "une forme de croix pour servir de repaire" on the jambs' lowermost stone courses—two marks which, literally, set the alignment in stone.

Source: AN H/2/2123.

Alig.t Rue des Orties
de Pompadour
10. 9bre 1701

Nous Denis Pasquier, Con.r du Roy Tresorier de France General des Finances, et Grand Voyer en la Generalité de Paris, Commiss.re en cette partie, suivant l'ordonn.ce du Bureau des Finances du huitieme jour des presens mois, <etans> intervenüe sur la req.te presenté aud. Bureau par M.re Nicolas de la Coste de Pompadour Colonel d'Infanterie Prop.re d'une maison seize rüe des Orties, vis a vis les galleries du Louvre, tendant a ce qu'il luy fut permis de faire reconstruire deux pieds droits de porte cochere dans la face de lad. maison, et qu'allignement luy en fut donné par l'un de nous, pour l'execution de lad. ordonnance, sommes le dixieme jour de novembre mil sept cens un transporté sur lad. rüe des Ortis, au devant de la maison en question, ou estant accompagné du sieur Procureur du Roy aud. Bureau des Finances, avons ordonné a Maistre Pierre Moreau Con.er du Roy, Commis.re General de la Voyerie, en la ville, et fauxbourgs de Paris <+> mandé de prendre les mesures, et donner led. allignement, lequel apres avoir tant par luy que par ses aydes, fait tendre une ligne droitte au devant de la face de la ditte maison, et fait <+> les opperations requises nous auroit fait connoistre, et rapporté qu'il n'est question, que de reprendre par ses oeuvres les deux pieds droits de porte cochere de lad. maison quy forment un <coude> d'un pouce, et demy, et un avant corps d'un pouce, oüy led. rapport, et sur iceluy led. sieur Procureur du Roy en ses conclusions Nous avons aud. sieur de Pompadour permis, et promettons de faire reprendre par ses oeuvres les deux pieds droits de porte cochere par luy requis, et luy en donnons l'allignement sur les anciens vestiges, et affin qu'il soit ainsy executé, il faut que les pierres de la premiere assize des dits pieds droits soient posée a l'afleurens d'une ligne droitte tendüe presentée par un bout a un pouce de la premiere assize de l'encoig.re du petit cul de sacq de Saint Thomas du Louvre, et par l'autre bout a la premiere assize de l'encoignure de la rüe Saint Nicaise, sur l'une et l'autre des quelles dites premieres pierres d'assize d'encoignures, a esté fait, et gravé une forme de croix pour servir de repaire, ce faisant l'entrepreneur, sera tenu de nous donner advis lors de la reconstruction des dittes ouvrages pour en faire le recollement.
Fait par nous Con.er Commiss.re susd. le dit jour dixieme novembre mil sept cens un.

Pasquier <Bondin>

6. Alignment permit, Lieutenance Générale de Police, 1768

This dossier collects the administrative acts produced for the obtainment of an *alignement d'encoignure* (corner alignment). Requested in 1768 by the architect Nicolas Le Camus de Mezières, who wanted to rebuild the *jambe d'encoignure* of a house he owned at the corner of the Rue de Grenelle (today's Rue Jean-Jacques Rousseau) and the Rue Coquillère, the permit was issued by the Lieutenance Générale de Police, the competent authority for buildings located at street intersections.

The administrative procedure was more or less the same throughout the century. First, the building owner, his architect, or his building contractor addressed a request to the Lieutenant Général de Police. **[fig. A.6]** Shortly afterwards, sometimes on the very day, the police authorized the alignment, usually by writing the permission at the bottom of the owner's request. The Lieutenant (here Antoine de Sartine) would then go to the site with his Greffier (Nicolas Le Gras), the Procureur du Roi at the Châtelet (François Moriau), and the Commissaire Général de la Voyerie de la Ville et des Faubourgs de Paris (Nicolas Moriau), and perform the alignment operation, which was recorded in a *procès verbal*.

The alignment permit was given on two conditions. The first required the owner to "observer un pan coupé," that is, to cut the building's corner in either a straight or round line (in this case, an arc of a circle of radius 20 *pieds*, about 6.5 meters). The second, which was introduced by the Lieutenance in 1729, required the owner to install on the building's facades two plaques indicating the name of the streets and the quartier number.

Source: AN Y/9507/A, fols. 237-38.

allignement d'encoignure

A Monsieur Le Lieutenant General de Police

Supplie humblement
Le Camus De Meziere architecte, tant pour luy que pour ses consors, proprietaire d'une maison seize rue de grenelle faisant encoignure avec la ruë coquillere qu'il vous plaise luy permettre de faire reconstruire la jambe d'encoignure de lad. maison, et luy en donner l'allignement par le voyer ordinaire en votre presence, aux offres de faire poser une table de pierre de liais a chaque coin de laditte encoignure portant inscription des noms des dittes deux ruës qu'elle forme et les n^{os} marqués du meme quartier, et vous ferez bien.

Le Camus de Mezieres

* * *

Permis de prendre et donner l'alignement d'encoignure duquel il sagit par le Voyer ord.^{re} en notre presence et de celle du Procureur du Roy pour en estre dressé procez verbal en la maniere accoutumée a la charge dobserver alad. encoignure un pan coupé de ving pieds ___ de rayon a prendre de l'angle exterieur en ligne circulaire observant que les bornes qui seront posées ne pourront estre mises sur la face dud. pan coupé, de faire poser a chaque coing delad. encoignure soit quil y ait des plaques de tole ou non, sur lesquelle tables de pierre seront gravés les noms des rues et les numeros marqués sur les plaques du mesme quartier

* * *

L'an mil sept cens soixante huit le vingt cinq juin Sur la requete à nous presentée par le Camus de Mezieres architecte tant pour luy que pour ses consors proprietaire d'une maison sise en cette ville rue de grenelle faisant encoignure avec la rue coquillere, tendante a ce qu'il luy fut permis de faire reconstruire la jambe d'encoignure de ladite maison pour l'execution de l'ordonnance dudit jour vingt cinq juin dernier etant au bas de ladite requête portans qu'allignement seroit donné par le voyer ordinaire en notre presence, Nous Antoine Raymond Jean Goualbert Gabriel de Sartines chevalier conseiller du Roy en ses conseils M^{e} des requetes ordinaire de son hotel Lieutenant general de police de la ville prevosté et vicomté de paris; sommes transporté le vingt cinq juin du dit an susdite rue de grenelle faisant encoignure avec la rue coquillere audevant de ladite jambe d'encoignure, ou etant accompagné du Sieur François Moriau procureur de Sa Majesté en son Ch.let de Paris, de Me Nicolas Le Gras notre greffier et de Me Claude Gaston Nicolas Moriau avocat en parlement conseiller du Roy commissaire général de la voyerie de la ville et des faubourgs de Paris apres avoir tant par luy que par les aydes fait les operations requises pour prendre les mesures et marquer les repaires necessaires pour donner ledit allignement nous avons fait connoitre et rapporté que pour reconstruire ladite jambe d'encoignure il faut que sur la rue de grenelle les premieres assises soient posées dune ligne droite par prolongation des maisons joignantes et sur celle Coquillere de pareille prolongation, Ouy ledit rapport et sur icelui le Procureur du Roy en ses concl. nous avons donné ledit allignement a la charge dobserver un pan

coupé de vingt pieds de rayon a prendre de l'angle exterieure en ligne circulaire <+> former la simetrie du carrefour de Sartines, que les bornes qui seront posées ne pourront etre mise sur la face dudit pan coupé circulaire ny sur les arrestes mais acoté d'ycelles et sur le retour de faire poser a chaque coin de ladite encoignure une table de pierre de liais d'un pouce et demy d'epaisseur et de largeur suffisante portant inscription du nom des dites rues de grenelle et coquillere quelle forme et les numerots marqués sur les plaques du meme quartier, et en outre d'observer toutes les autres dispositions de nos ordonnances, concernant les encoignures ce qui sera executé nonobstant toutes oppositions ou appellations quelconques et sans y prejudicier de l'appel, fait par nous les dits jour mois et an que dessus.

De Sartine Le Gras

7. Alignment plan, Maître Général des Bâtiments, 1719

Throughout the eighteeenth century, despite repeated calls for the making of a *plan général*, the alignment of Parisian streets remained a piecemeal affair. None of the three institutions with authority on *alignement* had power to decide on the course of a street, a power that rested solely with the Conseil d'Etat. The Lieutenance Générale de Police, the Bureau des Finances, and the Bureau de la Ville did not produce alignment plans. When they issued a permit, they would watch that a building did not encroach over the street, but they did not (and could not) dictate alignments consistent with an overall plan.

Alignment plans were made only when a new street was created. The procedure was considerably lengthier and more complicated than requesting an alignment permit. Its key actor was the Maître Général des Bâtiments du Roi et de l'Hôtel de Ville, who was responsible for drafting a *plan particulier* indicating the limits of all concerned properties.

The documents appended here relate to the opening of the Rue de Bourgogne, in the faubourg Saint-Germain. (Most new streets were created in the faubourgs, usually on the initiative of private developers. In Paris, the cost of real estate and the fragmentation of properties made the opening of a new street a rare event.) The project of the Rue de Bourgogne had dragged for more than a decade. After five letters patent issued by the Conseil d'Etat between 1704 and 1717, work was begun in 1719. On March the 19th, Jean Beausire, the Maître Général, drafted a *plan particulier* of the new street. **[fig. A.7]** The alignment operation took place on the 20th, when Beausire, together with a representative from the Prévôt des Marchands and Echevins (Fornier de Montagny) and a Trésorier de France (De Lorne), went on

the site and marked the limits of all concerned properties by planting so-called

jalons, poles.

Source: AN H/2/2127.

Rapport d'allignem.t des rües de Bourgogne depuis la riviere jusques a la rüe de Varenne passant rüe de Bourbon, de l'Université, S.t Dominique, et de Grenelle, presens M.rs les Comm.res
Du 20.e Mars 1719

En la Présence de Messieurs les Prevôt des marchands et Echevins de cette Ville de Paris, et de Messieurs Fornier de Montagny Presidens, et De Lorne Tresorier de France au Bureau des finances commissaire en cette partie suivant les arrests du Conseil d'Etat des 18.e octobre 1704., 23.e aoust 1707., 1.er decembre 1715., 10.e janvier 1716., et 15.e mars 1717.,
Je, Jean Beausire Con.er architecte du Roy et de son academie Maître General des bâtimens de Sa Majesté et de l'hôtel de cette ville Con.er et Inspecteur de ses bâtimens Garde ayant charge des eaües et fontaines publiques d'icelle, me suis en execution de l'ordonnance verballe de Mesd. Sieurs les commissaires, transporté cejourd'huy lundy vingtième presens mois de mars mil sept cent dix neuf du matin, nouveau quartier S.t Germain des Prez, Rües de l'université, de S.t Dominique, de Grenelle et de Varene, aux fins de l'ouverture de la rüe de Bourgogne, ordonnée par lesd. arrest, avec gens intelligens, en présence de Mesd. Sieurs les commissaires, j'ay fait planter des jallons en point de veüe du point millieu de l'entrée du nouveau rempart hors la porte S.t Honnoré de l'autre costé de la riviere, pour être le point milieu de l'ouverture de la ditte rüe de Bourgogne de cinq toises de largeur suivant l'arrest du 15.e mars 1717., et pareillement fait planter un autre jallon d'après quinze pieds du devant du mur de clôture du jardin de l'enclos des dames religieuses Carmelites qui sera aussy le point milieu de la ditte rüe de cinq toises de largeur, laquelle rüe de Bourgogne sera d'une ligne droite depuis l'endroit de l'allignemens du quay d'Orsay cydevant dit de la Grenoüillere jusqu'a la rencontre de la rüe S.t Dominique passant par la continüation des rües de Bourbon et de l'Université au travers du marais des sieurs heritiers Boucot où ayans cause jusqu'a la rencontre du devant du mur de la place de Monsieur le President Duvet attenans lesdittes dames religieuses Carmelites, et d'une autre ligne droite jusqu'a la rüe de Grenelle passans au travers du marais dud. sieur President Duvet ayans cause des heritiers Corbeaux, et dusd. Duhan jusqu'a la rüe de Grenelle, et rencontre du mur de clôture des marais des sieurs Desaguets et Du Tillet; et continüans l'ouverture de lad.e rüe de Bourogne aussy de ligne droite et de cinq toises de large jusqu'a la rüe de Varenne passant au travers des marais desd. sieurs Desaguets, Du Tillet et Mollet; à tous lesquels endroits et rencontres j'ay fait marquer des repairs pour parvenir à l'ouverture delad.e rüe de Bourgogne pour être suivant lesd. repairs fait telles clôtures et bâtimens que desirerons les proprietaires desdit heritages, estant obligez de former lesd. rües pour l'utilité publique, et d'en abandonner l'espace chacun endroit soy, eü egard à l'avantage qu'ils en recevront de <devenir> face sur laditte rüe de Bourgogne, le tout suivant et au desir desdits arrest; et que pour connoître si lesd. allignemens

ont esté suivis exactement, il en sera fait le recollement après, pour quoy ne pourront estre lesd. repairs ostez, qu'au préalable lesd. allignemens n'ayent été veriffiez.
Et après avoir fait touttes les operations necessaires, pris touttes les mesures et marqué lesd. repairs aux endroits mentionnez cy dessus, en la présence de Mesd. Sieurs les commissaires, j'ay déposé au Greffe de la Ville mon présent raport d'allignement, ensemble l'extrait du plan general conforme à l'original attaché aux minuttes desdits arrest, et sur iceluy figuré par lettres alphabetiques les endroits cydessus mentionnez.
Et dellivré pareille copie à Mondit Sieur De Montagny en sa ditte qualité de commissaire, tant pour luy que pour Mondit Sieur De Lorne ainsy que de raison, cejourd'huy vingtieme mars mil sept cens dix neuf.

Beausire

* * *

A. Marais M.r Mollet
B. Place aux Invalides
C. M.r Dutillet
D. M.r <Deshaquais>
E. Les Carmelites
F. Mad.e Duhan
G. M.r le President Dodun
H. Marais a M.r Boucot et autres

Ce plan particulier de la rüe de Bourgogne quartier S.t Germain depuis le quay d'Orsay jusu'a la rüe de Varennes a esté extrait du plan general par nous soussigné architecte M.e General des bastimens du Roy et de l'hostel de ville, pour estre joint a la minutte de mon present raport d'allignem.t deposé au greffe cejourd'huy vingtiesme mars 1719.

Beausire

8. Building permit, Bureau de la Ville, 1726

This dossier collects the administrative acts produced for the obtainment of a building permit. The permit was requested in 1726 by one Thomas Langinier, a "voiturier par terre" (common carrier, wagoner) who wanted to rebuild the house he owned. Since the house was in the faubourgs (Rue du Faubourg Saint-Martin, next to the *porte cochère* no. 54), the competent authority was the Bureau de la Ville.

The procedure was relatively simple. After the request of the property owner (missing in this dossier), the Prêvôt des Marchands and Echevins would hear the opinion of the Procureur du Roi et de la Ville and then issue an ordinance prescribing that the Maître Général des Bâtiments de la Ville (Jean Beausire) visit the property and draft a *procès verbal*. If the Maître Général found no objection to the proposed building, the Bureau de la Ville issued the permit, which took the form of a sentence.

The requests of building permits often included drawings that clearly indicated what was to be demolished and, marked in red, what was to be built. Drawings were only occasionally the work of architects. Most often, plans and elevations were produced by the building contractors or the owners themselves. Langinier submitted a plan and an elevation of his future house; the drawings were child-like, but he got the permit nonetheless. **[fig. A.8]**

Source: AN H/2/2137/1, dossier 63.

6 Septembre 1726.
Pour reconstruire un bâtimens

Veu la requeste presentee par Thomas Langinier voiturier par terre contenant quil est proprietaire d'une petite maison au faubourg Saint Laurens vis a vis la voirie consistante en deux boutiques et chambres au dessus avec un grenier, et comme lesd.

chambres tombent en ruine de meme que le grenier, et quil convient retablir le tout pour en eviter la perte totalle, ce quil ne peut faire sans notre permission, attendu la Declaration du Roy du mois de juillet 1724. pourquoy requerons le suppliant quil Nous plut luy permettre de faire retablir lesd. ouvrages qui sont a faire pour lad. maison conformement au plan joint alad. requeste; Veu aussi les plan et elevation joints a lad. requeste; notre ordonnance du trenteaoust dernier a ce que le M^e^ general des bâtimens de la ville se transporte sur les lieux pour dresser rapport de l'etat diceux et iceluy vu etre ordonné ce que de raison; et vu le raport dud. M.^e^ general des batimens de la Ville du trente un dud. mois d'aoust dernier; la Declaration du Roy du 18. Juillet 1724. registrée le 4. aoust suivant, le jugement rendu au Bureau de la Ville le 28. septembre aussi suivant; et la Declaration du Roy du 29. janvier 1726: registrée le quatorze fevrier suivant; conclusions du Procureur du Roy et de la Ville
Nous avons de son consentement permis au supliant de faire reconstruire et retablir [...]

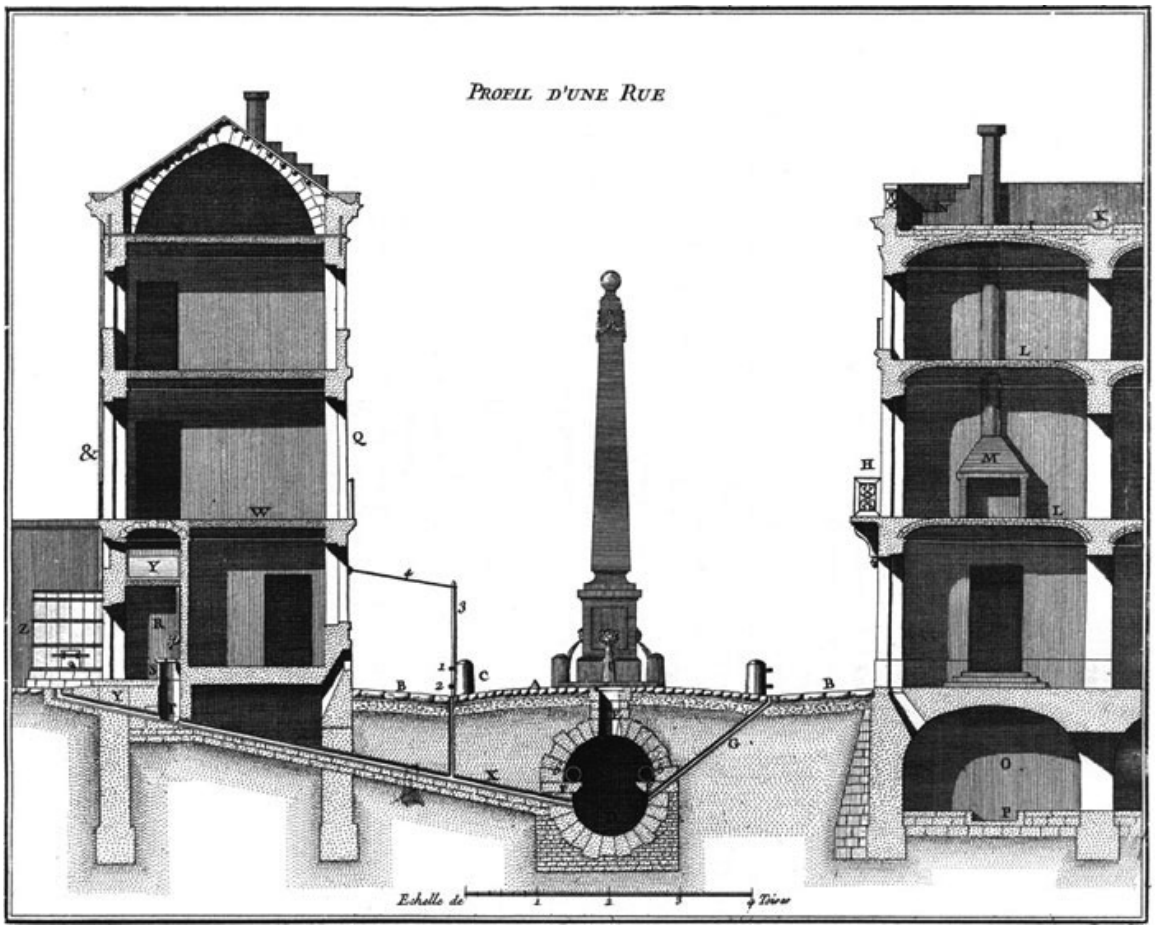
* * *

De l'Ordonnance des Messieurs les Prevost des Marchands et Echevins de la Ville de Paris et datte du trente aoust 1726. etant ensuite de la requeste presentée par le S. Langinier voiturier par terre, rendue sur les concluõns de Monsieur le Procureur du Roy et de la Ville, ladite Ordonnance tendante a ce qu'il soit par nous fait visite et raport de l'etat et situation des lieux.
Je Jean Beausire Con.^er^ architecte ord.^re^ du Roy et de son academie Me General des bâtimens de sa majesté et de l'hôtel de Ville Inspecteur et Controlleur de ses bâtimens Garde ayant charge des eaux et fontaines publiques d'icelle, me suis transporté aujourd'huy samedy trente et un aoust 1726 dans l'emplacement dud. Sieur Langinier situé grande rue du faubourg St Martin vis a vis la voirie, ou etant reconnu que led. emplacement est a porte cochere numeroté 54. a gauche, qu'il y a plusieurs batimens constatez par le procez verbal des Messieurs les Commissaires, qu'il desire reconstruire le corps de logis formant langle a droite en entrant lequel a face sur rue et est constaté dans ledit procez verbal sous la lettre C. dud. N. 54. ayant quatorze toises et demie trois pieds de superficie et onze pieds neuf pouces de haut ainsy qu'un petit edifice joignant aussy ayant face sur rue constaté idem sous la lettre B. de deux toises un quart deux pieds de superficie et huit pieds six pouces de haut; ce que je jertifie veritable a Messieurs les Prevost des Marchands et Echevins, etant sur le tout a la prudence de mesd. Sieurs d'en ordonner.
Fait et presenté au Bureau de la Ville lesd. jour et an que dessus.

Beausire

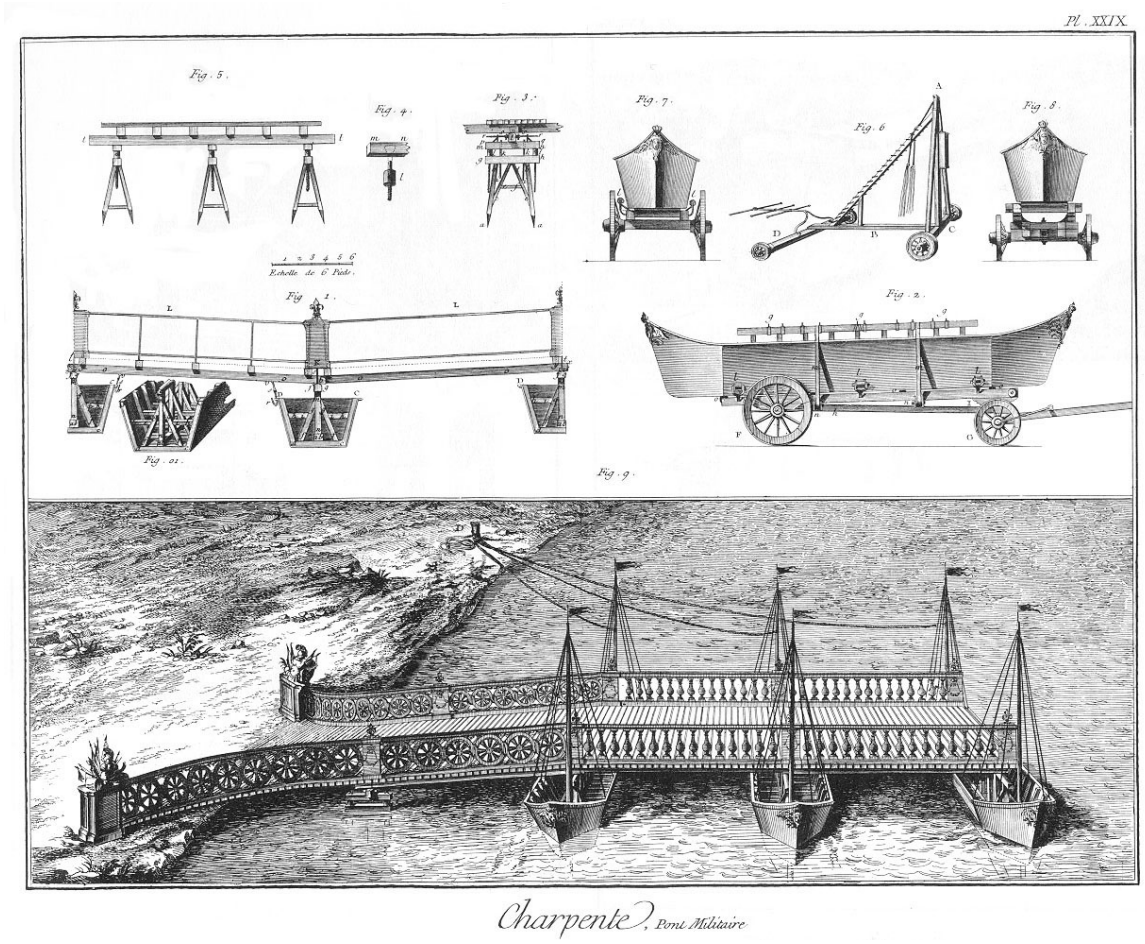
* * *

Je certifie le plan cy dessus veritable fait a Paris le 26 aoust 1726.



0.1. Pierre Patte, “Profil d’une rue,” in *Mémoires sur les objets les plus importans de l’architecture*, 1769.

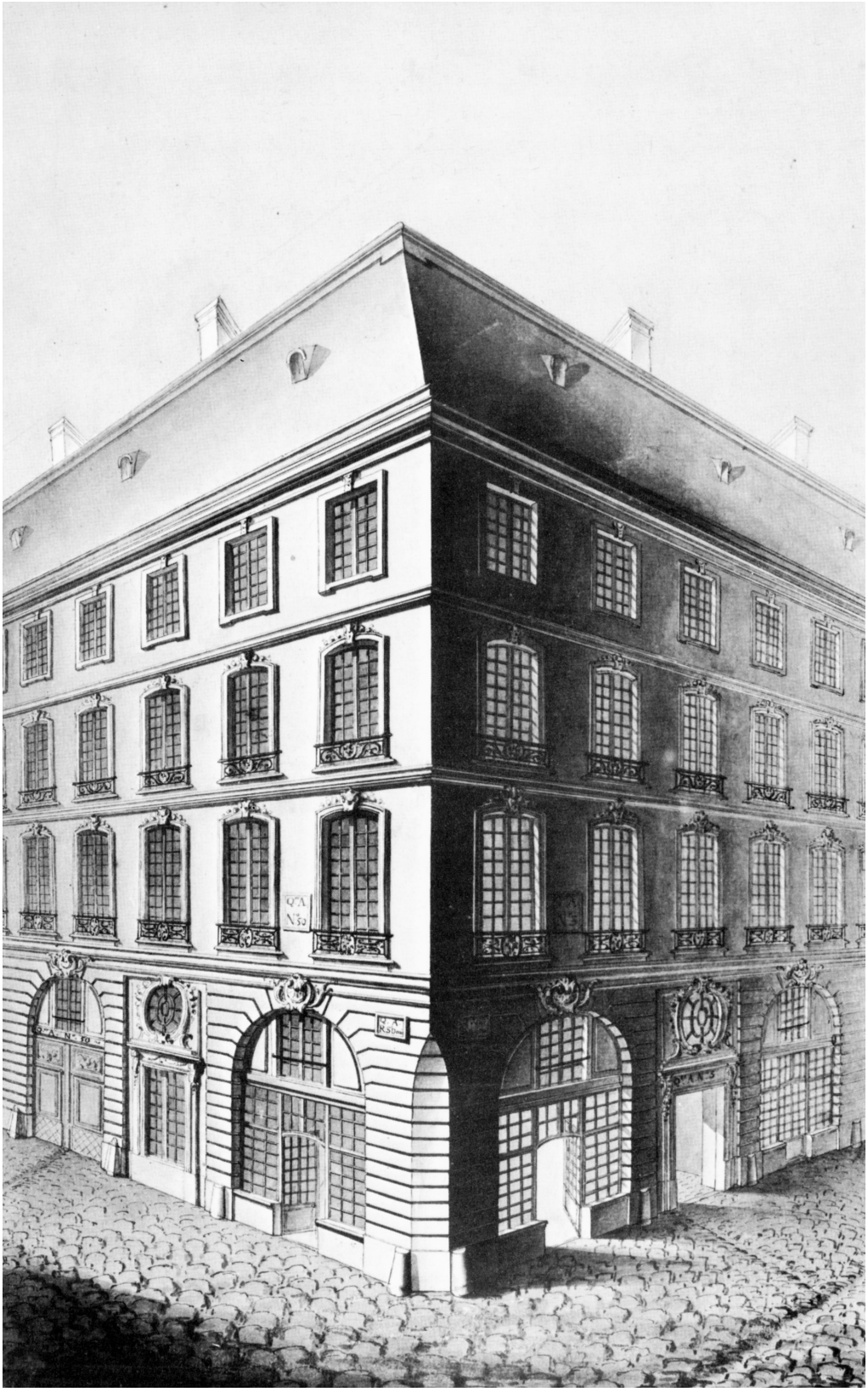
1.1. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, frontispiece of François-Jacques Guillotte, *Mémoire sur la réformation de la police de France*, 1749, ed. Jean Seznec, 1974. [Butler Library]



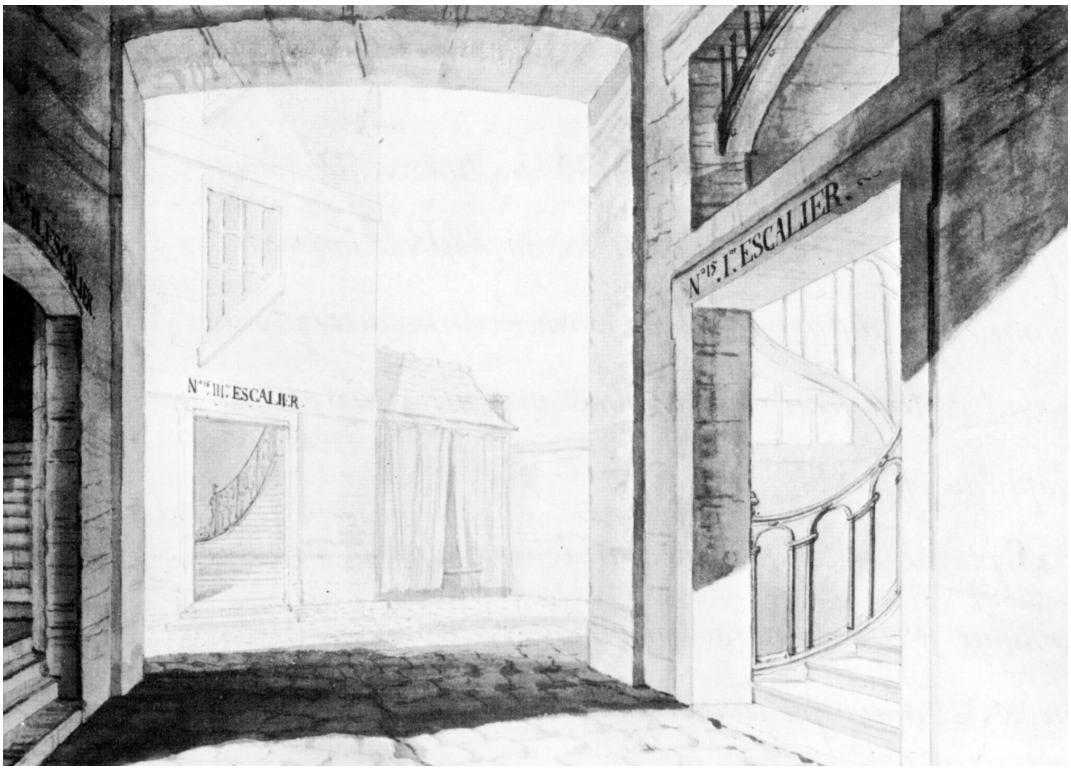
1.2. The military bridge conceived by Guillotte in 1748. *Encyclopédie, Recueil des planches*, 1763. [ARTFL]

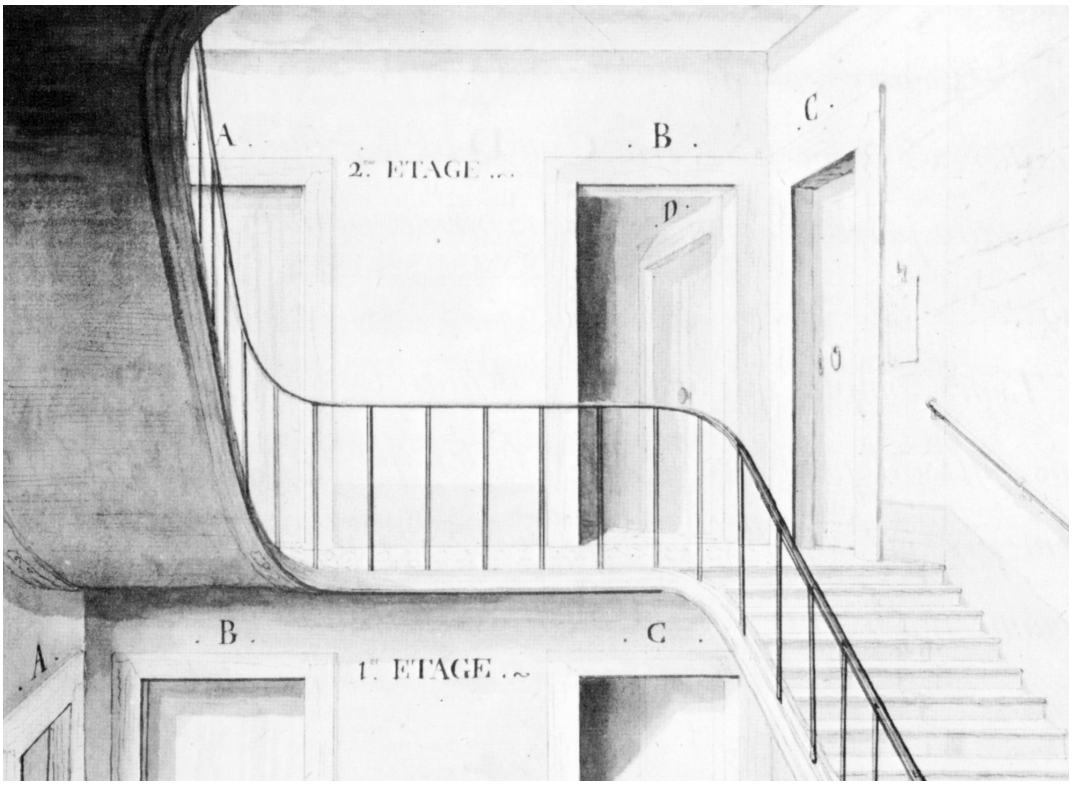
1.3. “Divide et impera.” Guillotte, *Mémoire*, 1749.

1.4. Paris newly divided into twenty-four quartiers. Guillotte, *Mémoire*, 1749.



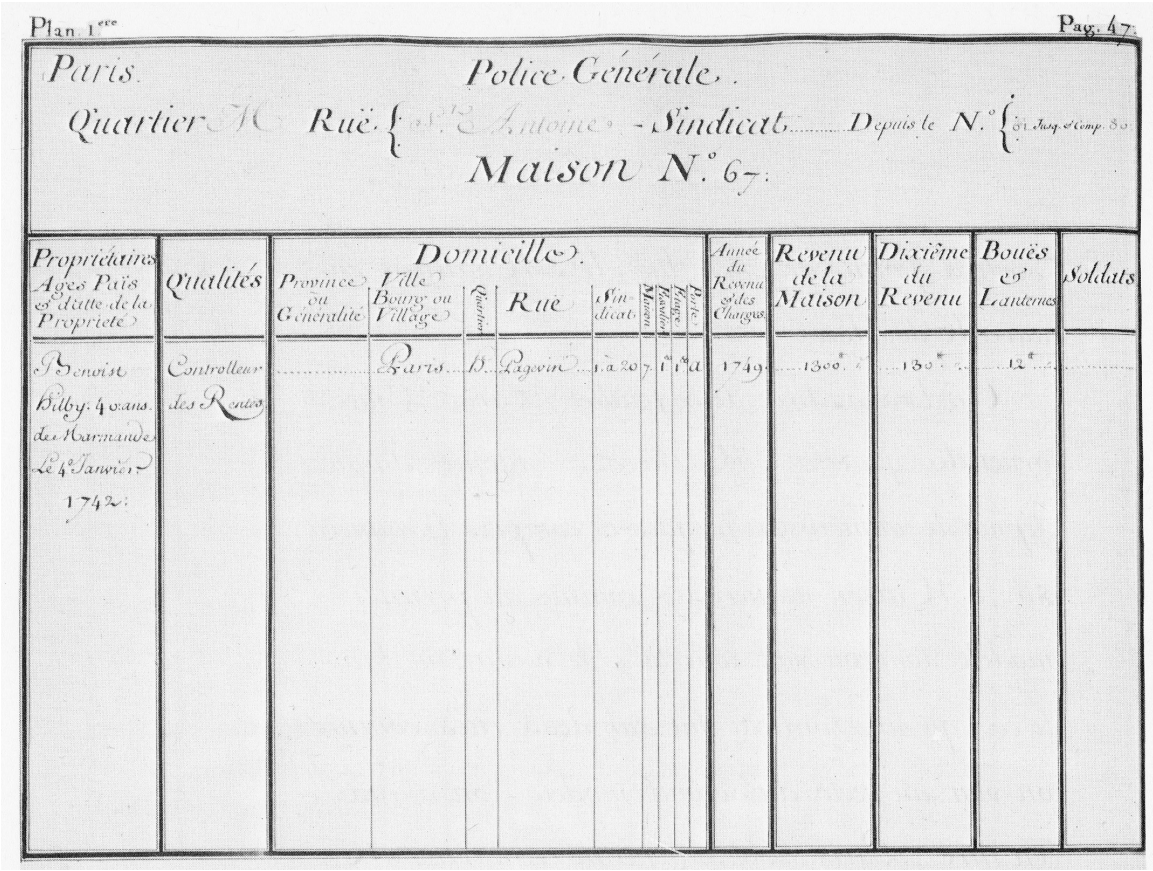
1.5. An imaginary building with stone plaques identifying quartier, street, and building number. Guillotte, *Mémoire*, 1749.





1.6-7. The labeling of staircases and apartments. Guillotte, *Mémoire*, 1749.

1.8. Model of street sign in the police ordinance of 3 June 1730. [BnF ms. fr. 21692, fol. 305v]



Plan 1ere — Pag. 47.

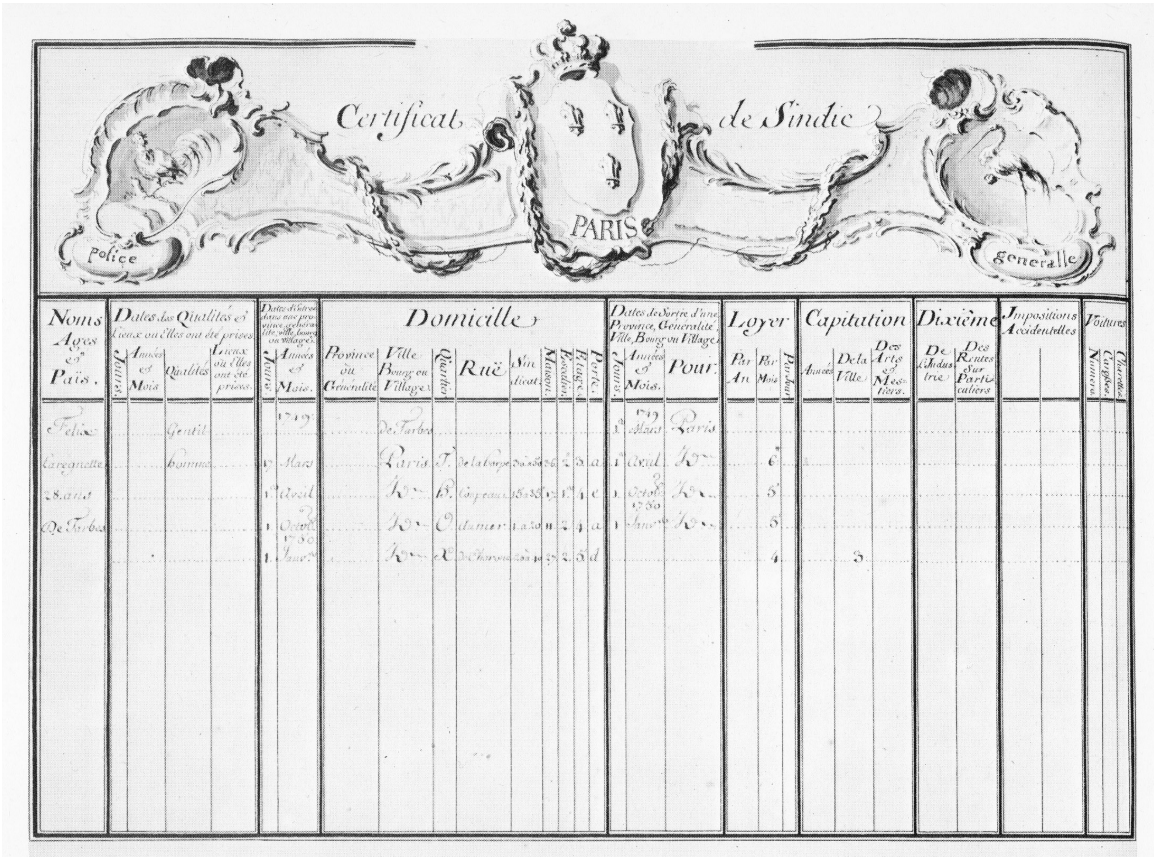
Paris. — Police Générale.

Quartier M — Ruë { S.t Antoine — Sindicat ..... Depuis le N.° { 51 Jusq. et comp. 80

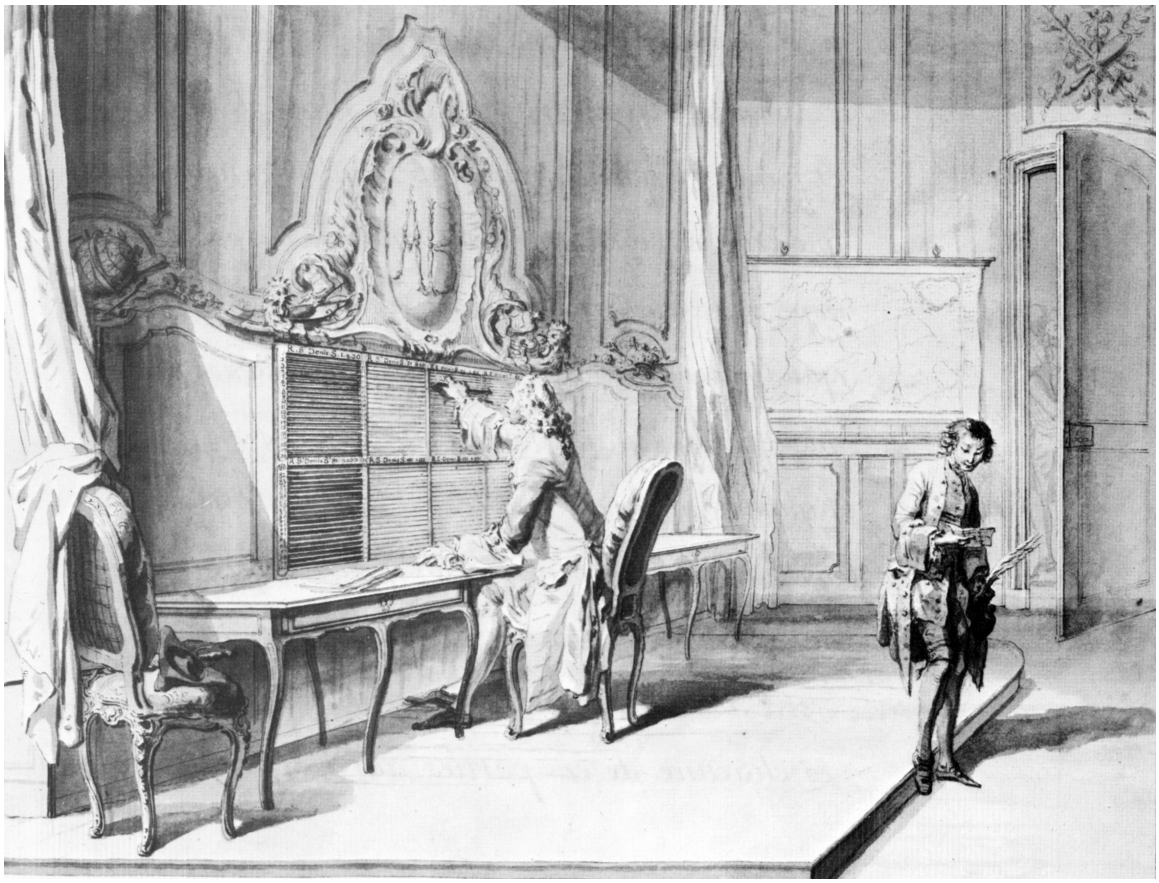
Maison N.° 67.

Propriétaires Ages Païs et titre de la Propriété	Qualités	Domicille. Province ou Généralité	Ville Bourg ou Village	Quartier	Rue	Sindicat	Maison	Fausbourg	Porte Cochère	Porte	Année du Revenu et des Charges	Revenu de la Maison	Dixième du Revenu	Bouës et Lanternes	Soldats
Benoist Bilby. 40 ans. de Harmande Le 4.e Janvier 1742.	Controlleur des Rentes	.....	Paris	B.	Pageoin	1. à 20	7.	1	1	a	1749	1300 #	130 #	12 #	.....

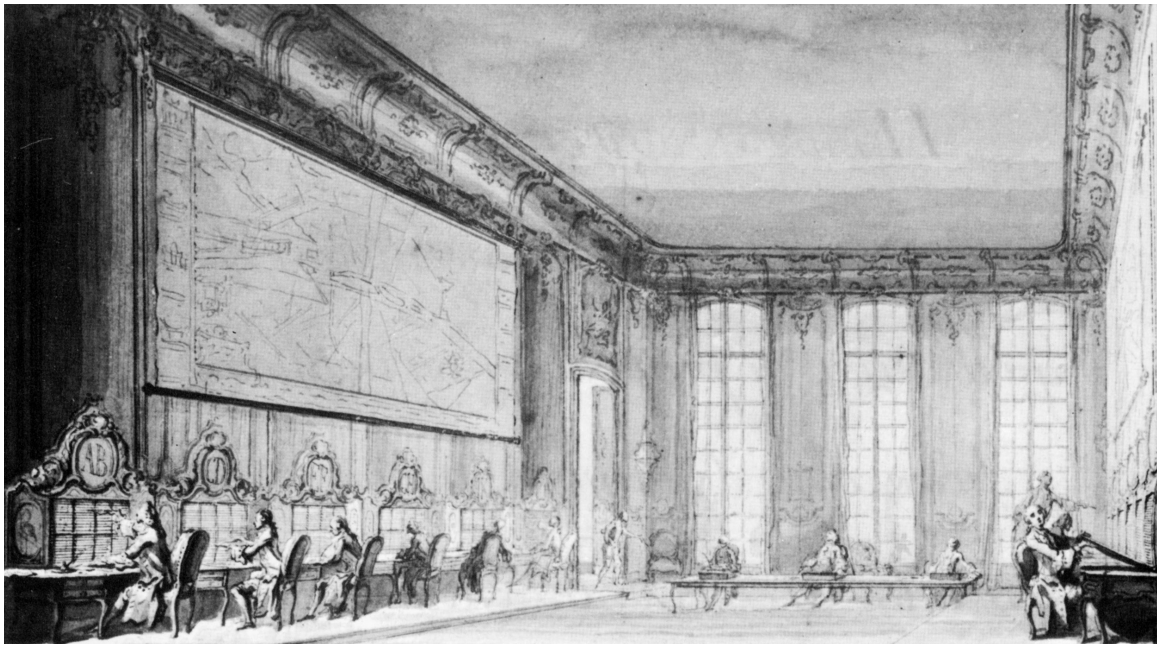
1.9. Sample form for a house in the Rue Saint-Antoine. Guillotte, *Mémoire*, 1749.

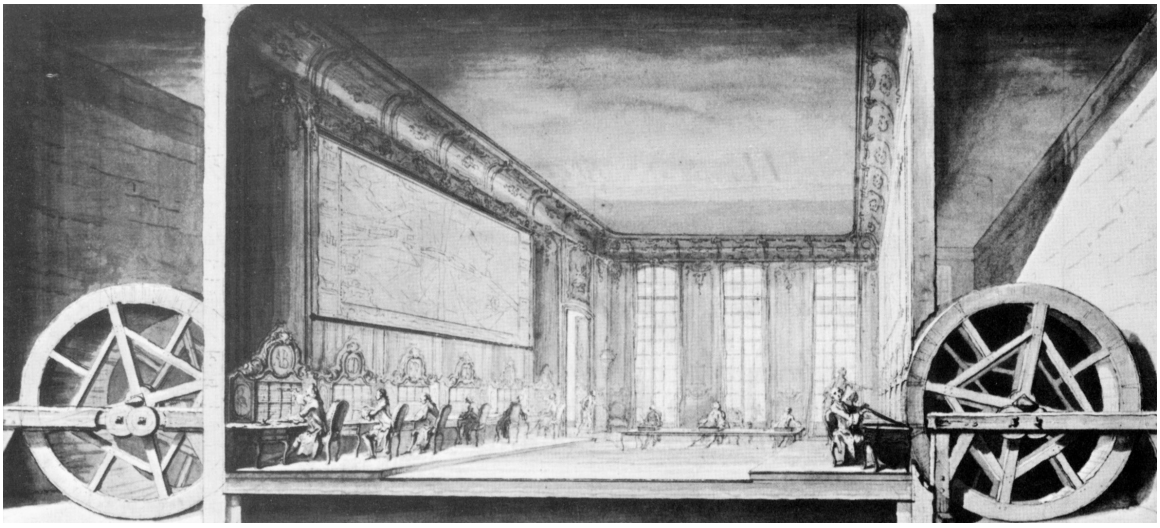


1.10. Sample of a *certificat de syndic*, the ID card of one Felix Laregnette, *gentilhomme*. Guillotte, *Mémoire*, 1749.

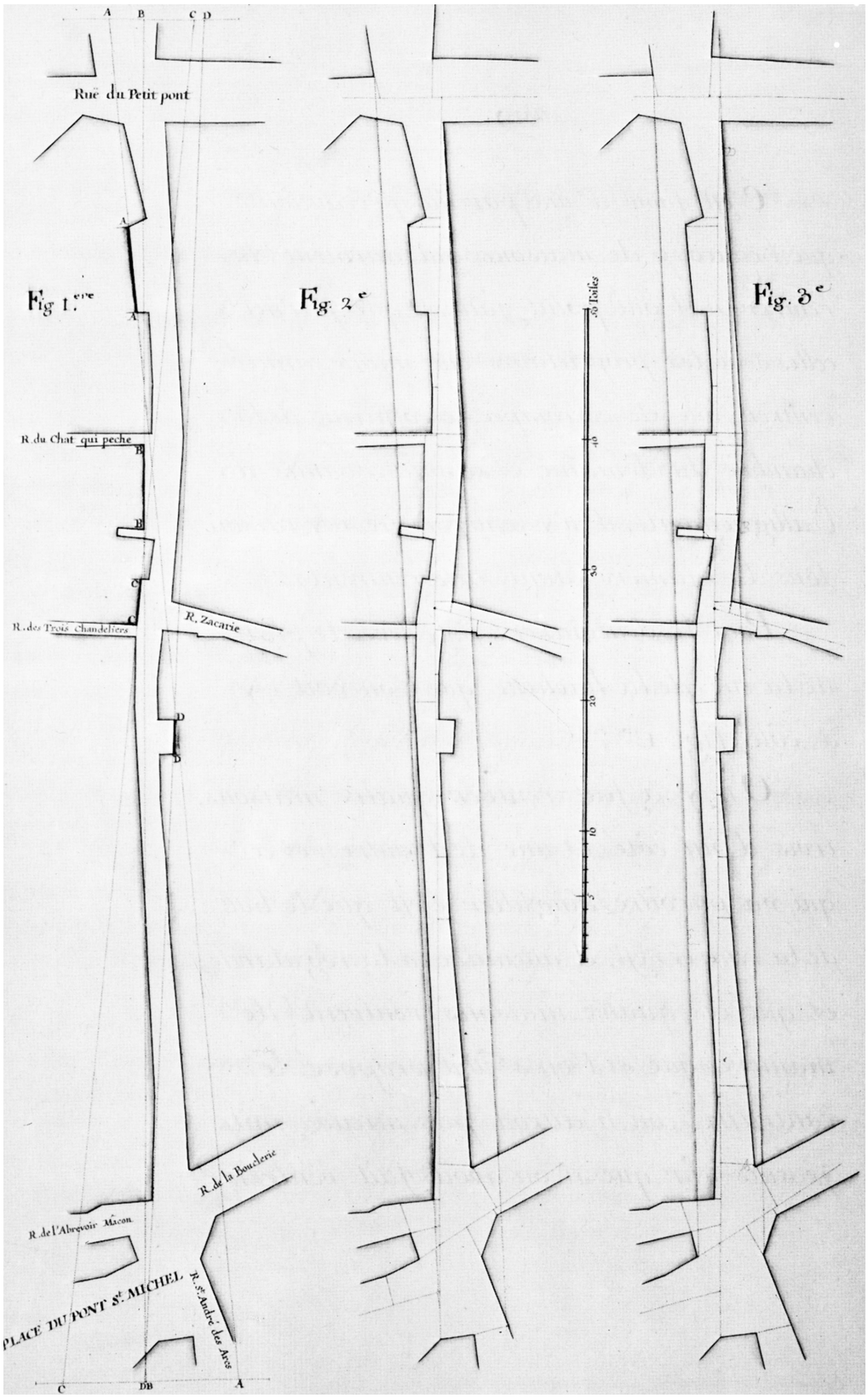


1.11. The *serre-papier*. Guillotte, *Mémoire*, 1749.





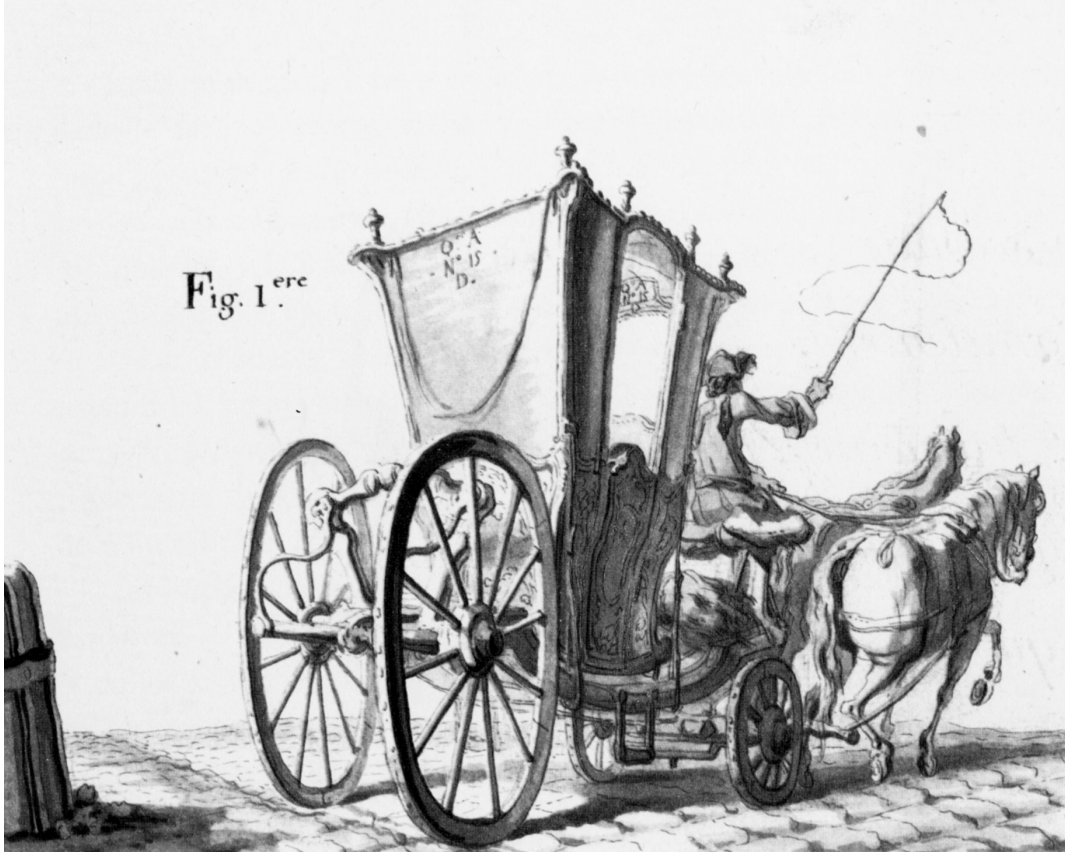
1.12-13. The new information bureau at police headquarters and the *serre-papier* revealed. Guillotte, *Mémoire*, 1749.

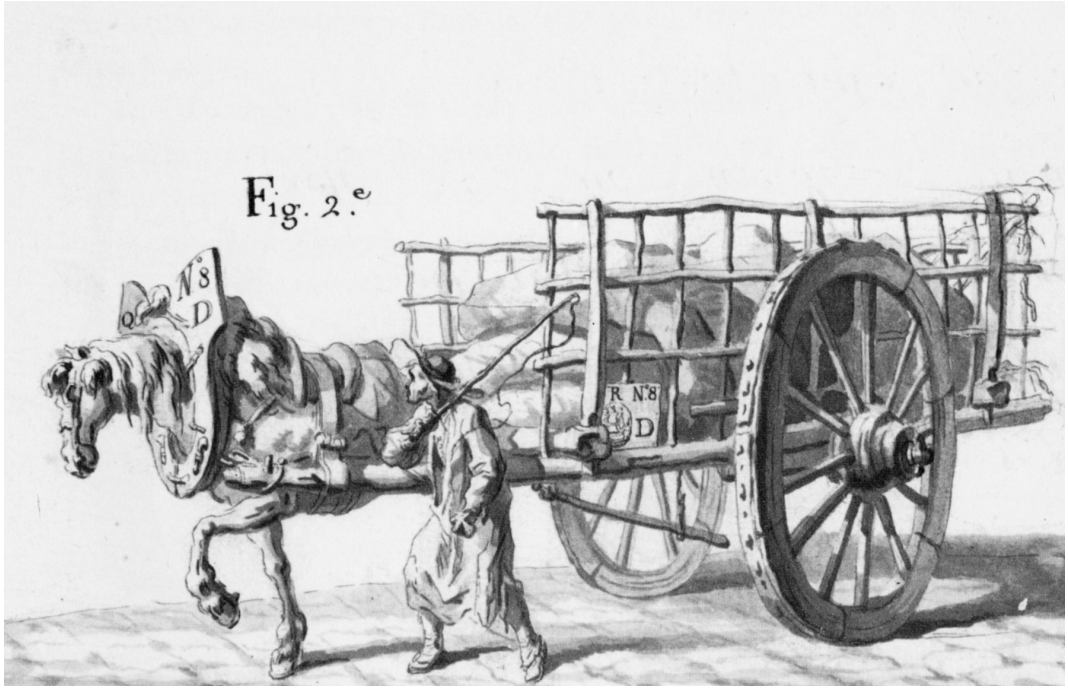


1.14. Rue de la Huchette. Guillotte, *Mémoire*, 1749.

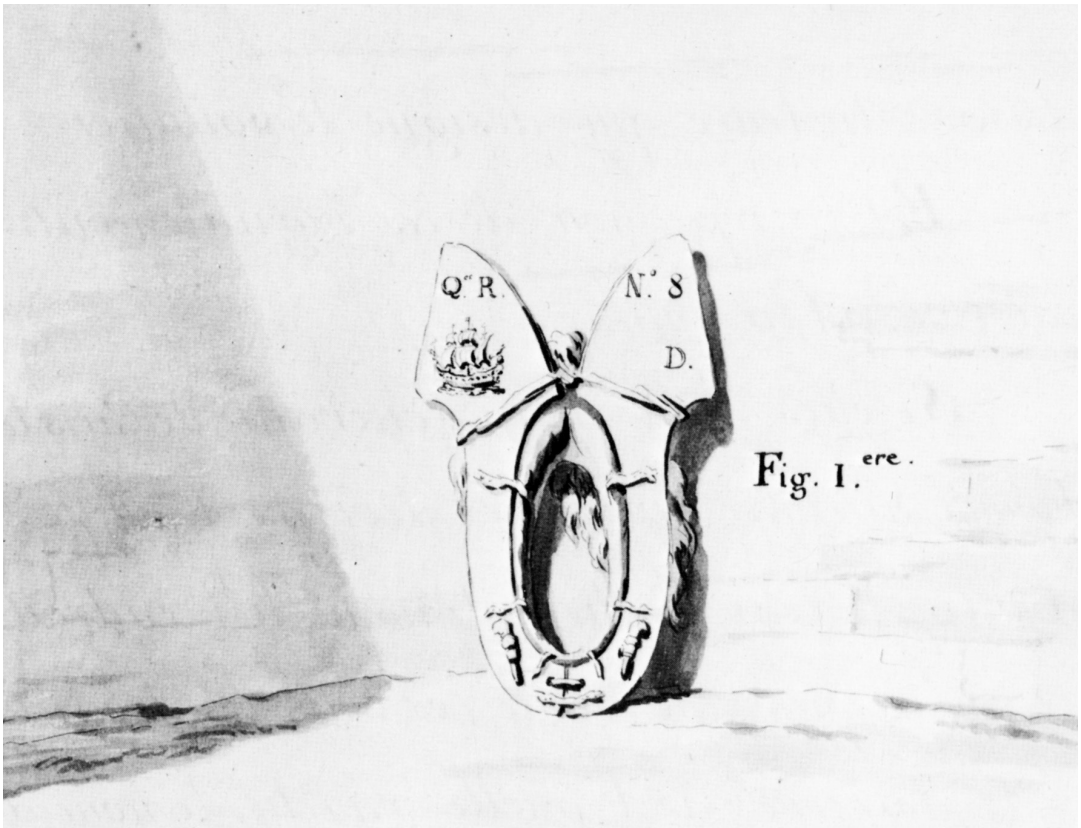
1.15. Jean Delagrive, “Nouveau plan de Paris et de ses faubourgs,” 1728. [Oderik]

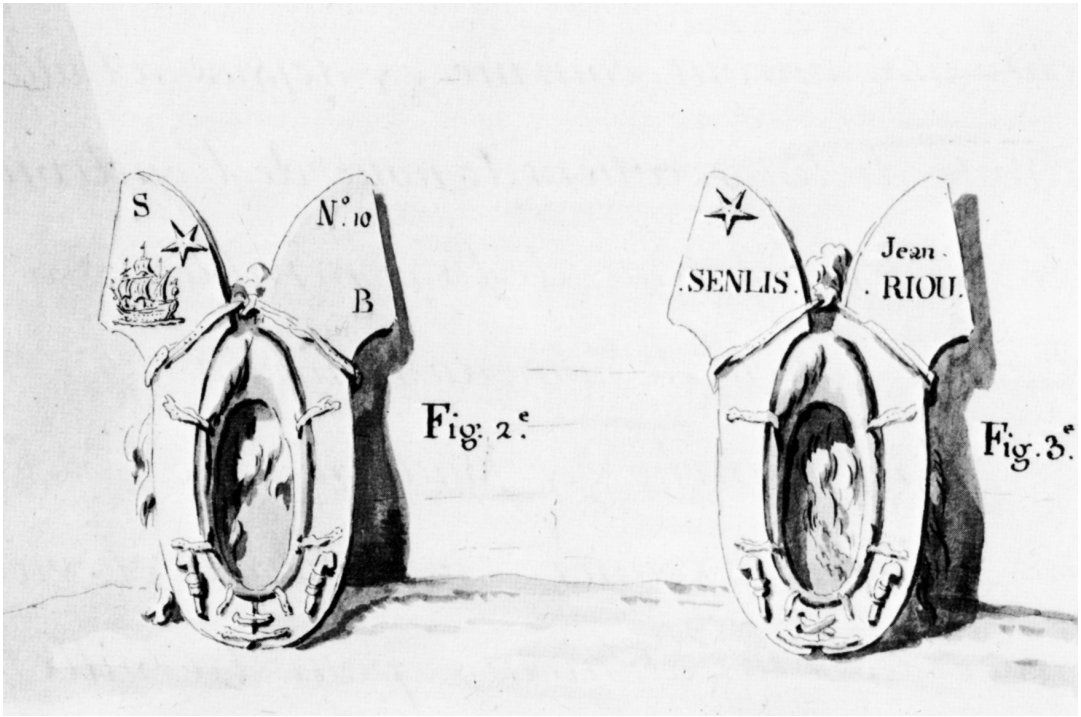
1.16. Pierre Bullet and François Blondel, “Plan de Paris,” 1676. [Oderik]



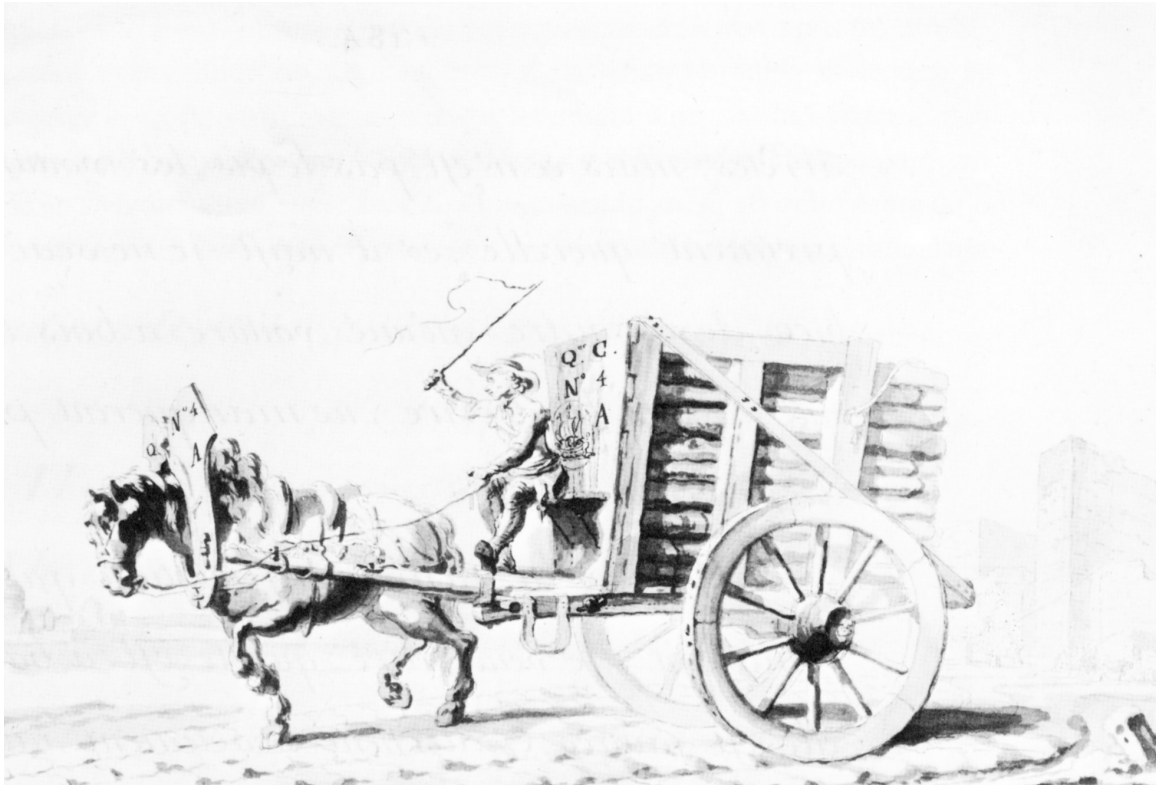


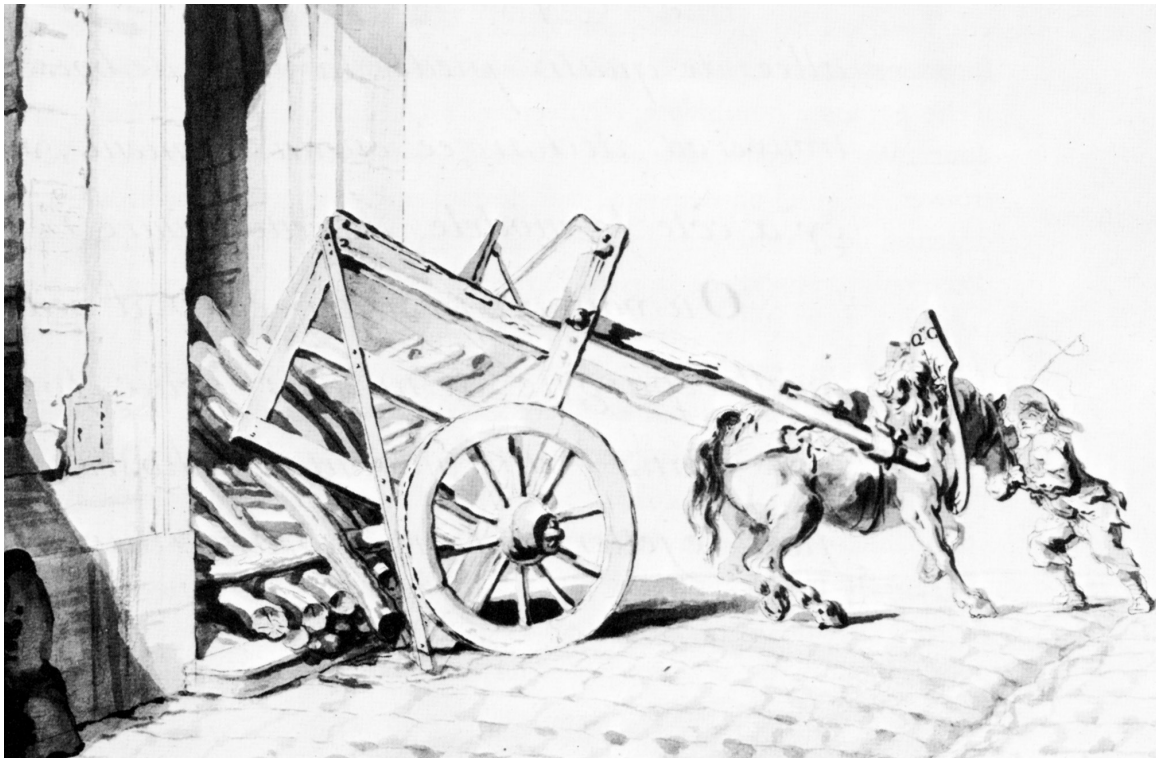
1.17-18. The identification of carts and carriages. Guillotte, *Mémoire*, 1749.



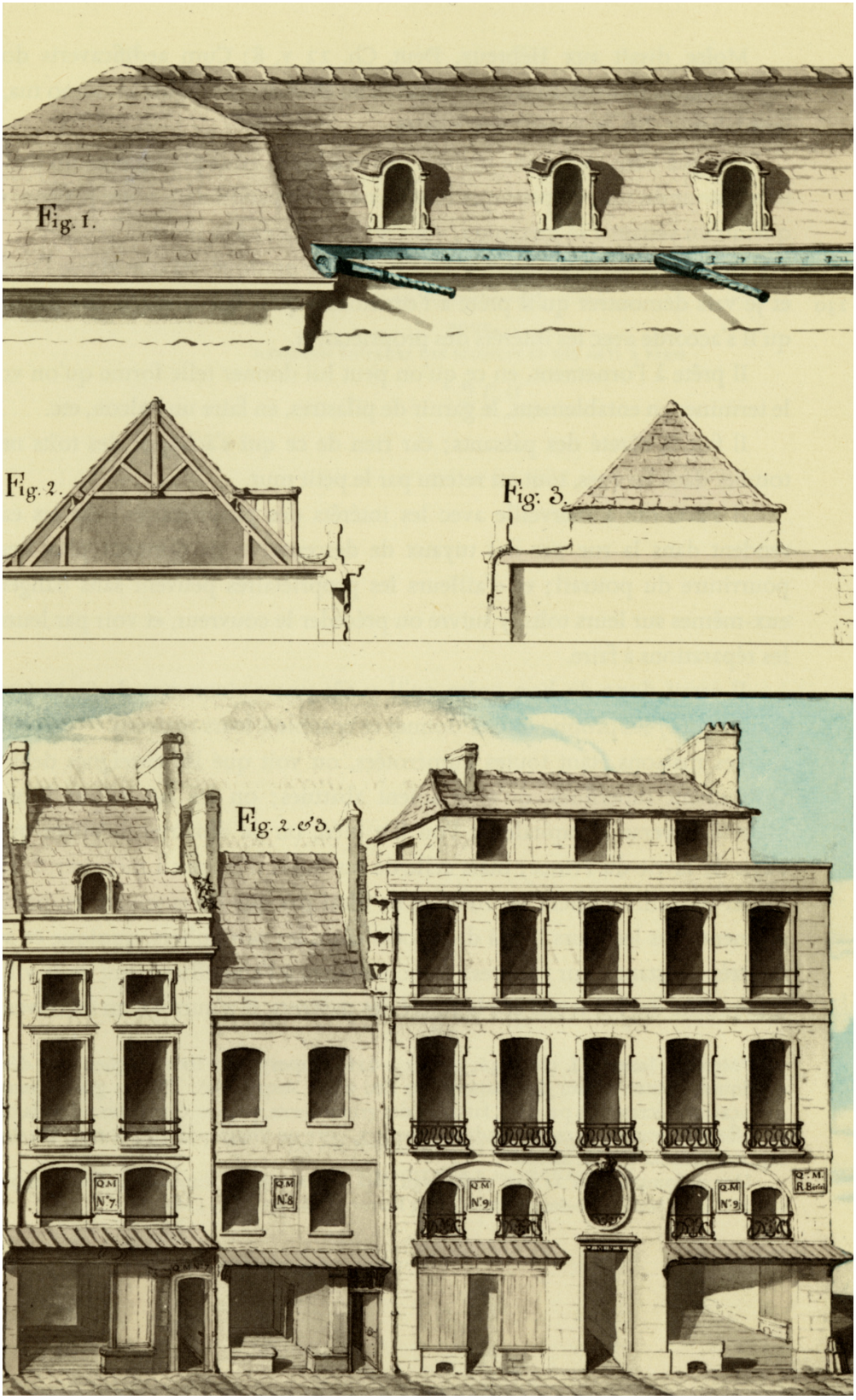


1.19-20. Horse collars for city, *banlieue*, and *généralité*. Guillotte, *Mémoire*, 1749.





1.21-22. The *voiture à bois*. Guillotte, *Mémoire*, 1749.



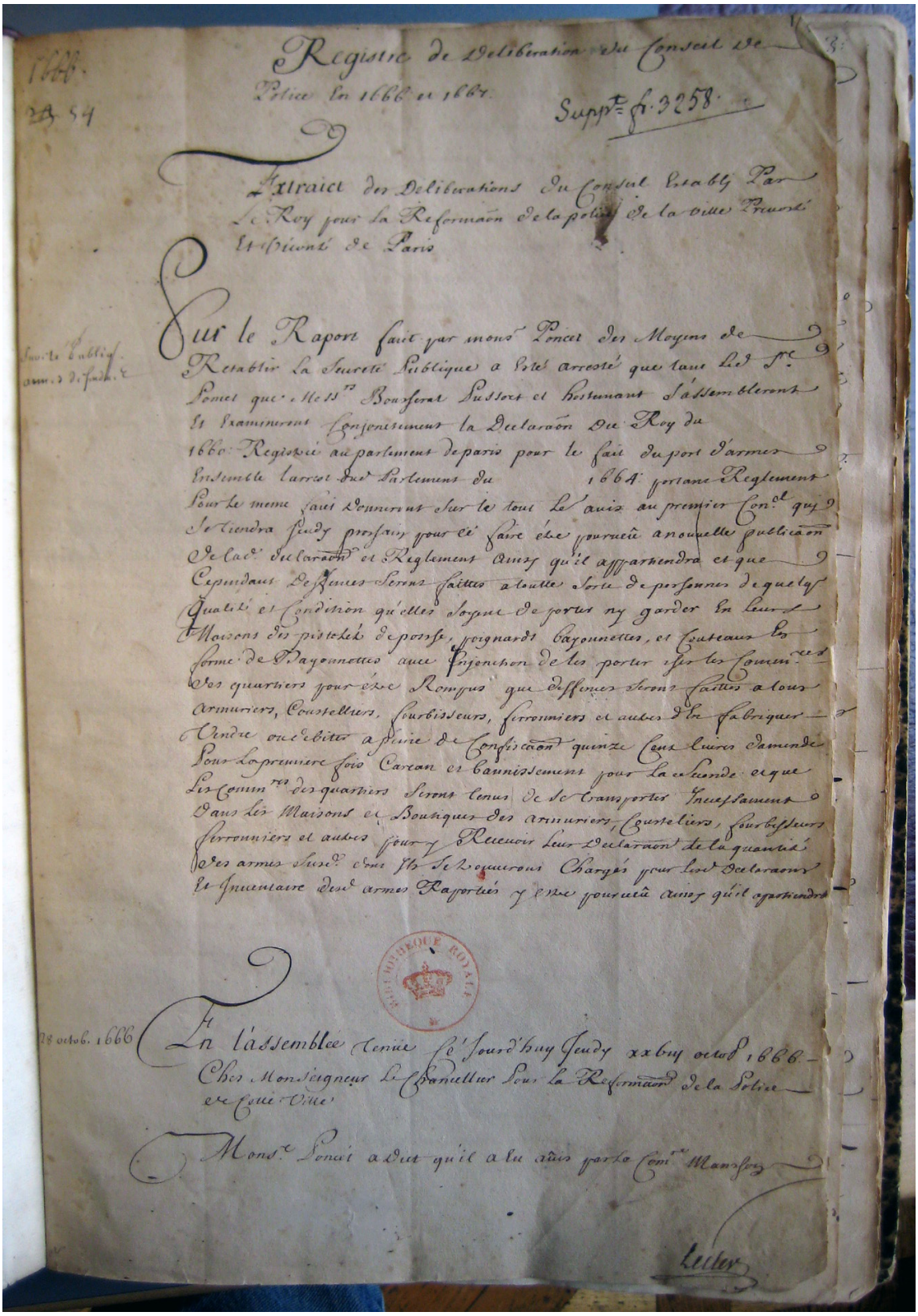
1.23. A Mansard roof (top) compared to Guillotte's favored solution, Moses's parapet (middle, bottom). Guillotte, *Mémoire*, 1749.

2.1. Jean-Baptiste Colbert in a 1655 painting by Philippe de Champaigne. [The Metropolitan Museum of Art]

2.2. Gabriel-Nicolas de La Reynie in a 1665 engraving by Pieter van Schuppen after a painting by Pierre Mignard. [Harvard Art Museums, Fogg Museum. VIA]

2.3. Marc-René de Voyer de Paulmy, Marquis d'Argenson, in a 1718 painting. [Palais de l'Institut. RMN]

2.4. The Grand Châtelet in Allain Manesson Mallet, *La géometrie pratique*, 1702. [INHA]



1666.
24.54

Registre de Deliberation du Conseil de Police les 1666 et 1667.

Suppt. fl. 3258.

Extraict des Deliberations du Conseil Estably par le Roy pour la Reformation de la police de la ville Prevosté et Vicomté de Paris

Sur le Raport fait par mons. Poncet des Moyens de Retablir la Seureté Publique a esté arresté que tous Lesd. Sr. Poncet que Mess. Bourserat Russort et Bertemant s'assembleront et examineront conjoinctement la Declaration du Roy du 1660. Registrée au parlement de paris pour le fait du port d'armes ensemble l'arrest du Parlement du 1664. portant Reglement pour le mesme fait d'armes et sur le tout les avis au premier Conl. qui se tiendra Jeudy prochain pour icelle estre pourveue a nouvelle publication de lad. Declaration et Reglement cours qu'il appartiendra et que cependant Defenses seront faites a toutes sorte de personnes de quelle qualité et condition qu'elles soyent de porter ny garder en leurs Maisons des pistolets de poche, poignards bayonnettes, et couteaux en forme de Bayonnettes avec injonction de les porter aux Commres des quartiers pour estre Rompus que defenses seront faites a tous Armuriers, Coustelliers, fourbisseurs, ferronniers et autres de les fabriquer Vendre ou debiter a peine de Confiscation quinze Cens liures d'amende pour la premiere fois Carcan et bannissement pour la seconde et que les Commres des quartiers seront tenus de se transporter incessamment dans les Maisons et Boutiques des armuriers, Coustelliers, fourbisseurs ferronniers et autres pour y Recevoir leur Declaration de la quantité des armes susd. dans lesquelles ils se trouveront Chargés pour icelle Declaration et Inventaire desd. armes Raportés y estre pourveu comme qu'il appartiendra

Sureté Publique. armes defendues

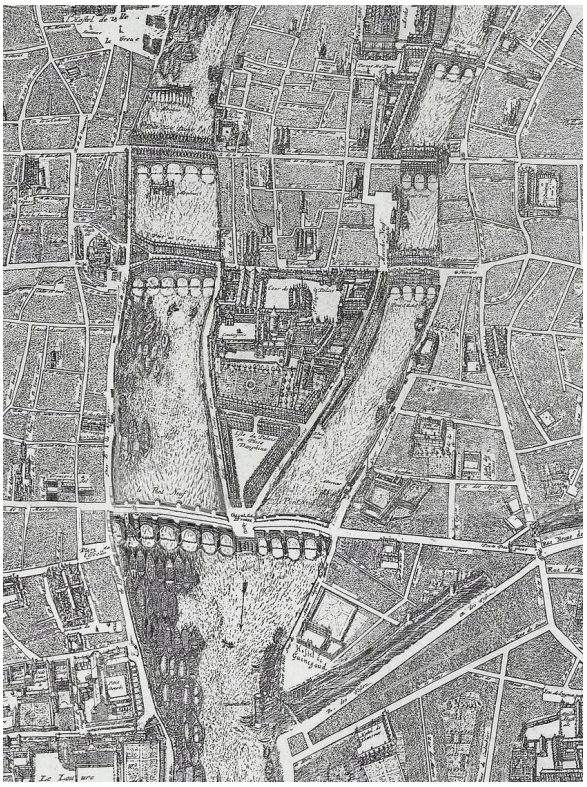
BIBLIOTHEQUE ROYALE

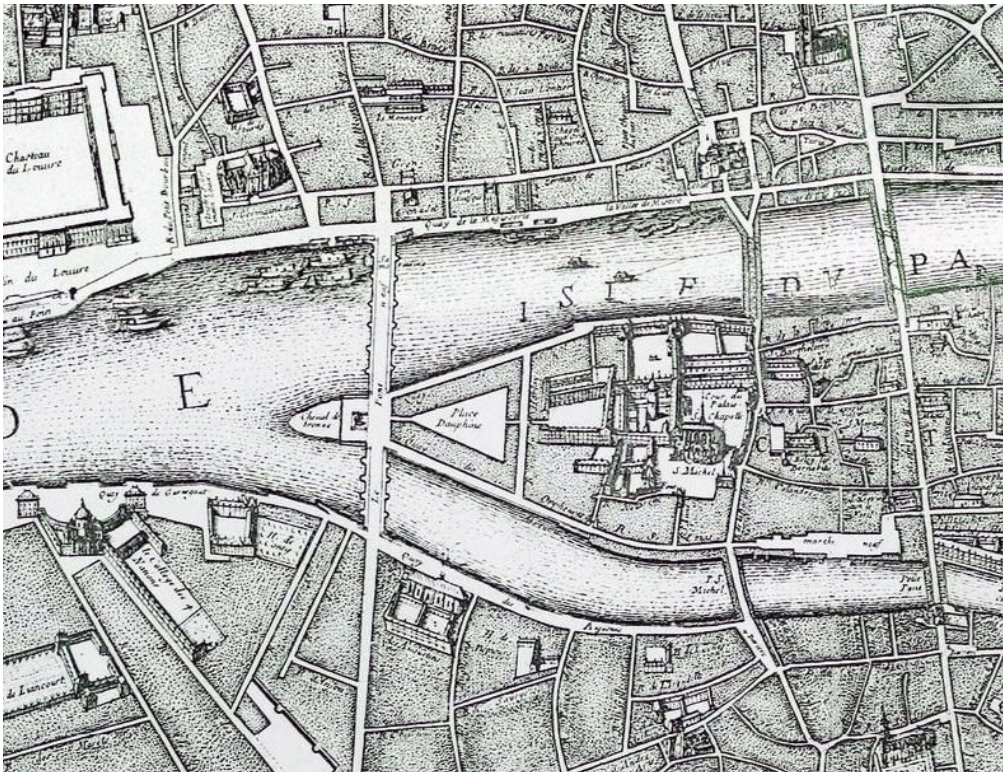
28 octob. 1666

En l'assemblee tenue ce jourd'huy Jeudy xxviij octob. 1666 chez Monseigneur le Chancellier pour la Reformation de la Police en cette Ville

Mons. Poncet a dit qu'il a eu avis par le Com. Marsfrey

Lecler





2.6. Jacques Gomboust, “Lvtetia, Paris,” 1652, detail. [Oderik]

2.7. Albert Jouvin de Rochefort, “Paris et ses environs,” 1672, detail. [Oderik]

2.8. Antoine Humblot, “Rue Quinquempoix en l’année 1720.” [INHA]

55

57.

DE PAR LE ROY,

ET MONSIEUR LE LIEVTENANT GENERAL DE POLICE.

Affiche pour l'Adjudication du Nettoyement des Rues, de la Fourniture des Chandelles, & de l'Entretien des Lanternes publiques du Quartier de Saint Benoist.

ON fait à sçavoir à tous qu'il appartiendra, qu'il sera le jour d mil sept cent vingt heures du pardevant Monsieur Taschereau de Baudry, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils, Maistre des Requestes ordinaire de son Hostel, Secretaire des Commandemens & Intendant des Maison & Finances de S. A. R. Madame, Lieutenant General de Police de la Ville, Prevosté & Vicomté de Paris, en son Hostel, ruë saint Paul, procedé à l'Adjudication & Bail au rabais de l'entreprise du nettoyement & enlevement des bouës du Quartier de de la fourniture de la chandelle necessaire pour allumer dans les Lanternes dudit Quartier, & de l'entretien desdites Lanternes, avec obligation de fournir les cordes necessaires pour les suspendre, même de les tendre & détendre dans le temps; le tout à commencer au premier Janvier de l'année prochaine mil sept cent vingt-un, dont le prix sera payé aux Entrepreneurs sur les fonds qui seront à cet effet destinez par Sa Majesté, & ce pour année, où toutes personnes, maistres ou non maistres seront reçûs à faire leurs rabais, pour un ou plusieurs Quartiers, lesquels Adjudicataires seront tenus de retirer du Greffe des Commissions extraordinaires du Conseil trois Expéditions de leurs Baux; l'une pour mondit Sieur de Baudry, une pour l'ancien Commissaire dudit Quartier de & l'autre pour l'Adjudicataire; & outre aux charges, & conditions qui suivent.

NETTOYEMENT.

Sera tenu l'Adjudicataire du nettoyement & enlevement des bouës dudit Quartier d'avoir & fournir tombereaux de bonne fabrique, qui auront dans œuvre quatre pieds huit pouces de long, deux pieds & un quart de large sur pareille profondeur, avec des rebords: Seront lesdits tombereaux clos & ferrez en telle maniere qu'il n'en puisse sortir aucune chose, l'ais qui fermera le derriere sera plus haut que le devant du tombereau, lesquels tombereaux seront attelez chacun de deux bons chevaux & accompagnez chacun d'un Chartier, & d'un Retroussoir, à chacun desquels tombereaux sera mis & attaché au devant un écriteau de fer blanc, & peint de blanc, sur lequel sera écrit en noir: *Tombereau du Quartier* avec le N° lesquels écriteaux seront nettoyez tous les quinze jours, sera attaché à chacun desdits tombereaux une sonnette pour avertir les Bourgeois de faire apporter les ordures sèches de leurs Maisons, & les Chartiers, Voituriers & Conducteurs, chargeront dans leurs tombereaux les ordures sèches qui leur seront apportées dans les paniers, manequins ou autres vaisseaux, & enleveront les bouës & immondices, & après avoir enlevé les bouës, ils nettoyeront la place au balay, en sorte qu'il ne reste aucune chose, & ne pourront enlever les gravois, décombremens, machefers & terres qu'ils trouveront aux portes des Maisons, mais seulement à l'égard des machefers, les enleveront un jour de la semaine, le tout à peine d'amende.

L'Entrepreneur sera tenu de faire mener & conduire ses tombereaux du premier Octobre jusqu'au premier Avril depuis sept heures du matin jusqu'à midy, & depuis deux heures après midy jusqu'à six heures du soir; & du premier Avril jusqu'au premier Octobre, depuis six heures du matin jusqu'à onze heures, & depuis trois heures après midy jusqu'à sept heures du soir, sans pouvoir faire aucune autre voiture ou chariage, ni employer lesdits chevaux & tombereaux à aucun autre usage, à peine d'amende & de résiliation des baux, & autres peines portées par l'Arrest du Parlement du trente Avril mil six cent soixante-trois; & ne pourront les Voituriers, Chartiers & Conducteurs s'arrester en allant & venant, mais seront tenus de faire la plus grande diligence qu'il sera possible, & en cas qu'ils y manquent, & d'aller chacun jour soir & matin aux heures marquées cy-dessus, & aux ruës qui seront cy-apres marquées; seront les Entrepreneurs, ensemble leurs Voituriers, Chartiers & Conducteurs condamnez aux peines portées par ledit Arrest du Parlement du trente Avril mil six cent soixante-trois.

Ne pourra l'Adjudicataire sous-loüer, ceder, ni transporter son Bail pour le temps de son Adjudication ou partie d'iceluy, à qui que ce puisse être pour telle cause ou sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, à peine d'estre puni ainsi que mondit Sieur le Lieutenant general de Police le jugera à propos.

L'Entrepreneur fournira les tombereaux, Chartiers & Retroussoirs de balais, pelles, pioches, rabots, rouës, courbes & autres instrumens necessaires, & sera tenu de faire enlever incessamment avec tombereaux par les Voituriers, Chartiers & Conducteurs, du moins pendant trois ou quatre jours consecutifs, les neges & glaces, & en cas de pluye employera telle quantité d'hommes que besoin sera, pour avec rabots, pelles & rouës faire écouler les eaux, le tout à peine d'amende.

Les Voituriers de l'Entrepreneur seront tenus, d'abord que le tombereau sera chargé des bouës & immondices, de faire partir ledit tombereau pour le décharger à la Voyrie du Quartier, sans pouvoir s'arrester en chemin, ni faire la décharge ailleurs, ni sur la Chaussée de la Voyrie, ni même l'encombrer, à peine d'amende, tant contre l'Entrepreneur, que contre les Chartiers & Conducteurs, & en cas que par leur faute & négligence ladite Voyrie ou la Chaussée fussent encombrées, le décombrement en sera fait aux frais & dépens de l'Entrepreneur, lesquels frais luy seront rabattus sur le prix de son Bail, s'il suffit, & sera tenu de parfournir l'excedant.

L'Entrepreneur sera tenu d'aller tous les jours au matin chez le Commissaire ancien du Quartier pour y recevoir ses ordres, & de l'avertir incessamment lorsqu'il se trouvera des gravois ou terres à la porte de quelque Maison.

L'Entrepreneur sera tenu de nettoyer & enlever

Tous les jours les bouës & immondices des Rues

Du Petit-Pont, depuis le Petit Chastelet, y compris le Cul-de-Sac de la Boucherie du Petit Chastelet,
Galande, jusqu'à la rue des Lavandieres,
S. Jacques, y compris le Fauxbourg, jusques & passé la fausse Porte de Saint Jacques,
Des Noyers.

Les Lundis, Mercredis & Vendredis.

De la Bucherie,
De Saint Julien le Pauvre, & le Cloître,
Du Foüarre,
Des Rats,
Des Trois Portes,
Jacinthe
Des Anglois,
Du Plâtre,
Des Lavandieres,
Le Port à Maître Pierre.

Les Mardis, Jeudis, & Samedis.

De Saint Jean de Beauvais,
Saint Jean de Latran,
Des Carmes,
Judas,
Place de Cambray,
Commanderie de Saint Jean de Latran,
Frometel,
Cimetiere de Saint Benoît,
Chiretiere,
Du Mont Saint Hilaire, & du Cul-de-Sac de Bouvart,
D'Ecosse,
Du Foür,
Des Sept-Voyes, & le Cul-de-Sac des Bœufs,
Des Amandiers,
Du Reïns ou de Bourgogne,
Jean le Maître,
Saint Symphorien des Vignes ou des Chiens,
Saint Estienne des Grés,
Curé de Sainte Genevéve & de Saint Estienne, & le Cul-de Sac,
Des Prêtres,
Grande & petite rue de la Bretonnerie.

Rues du Fauxbourg saint Jacques & saint Marcel.

Des Fosses Saint Jacques ou Vieille Estrapade, & Place du Fourcy,
Contre-Escarpe,
Neuve de Sainte Genevieve,
Du Cheval Vert,
Des Poulies,
Du Puits qui Parle,
Des Postes, & le Cul-de-Sac des Vignes,
De l'Arbalestre,
Des Lyonnois,
Des Charbonniers,
De Bourgogne ou des Bourguignons,
Des Capucins,
Du Pot de Fer.

& dans le beau temps nettoyera la plus grande partie des ruës dudit Quartier, autant que faire se pourra, & enlevera les immondices: en sorte que les Tombereaux dudit Quartier soient continuellement occupez pendant ledit temps cy-dessus marqué.

En cas qu'il soit employé par ordre de Monsieur le Lieutenant General de Police quelques Tombereaux extraordinaires pour suppléer à la negligence de l'Entrepreneur, le payement en sera fait sur le prix de ladite Adjudication.

L'Entrepreneur du Nettoyement sera tenu aussi de prendre les Tombereaux, Chevaux, harnois, outils & autres instrumens dont il aura besoin pour le service dudit Quartier, dans le nombre des équipages des Entrepreneurs generaux qui sont actuellement le service, pour le prix & somme qu'ils conviendront ensemble à l'amiable, ou sur le pied de l'estimation qui en sera faite par gens à ce connoissans, dont ils conviendront, sinon il en sera nommé d'office par mondit Sieur le Lieutenant General de Police, tant pour mettre l'Adjudicataire en état de faire promptement le service, que pour procurer aux Entrepreneurs generaux le moyen de se défaire de leurs équipages, dont il ne seroit pas juste qu'ils demeurassent chargez au jour de leur dépossession.

ENTREPRISE DE LA CHANDELLE *dudit Quartier de*

L'Entrepreneur de la fourniture de la Chandelle sera faire ladite fourniture de Chandelle qui monte à de poids par an, pour les qui est à raison du poids de Lanternes dudit Quartier quarante-une livres pour chacune, de bon & loyal suif de Paris, partie des quatre à la livre, & partie de huit à la livre, il sera la premiere livraison pour commencer au premier Janvier 1721, jusqu'au mois de May de la même année; quinzaine après son Adjudication, & pour les années suivantes. Si son Bail est de deux ou trois années, l'Entrepreneur en livrera la moitié au mois d'Octobre 1721, & l'autre moitié dans le mois de Janvier 1722. & continuera ainsi les livraisons d'années en années.

D'abord que ladite Chandelle sera faite, il la sera porter au Magasin des Chandelles du Quartier, en presence du Commissaire ancien, qui la fera visiter pour connoître si elle est de bonne qualité, si elle est de poids, & si elle dure aussi long-temps qu'il convient: il y aura deux clefs au Magasin, dont l'une restera entre les mains du Commissaire ancien. & l'autre entre les mains de l'Entrepreneur, la distribution en sera faite chacun mois aux Commis aux Lanternes, suivant les états qui en seront faits par ledit Commissaire & envoyez à l'Entrepreneur, & le prix de ladite Chandelle sera payé à l'Entrepreneur par le Tresorier des deniers de Police, ou sur les Ordonnances particulieres, sur les fonds à ce destinez par Sa Majesté.

VITRIER POUR *LANTERNES*

à condition qu'il sera tenu de fournir les Cordes, & les Poulies necessaires, les faire tendre & détendre.

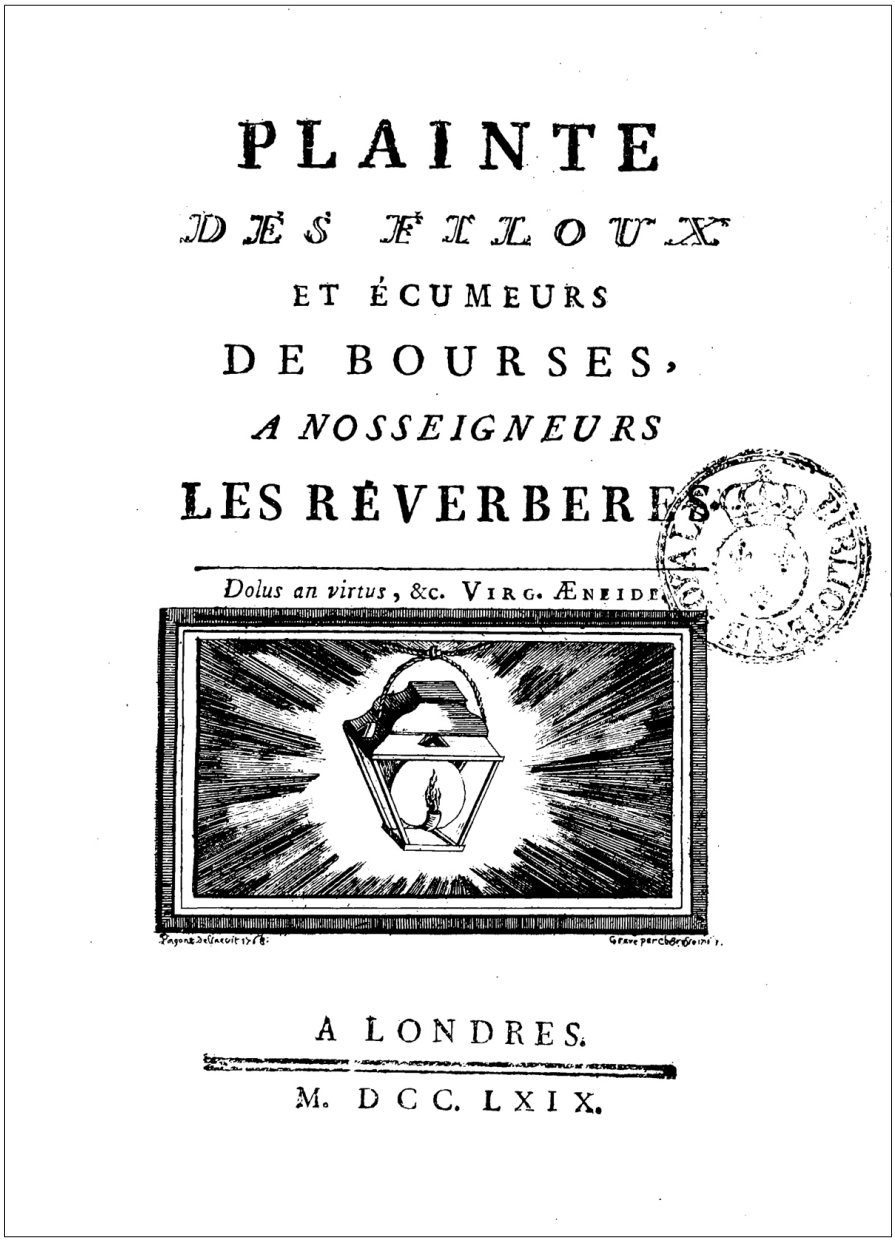
Il sera delivré à l'Entrepreneur Lanternes, qu'il sera tenu d'entretenir de toutes reparations, les renouveller de temps en temps, les nettoyer une fois le mois pendant le temps de la cessation des lumieres, en faire d'autres lorsqu'elles seront cassées par quelque accident que ce soit, sans par lui prétendre aucun dédommagement, sauf à lui à se pourvoir, tant contre les Commis qui auroient fait tomber lesdites Lanternes en les descendant, que contre ceux qui les auront cassées. Sera aussi tenu de serrer lesdites Lanternes pendant qu'elles ne seront point suspendues, & à la fin du Bail sera tenu de les rendre en bon état, de la même hauteur, grosseur & circonference qu'elles lui auront été delivrées, suivant le Procés verbal de l'ancien Commissaire du Quartier de

Ledit Entrepreneur sera tendre les travers pour suspendre les Lanternes, ensemble les descentes avec de bons cordeaux de cœur de chanvre à trois brins, fournira lesdits cordeaux, payera les journées des hommes qui seront employez à tendre & détendre, fournira les échelles, les clous, crampons, les poulies, fera détendre les cordes lorsqu'on cessera d'allumer les Chandelles, & le prix du Bail sera payé à l'Entrepreneur par les Tresoriers de Police, moitié au mois de Janvier, & moitié au mois de Juin de chaque année.

Ne pourra l'Entrepreneur sous-louer, ceder ou transporter son Bail pour le tout ou partie d'iceluy à qui que ce puisse être, sous quelque pretexte que ce soit, mais sera tenu de l'executer à peine d'amende, & autres peines que mondit Sieur le Lieutenant General de Police jugera à propos.

A PARIS, Chez JEAN DE LA CAILLE, Imprimeur de la Police.

2.9. Tender procedures for the contracts of street-cleaning and street-lighting in the quartier of Saint-Benoît, 1721. [BnF ms. fr. 21686, fol. 55. Gallica]



PLAINTE

DES FILOUX

ET ÉCUMEURS

DE BOURSES,

A NOSSEIGNEURS

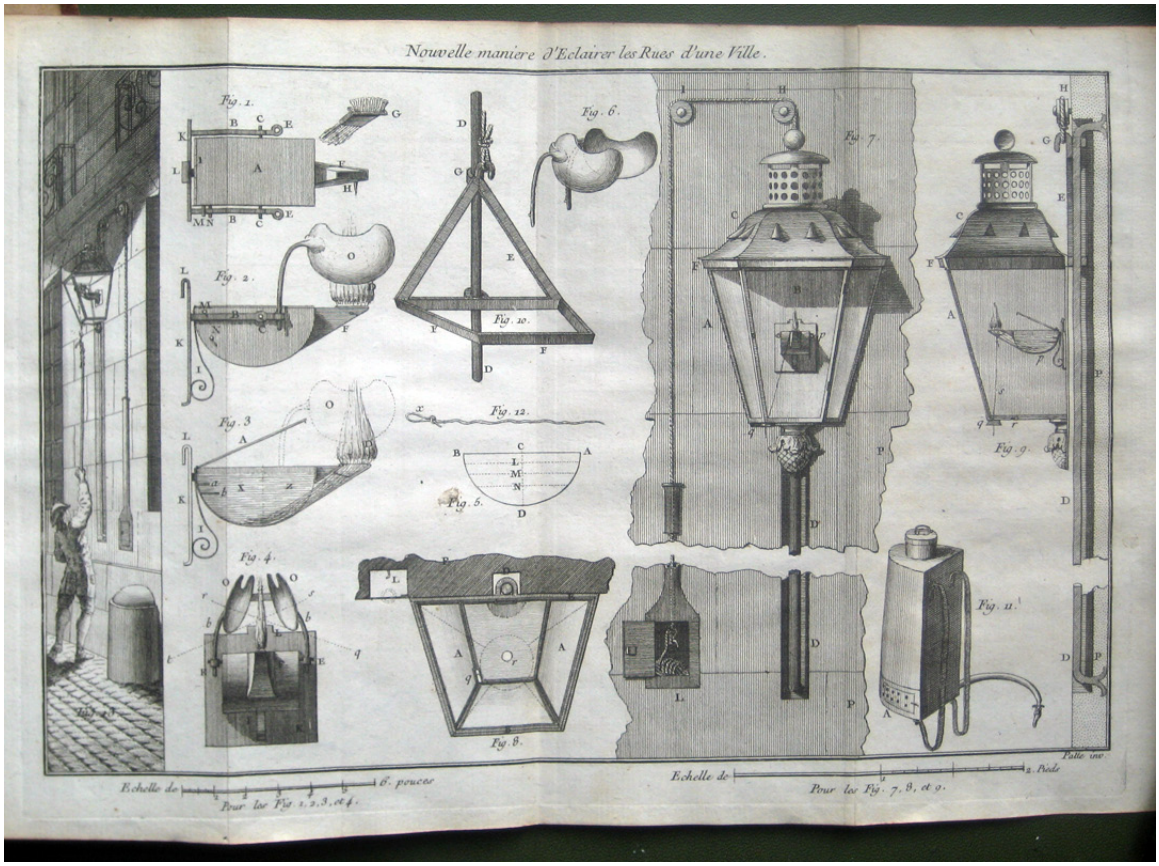
LES RÉVERBERES.

Dolus an virtus, &c. VIRG. ÆNEIDE.

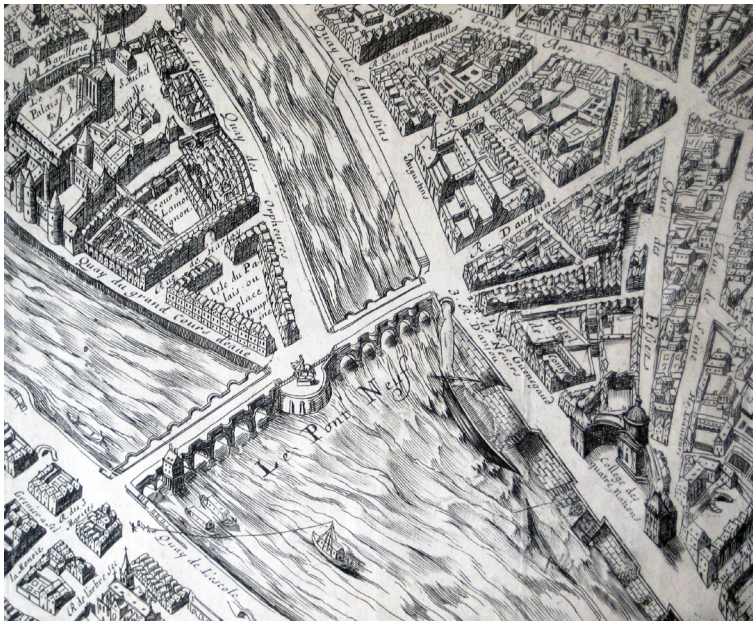
A LONDRES.

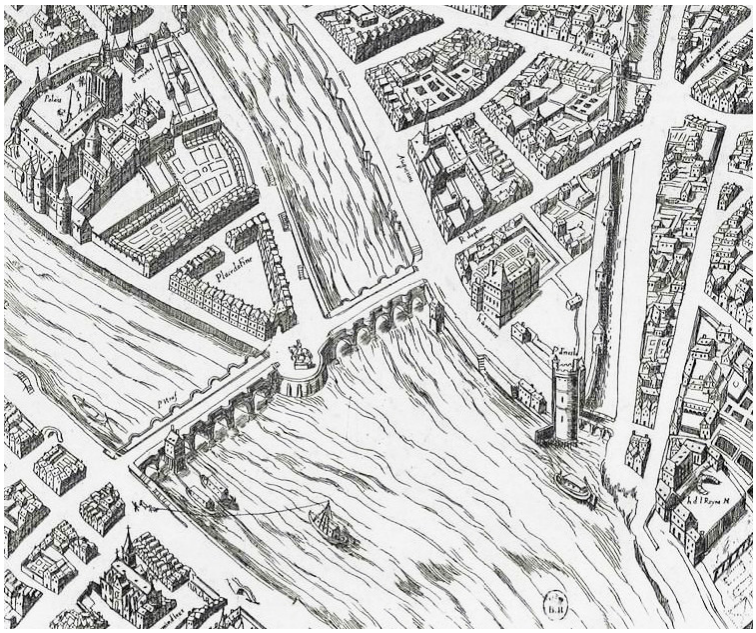
M. DCC. LXIX.

2.10. *Plainte des filoux et écumeurs de bourses, à nosseigneurs les réverbères*, 1769. [Gallica]



2.11. Pierre Patte, *De la manière la plus avantageuse d'éclairer les rues d'une ville*, 1766. [BHVP 16491]





2.12-13. François Jollain, “Lvtetia, Paris,” ca. 1680-84, details. [BHVP A 135]

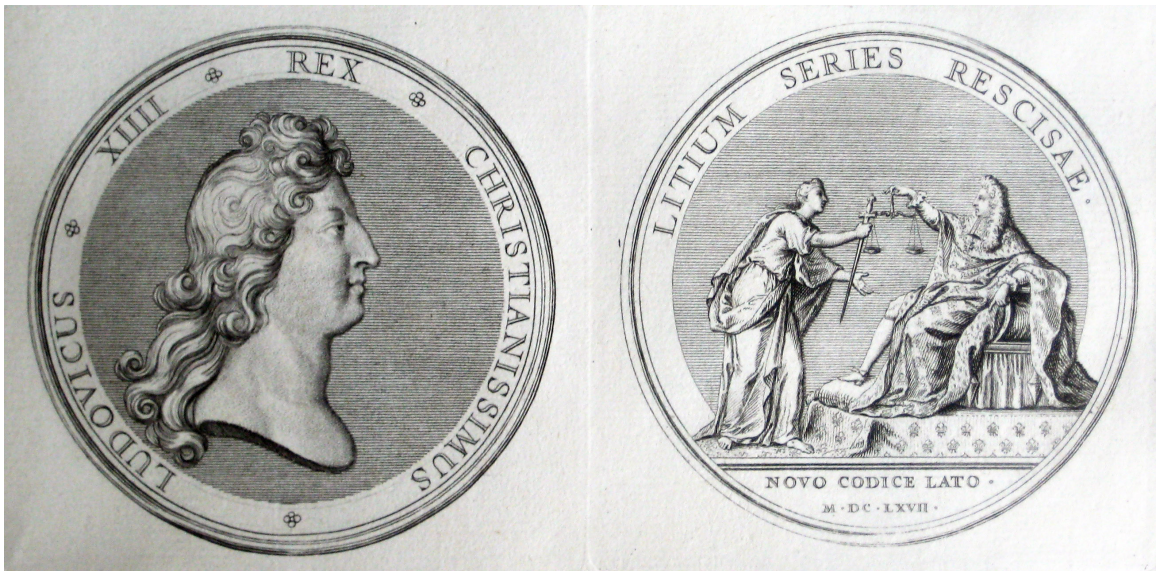
2.14. François Quesnel, “Carte ou description nouvelle de la ville cité université et fauxbourgs de Paris,” 1609, detail. [Oderik]

2.15. Charles Le Brun, “Réformation de la justice,” painting on the ceiling of the Grande Galerie. [Château de Versailles. RMN]

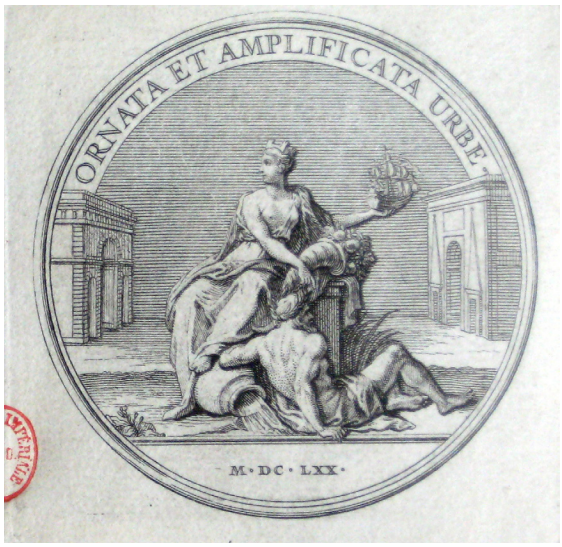
2.16. Charles Le Brun, “La seureté publique.” [Musée du Louvre. RMN]

2.17. Charles Le Brun, “Sevreté de la ville de Paris,” camaïeu painting on the ceiling of the Grande Galerie. [Château de Versailles. RMN]

2.18. Antoine Coypel, frontispiece of *Médailles sur les principaux événements du règne de Louis le Grand*, 1702, reprinted in the second edition of the book, 1723. [Gallica]



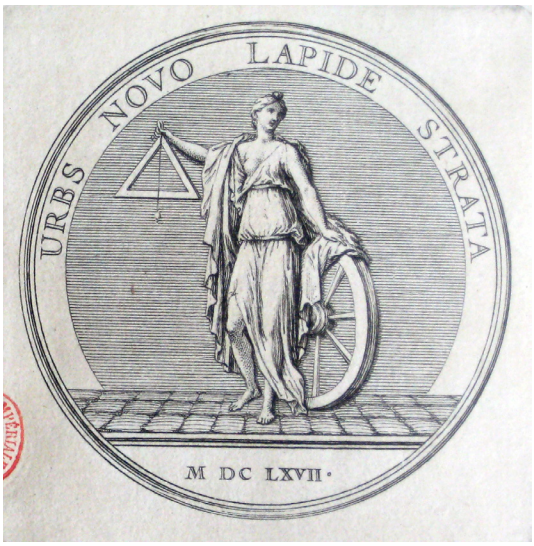
2.19. LITIUM SERIES RESCISAE / NOVO CODICE LATO / M·DC·LXVII. *Médailles*, 1702. [BnF monnaies]



2.20. ORNATA·ET·AMPLIATA·VRBE / LVTETIA. Claude-François Menestrier, *Histoire du règne de Louis le Grand par les médailles*, 1700. [Avery Library]

2.21. ORNATA ET AMPLIATA URBE / M·DC·LXX. *Médailles*, 1702. [BnF monnaies]

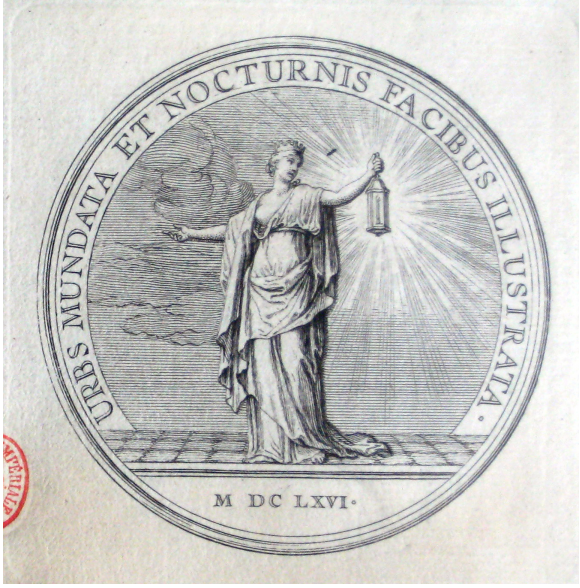
2.22. ORNATA ET AMPLIFICATA URBE / M·DC·LXX. *Médailles*, 1723. [BnF monnaies]



2.23. VRBS·NOVO·LAPIDE·STRATA / M·DC·LXIX. Sylvie de Turchkeim-Pey, *Médailles du Grand Siècle*, 2004. [Avery Library]

2.24. URBS·NOVO·LAPIDE·STRATA / M·DC·LXIX. *Médailles*, 1702. [BnF monnaies]

2.25. URBS NOVO LAPIDE STRATA / M DC LXVII. *Médailles*, 1723. [BnF monnaies]



2.26. URBIS·SECURITAS·ET·NITOR / M·DC·LXIX. *Médailles*, 1702. [BnF monnaies]

2.27. URBS MUNDATA ET NOCTURNIS FACIBUS ILLUSTRATA / M DC XVI. *Médailles*, 1723. [BnF monnaies]

2.28. Charles Le Brun, “Hercule emportant les pommes d’or du jardin des Hespérides.” [Musée du Louvre. RMN]

2.29. ADSERTOR SECURITATIS PUBLICÆ / M·DC·LXVI. *Médailles*, 1723. [BnF monnaies]

LE NOUVEAU PAVÉ DE PARIS.

PARIS s'eſt reſſenti des ſoins & de la magnificence du Roy juſques dans les moindres choſes. Le pavé de cette grande Ville avoit eſté négligé depuis long-temps. Il eſtoit rompu en pluſieurs endroits; les ruiſſeaux des ruës eſtoient fort creux, & la pluſpart n'avoient point aſſez de pente pour l'eſcoulement des eaux; ce qui cauſoit la difficulté du charroy, & une ſaleté non ſeulement tres-incommode, mais tres-mal ſaine. Le Roy donna ordre de repaver toute la Ville; & ce travail fut conduit avec tant de ſoin, que pour la propreté & pour la commodité, Paris l'emporte maintenant ſur toutes les Villes de l'Europe.

Idée generale de la Police.

L'AMOUR de la Societé que les hommes apportent en naiſſant, & les ſecours mutuels dont ils ont continuellement beſoin, porterent bien-tôt les premiers Habitans de la terre, à s'approcher & à ſe joindre pluſieurs familles enſemble [a] Ce fut ainſi que de leurs Cabanes ou Maiſons ruſtiques, telles qu'un Ancien nous les décrit, [b] ils formerent d'abord des Hameaux & des Villages. Du progrés de ces foibles commencemens, les Villes ont enſuite pris naiſſance: & enfin de l'union de pluſieurs Villes, les grands Eſtats ont eſté formez.

[a] Plat. de Rep. lib. 2.

[b] Vitruve lib. 2. cap. 1.

La vie commode & tranquille fut le premier objet de ces Societez: [c] mais l'amour propre, les autres paſſions, & l'erreur y jetterent bientoſt le trouble & la diviſion. Pour remedier à ce mal, les plus ſages d'entre les hommes ont eu recours à l'établiſſement des Loix. C'eſt le nom qu'ils donnerent à ces preceptes tirez de la droite raiſon, & de l'équité naturelle qui éclairent l'eſprit, redreſſent la volonté, & rangent chaque choſe dans ſon ordre.

[c] Platode Rep. lib. 4. & de Legib. lib. 3. & 5. Ariſtot. Polit. lib. 7. cap. 8.

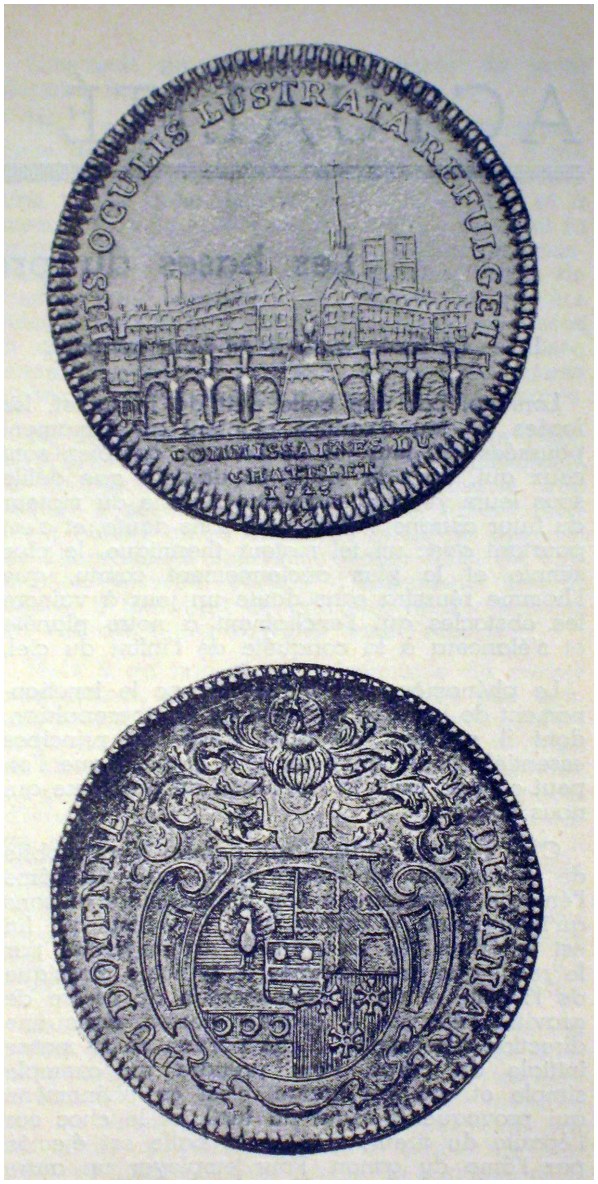
Entre ces Loix il y en a qui ont pour objet le bien general & commun de la Societé; & il y en a d'autres qui ne concernent que les intereſts des particuliers. Une diſtinction ſi naturelle a formé dans la ſuite des temps ce que nous appellons le Droit Public, & le Droit Privé.

Toutes les Nations bien diſciplinées ont ſuivi cette juſte diviſion des Loix; mais les Grecs dont la Langue entre toutes les autres a toûjours eſté abondante en noms énergiques, donnerent encore

Tome I. A

2.30. The "Romain du Roi." *Médailles*, 1702. [Morgan Library]

2.31. The "Cicero La Police." Nicolas Delamare, *Traité de la police*, 1705. [Middleton Library]



3.1. Medal commemorating Nicolas Delamare, ca. 1743. Marcel Le Clère, "Un commissaire de police au grand siècle," *Vigilat*, 1952. [BnF]

3.2. Caricature of Gabriel-Nicolas de La Reynie in *Les Héros de la Ligue*, 1691. [AN AE/II/2897]

3.3. Caricature of Nicolas Delamare in *Les Héros de la Ligue*, 1691. [Ursus Books & Prints]

TRAITÉ
DE
LA POLICE,

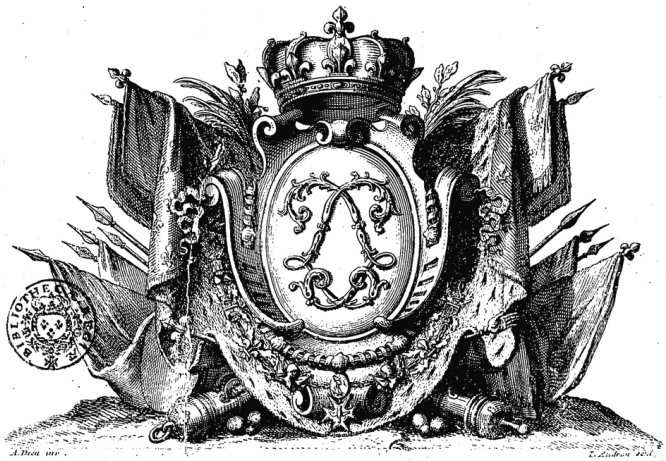
Où l'on trouvera

L'HISTOIRE DE SON ETABLISSEMENT,
LES FONCTIONS ET LES PREROGATIVES
DE SES MAGISTRATS;
TOUTES LES LOIX ET TOUS LES REGLEMENS
qui la concernent:

On y a joint

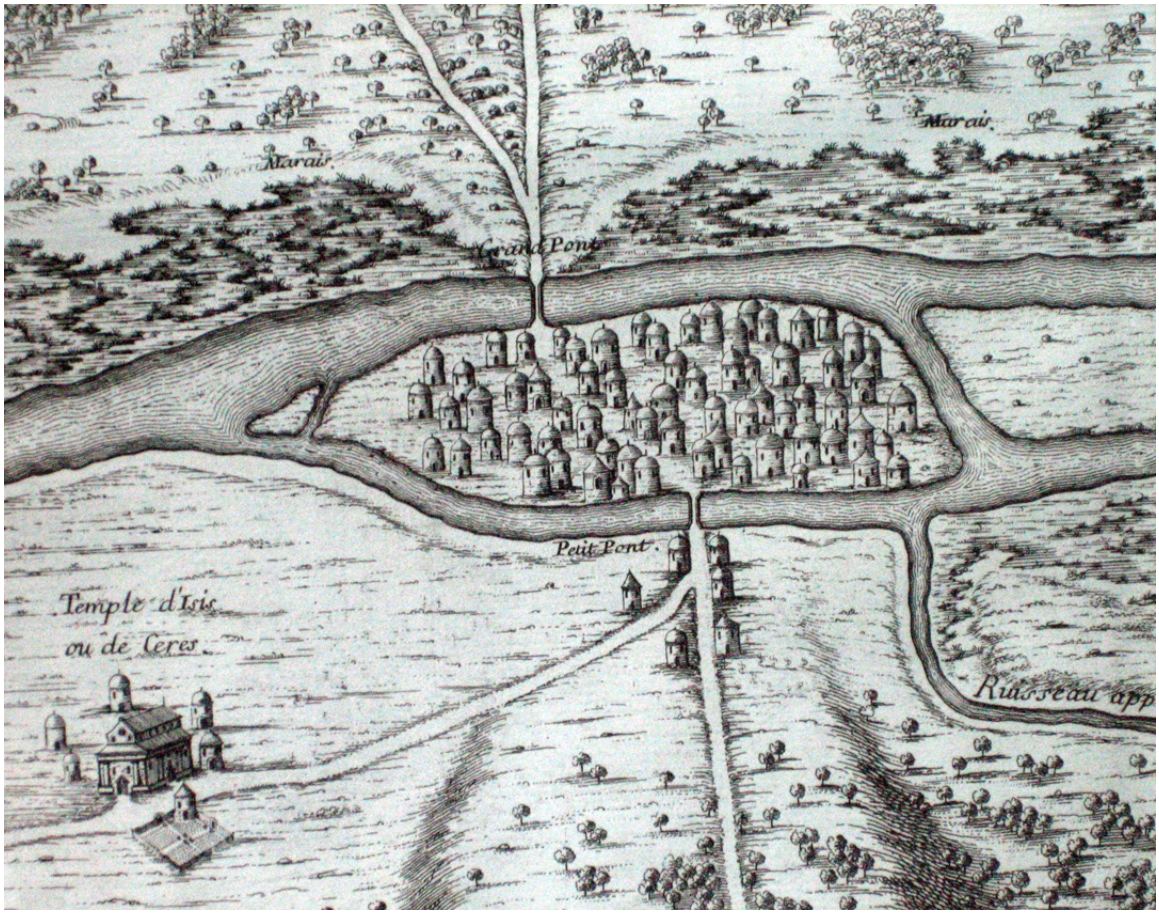
UNE DESCRIPTION HISTORIQUE ET TOPOGRAPHIQUE DE PARIS
& huit Plans gravez, qui representent son ancien Etat, & ses divers Accroissemens;
AVEC UN RECUEIL
DE TOUS LES STATUTS ET REGLEMENS DES SIX CORPS DES MARCHANDS
& de toutes les Communautez des Arts & Métiers.

TOME PREMIER



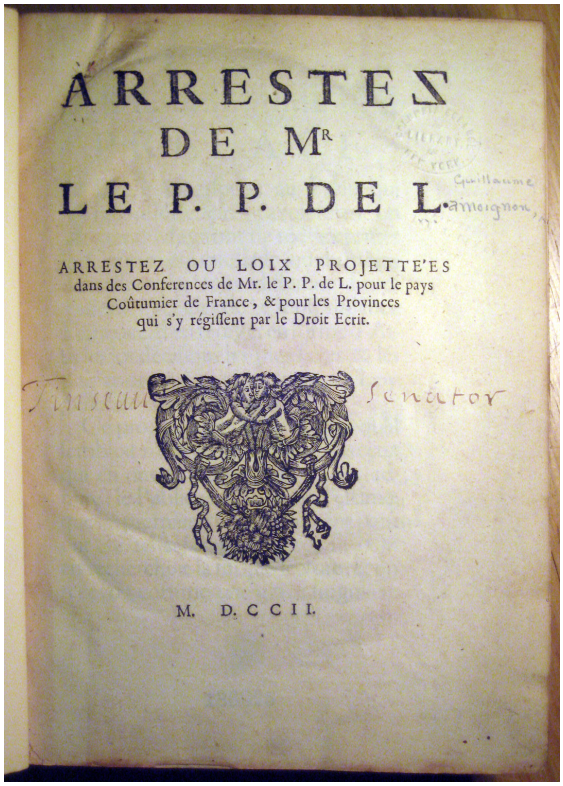
A PARIS,
Chez JEAN & PIERRE COT, ruë Saint Jacques, à l'entrée de
à la Minerve.
M. DC
AVEC PRIVILEGE DU

3.4. Title page of the *Traité de la police*, 1705. [Gallica]



3.5. "M. L. C. D. L. M." or Monsieur Le Commissaire Nicolas De La Mare. Cartouche of the first map of Paris (Lutèce) in the *Traité de la police*, 1705. [Middleton Library]

3.6. Lutèce, detail. *Traité de la police*, 1705. [Middleton Library]



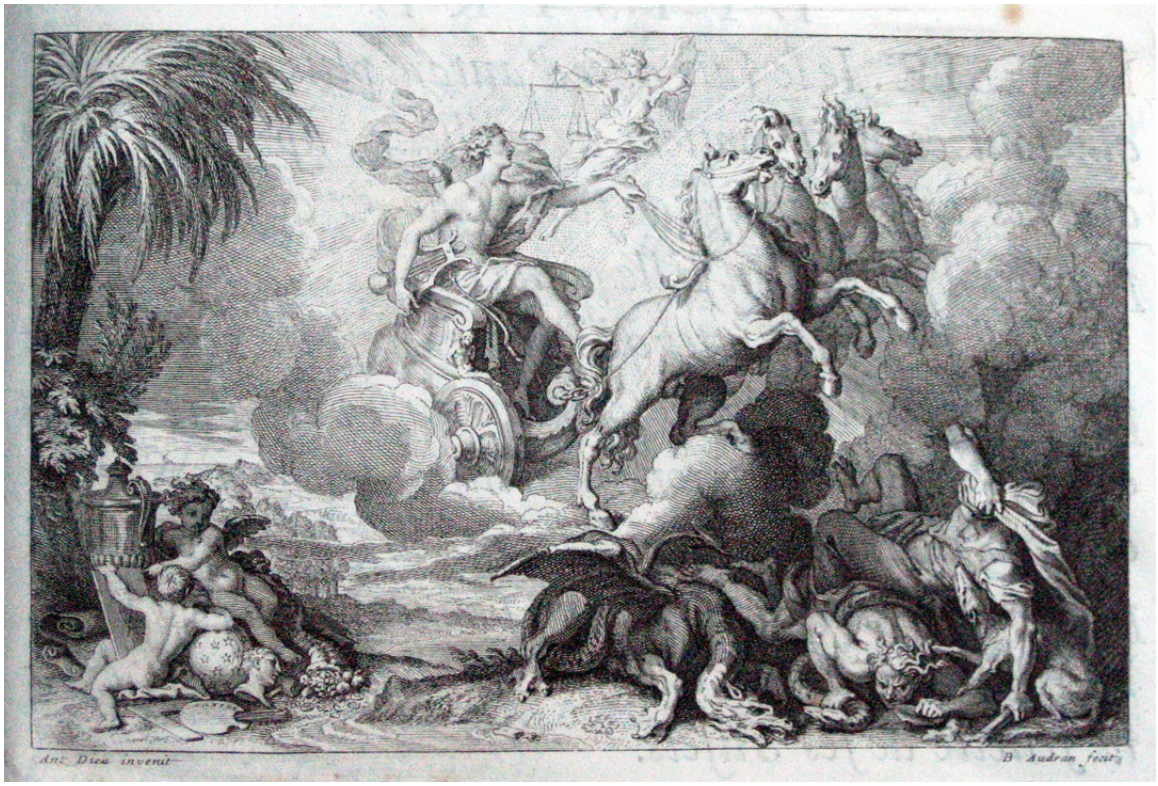
ARRESTEZ
DE Mr
LE P. P. DE L.

ARRESTEZ OU LOIX PROJETTE'ES
dans des Conferences de Mr. le P. P. de L. pour le pays
Coûtumier de France, & pour les Provinces
qui s'y régissent par le Droit Ecrit.

M. D. C C I I.

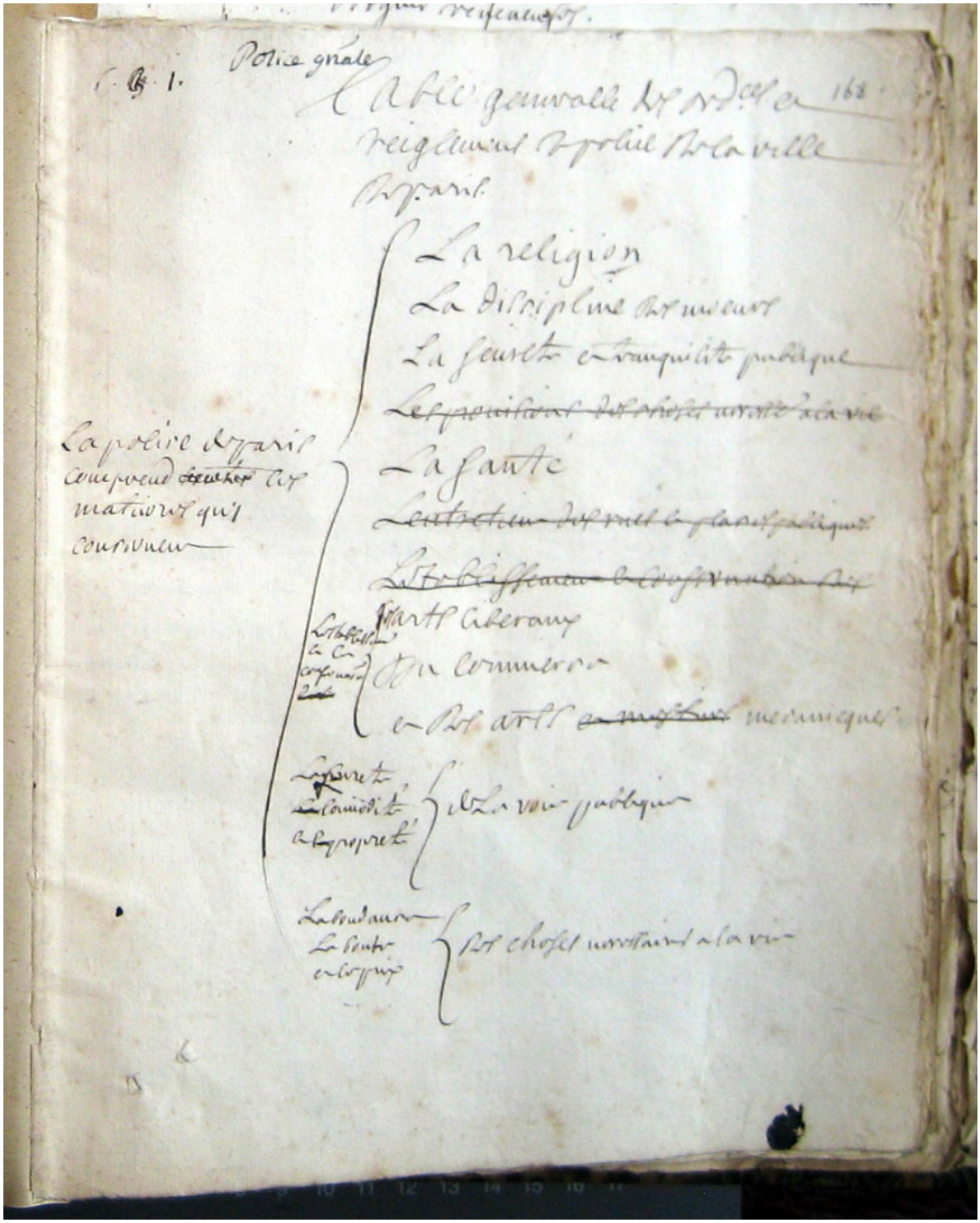
3.7. Guillaume de Lamoignon in a 1671 painting by Philippe Lallemant (after Philippe de Champaigne). [Château de Versailles. RMN]

3.8. "Mr le P. P. de L." or Monsieur le Premier Président de Lamoignon. *Arrestez de Mr le P. P. de L.*, 1702. [Arthur W. Diamond Law Library]

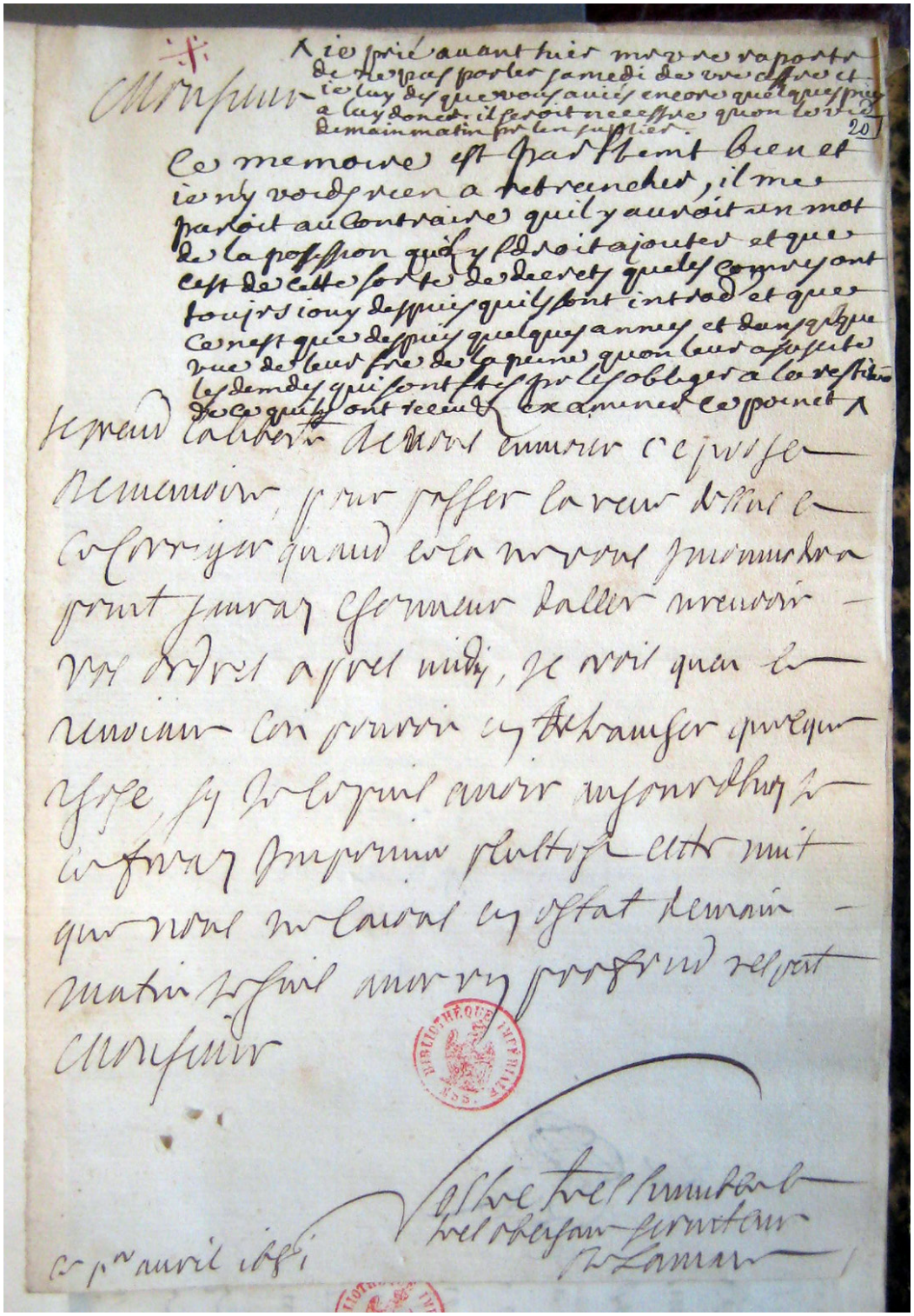


3.9. Vignette in the dedicatory letter of the *Traité de la police*, 1705. [Middleton Library]

3.10. Vignette in the preface of the *Traité de la police*, 1705. [Middleton Library]



3.11. Delamare's first table of contents for the *Traité de la police*. [BnF ms. fr. 21563, fol. 168]



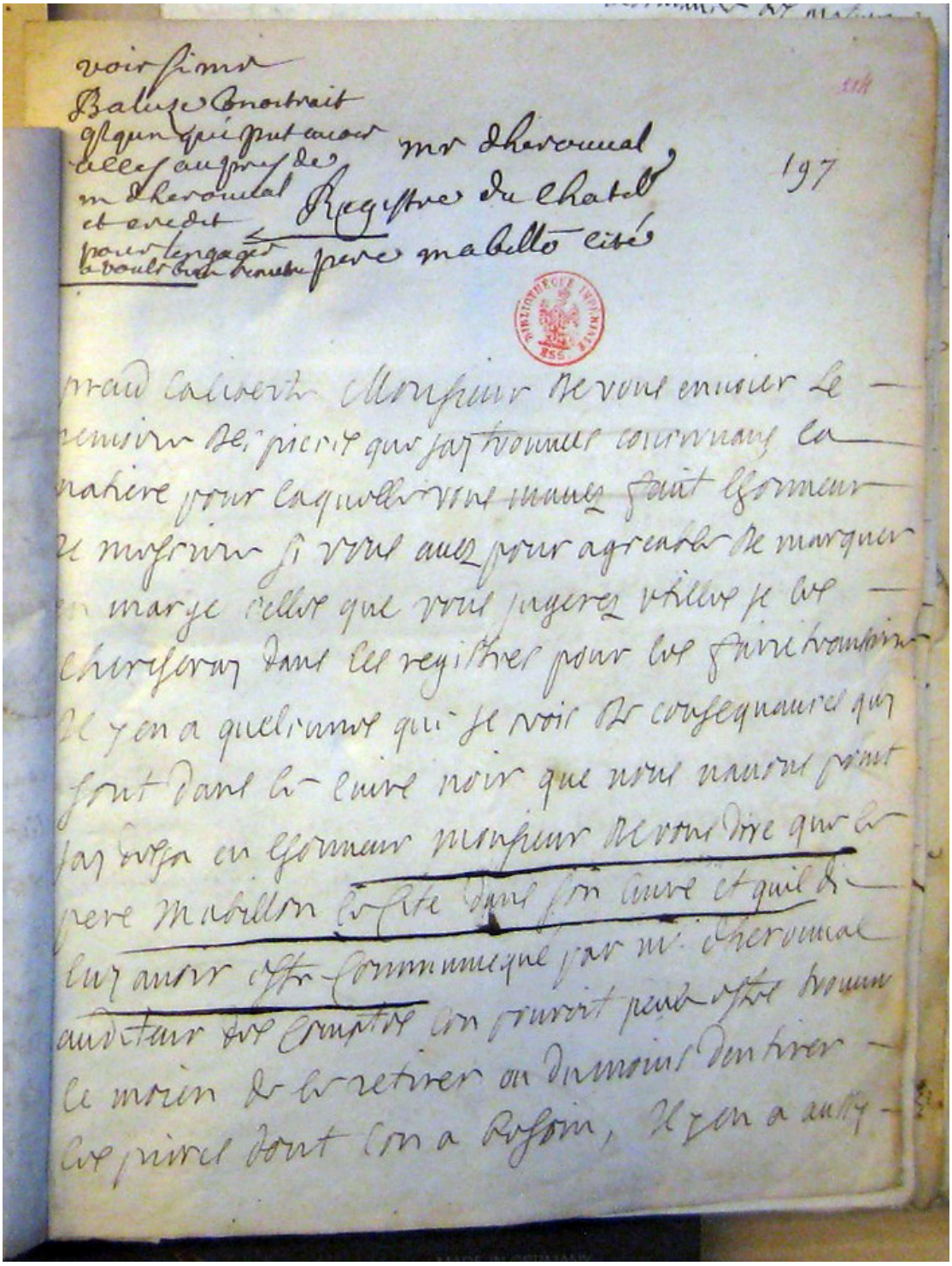
Monsieur

Ce memoire est partfaitement bien et
il n'y a rien a retrancher, il me
paroist au contraire qu'il y auroit un mot
de la possession qu'il y faudroit ajouter et que
c'est de cette sorte des decrets que les commis ont
toujours ioui depuis qu'ils sont intrad et que
ce n'est que depuis quelques annees et dans la
vue de leur frais de la peine qu'on leur a faite
les demandes qu'ils ont faites pour les obliger a la restitution
de ce qu'ils ont receu. Examinez ce point.
Je prend la liberté d'envoyer ce projet de
memoire, pour passer la veue d'icelui et
le corriger quand cela vous plaira
pour faire voir Monsieur d'aller prendre
vos ordres apres midy, je crois que le
renvoiant son pouvoir et le transfert que
vous faites, il y a lieu qu'il auroit un pouvoir
en forme imprimé plutost et tout mis
que nous ne laissant en estat demain
matin il faut un prorogand relevant
Monsieur

Votre tres humble
tres obeissant serviteur
De Lamare

ce 1er avril 1681

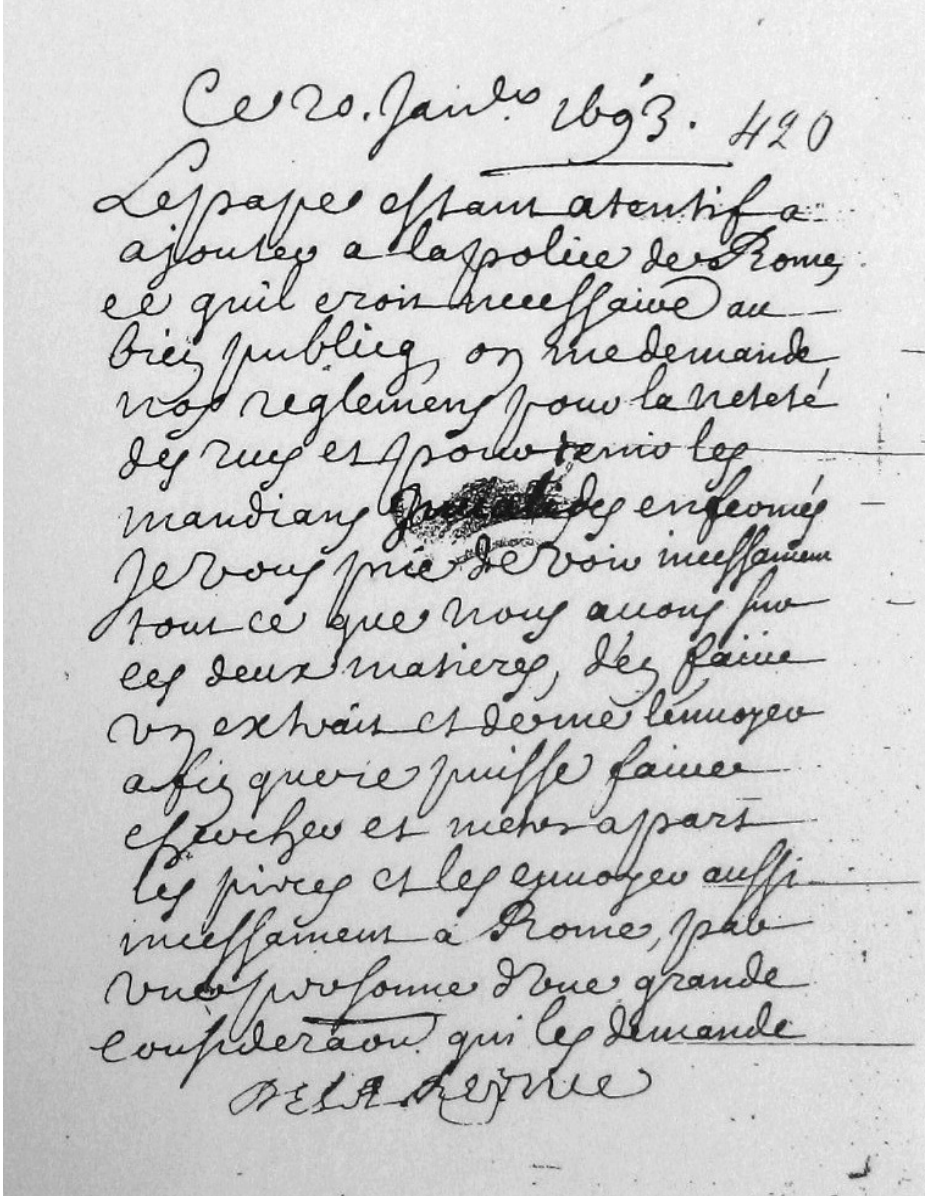
3.12. Delamare to La Reynie and back, 1 April 1681. [BnF ms. fr. 21583, fol. 20]



voir si mr Balus a montrait
qlqun qui put avoir
celles au pouvoir de
m. Heronval
et avec
pour engager
a vouloir bien trouver
mr Heronval
Registres du chatel
pere mabillo cité

197

grand Calloeth Monsieur de vous envoier le
memoire de ce que jay trouvé concernant la
matiere pour laquelle vous m'avez fait l'honneur
de m'escrire si vous avez pour agreable de marquer
en marge celles que vous jugerez valoir je les
chercheray dans les registres pour les faire transcrire
il y en a quelques uns que je voie de consequence qui
sont dans le livre noir que nous n'avons point
jay tasché en l'honneur monsieur de vous dire que le
pere Mabillon l'a lu dans son livre et qu'il le
luy avoit esté communiqué par m. Heronval
auditeur des comptes on pourroit peut estre trouver
le moyen de le retirer ou du moins en tirer
les pieces dont l'on a besoin, il y en a aussy

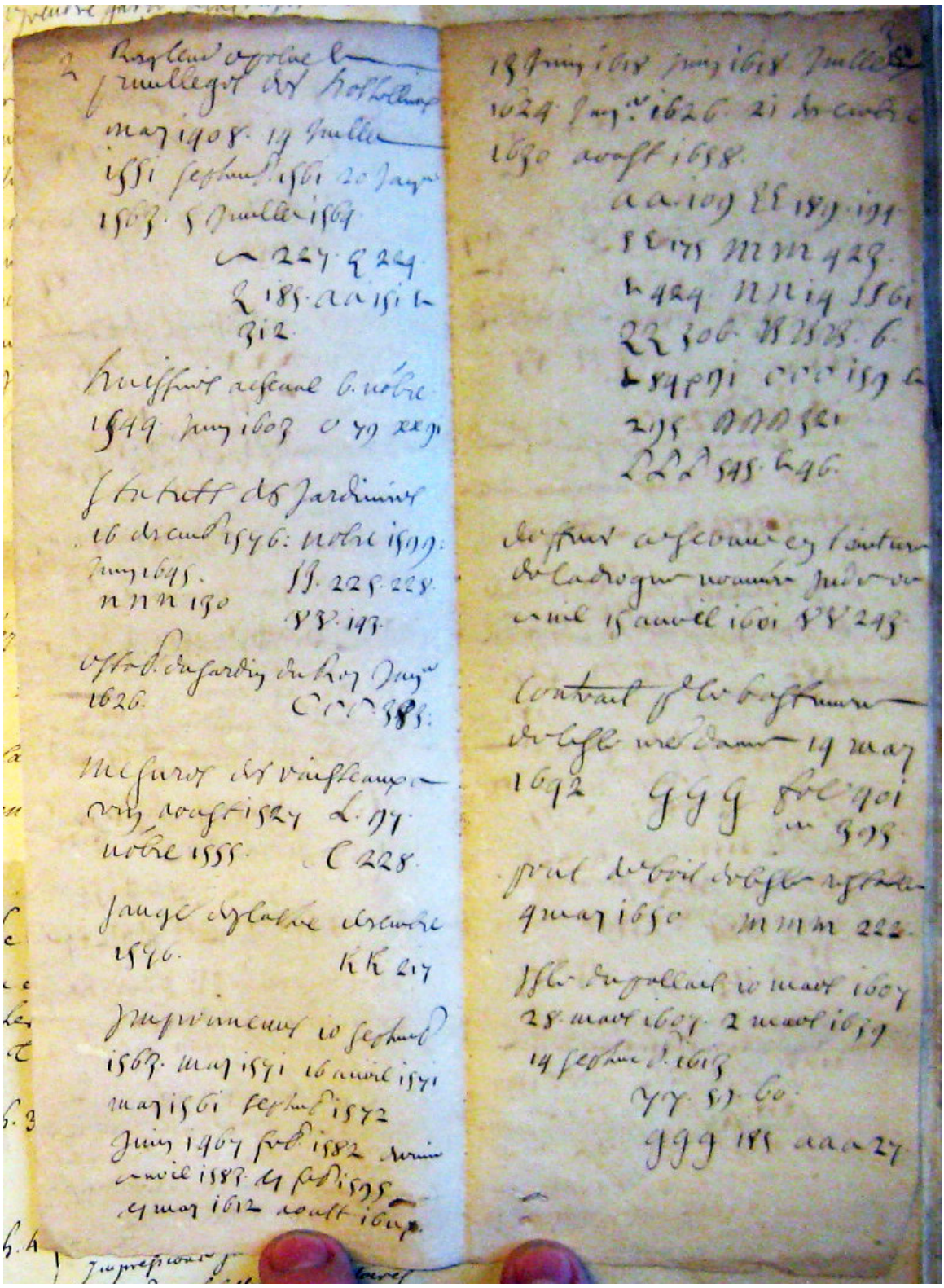


Ce 20. Janv. 1693. 420

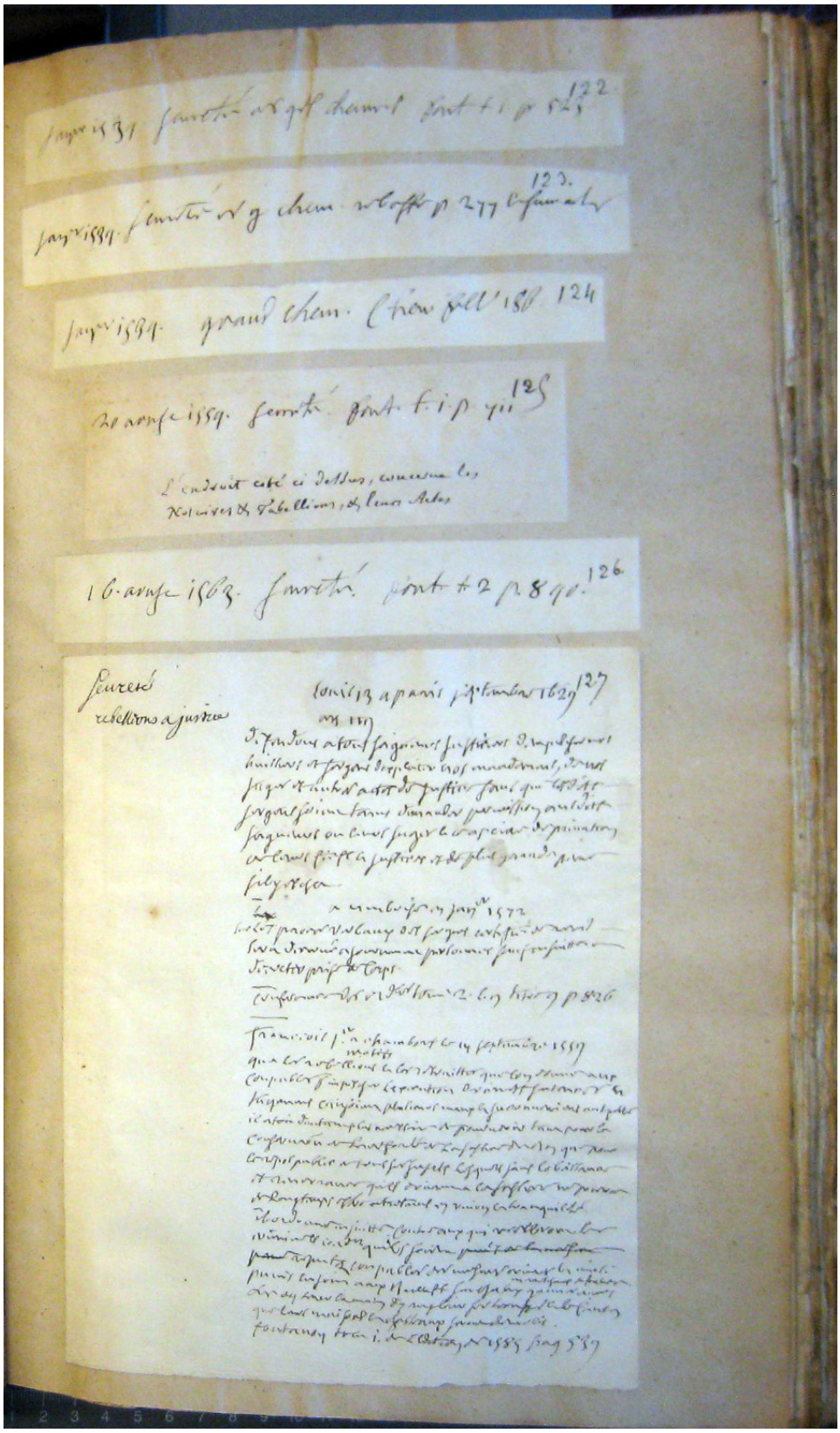
Le pape est tant atentif a
ajouter a la police de Rome
ce qui est necessaire au
bien public, on me demande
nos reglemens pour la netteté
des rues et pour tenir les
mandians [redacted] des enfermés
Je vous prie de voir incessamment
tout ce que vous avez sur
ces deux matieres, de faire
un extrait et de me l'envoyer
afin que je puisse faire
efforcer et mettre a part
les pires et les envoyer aussi
incessament a Rome, par
une personne d'une grande
consideration qui les demande

DELA REYNIE

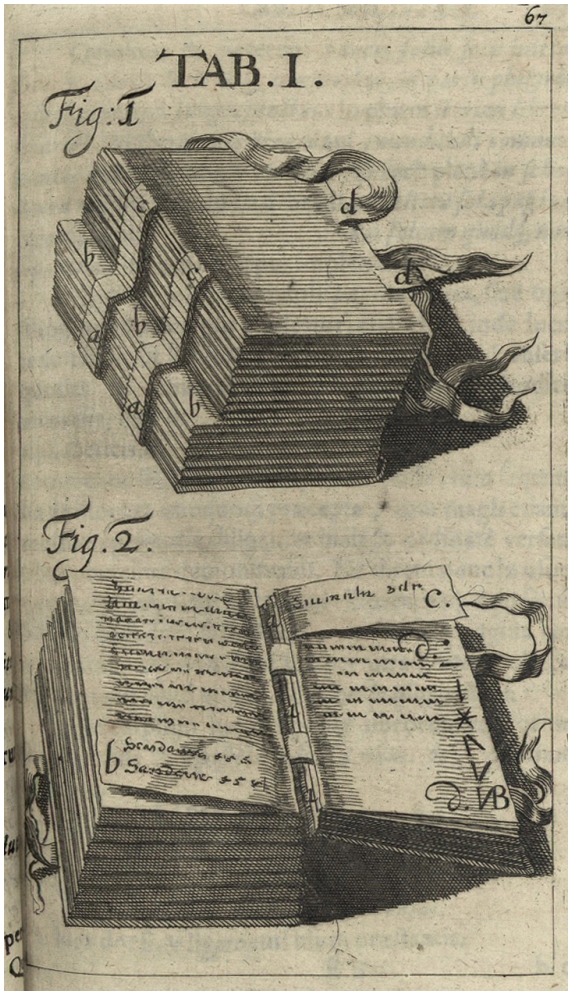
3.14. La Reynie to Delamare, 20 January 1693. [BnF ms. fr. 21684 (microfilm 4672), fol. 420]

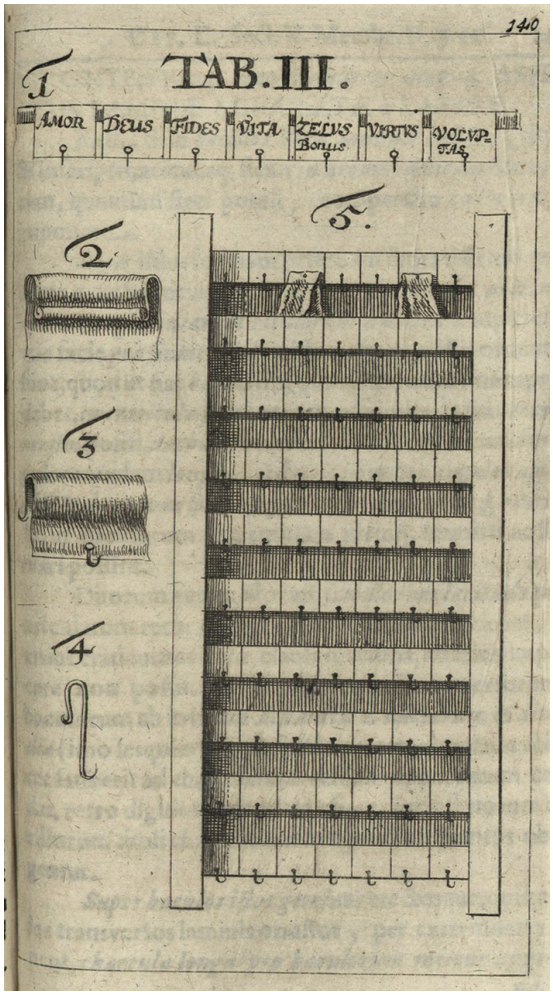


3.15. A list of police measures in one of Delamare's research notebooks. [BnF ms. fr. 21565, fols. 153v-154r]

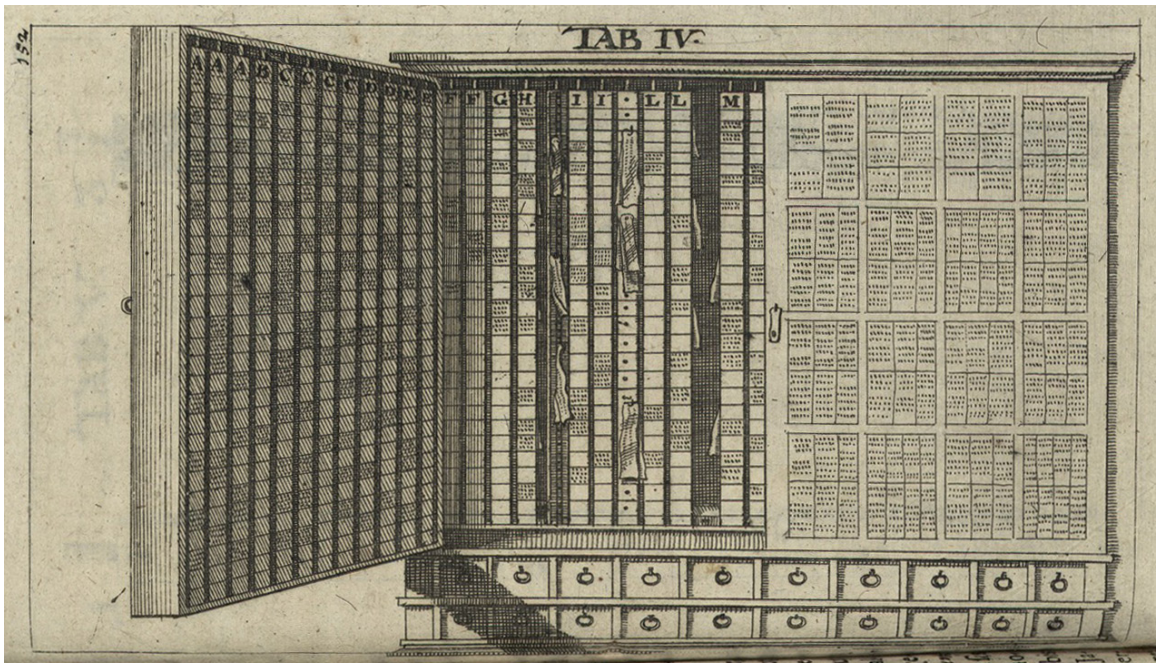


3.16. A sample of Delamare's notes. [BnF ms. fr. 21565, fols. 122-27]





3.17-18. Two methods for storing notes illustrated in Vincent Placcius, *De arte excerpendi*, 1689. [ECHO]



3.19-20. Vincent Placcius's note cabinet in *De arte excerpendi*, 1689. [ECHO]

Traité de la Police, Livre I. Titre VII. 101.

Chancellerie ; c'eſt-à-dire, celuy qui eſtoit appoſé au revers du grand Sceau, ou la figure du Royeſtoit repreſentée ; ils s'en ſervoient auſſi pour Sceau privé. Voicy l'un & l'autre de ce Sceaux, leurs figures en feront mieux comprendre la conformité.

Ancien contreſcel de la Chancellerie, qui eſt au bas d'une Lettre Patente de Saint Louis, du mois de Février 1226.

Mabill. de re diplomatica, lib. 5. tab. 44. pag. 433.

Ancien Sceau du Chaſtelet.

Ces deux Sceaux furent d'abord parfaitement conformes : ce fut ſous le regne du Roy Jean, que les trefles furent changez en deux petites fleur-de-lys, & que le grenetis fut ajouſté au tour de la legende. Les monnoyes de ce Prince nous fourniſſent la preuve de ces changemens : il y en a pluſieurs eſpeces, de ce temps, & ſous cette forme, dans le docte & curieux cabinet de Monſieur Baudelot de Dairval, qu'il a eu la bonté de nous communiquer, & nous en avons les types ou empreintes dans le Gloſſaire de Monſieur Ducange, [a] & dans le traité des monnoyes de Monſieur le Blanc. [b]

[a] In verbo moneta Regia p. 634.
[b] Chap. du Roy Jean. p. 358.

C'eſtoit donc de ce Sceau d'une ſeule Fleur-de-lys fleuronnée, que l'on ſcelloit autrefois tous les actes du Chaſtelet de Paris ſans aucune diſtinction.

Charles IX. apporta quelque changement à cet uſage par ſon Edit du mois de Juin 1568. que l'on nomme l'Edit des petits Sceaux. Juſqu'alors les Sceaux des Juſtices Royales avoient eſté compris dans les Fermes du Domaine du Roy, & les Fermiers commettoient à l'exercice : le Chaſtelet de Paris ſeul, comme il vient d'eſtre obſervé, avoit ſon Scelleur en titre d'Office.

Charles IX. par cet Edit créa un ſemblable Officier dans toutes les autres Juſtices Royales, & ordonna qu'ils ſcelleroient d'un Sceau aux Armes de France, tous les Contrats, Sentences, & autres actes portant contraintes, ou executions. Le Scelleur du Chaſtelet, quoique plus ancien que cet Edit, fut ſoumis à la même Loy : elle eſtoit generale pour tout le Royaume ; ainſi tous les Contrats, les Sentences, & les autres Actes qui devoient produire quelque contrainte ou execution, commencerent d'y eſtre ſcellez de même que dans les autres Juriſdictions d'un Sceau à trois Fleur-de-lys : l'on conſerva neanmoins toujours l'uſage de l'ancien Sceau d'une ſeule Fleur-de-lys, comme un monument précieux de l'antiquité, & des anciennes prérogatives de cette Juriſdiction : mais l'on en fixa ſeulement l'uſage aux adjudications par Decret, & aux legaliſations, parce que ce ſont des Actes dont l'Edit des petits Sceaux n'avoit point fait de mention. C'eſt ainſi que l'on en a uſé juſqu'à l'Edit du mois de Novembre 1696. qui a enfin rendu uniforme, & à trois Fleur-de-lys, tous les Sceaux des Juriſdictions Royales, pour tous les Actes ſoumis au Sceau, ſans aucune diſtinction.

Il eſt vray, pour revenir à cet ancien Sceau, qu'aux empreintes que l'on en a vû dans ces derniers temps, & depuis plus d'un ſiecle, la Fleur-de-lys, eſtoit accompagnée de deux autres figures ; l'une qui repreſentoit les Tours du Chaſtelet, & l'autre, un écuſſon chargé d'un chevron, accompagné en chef de trois teſtes d'oiſeaux arrachées, & en pointe d'un rameau d'arbre.

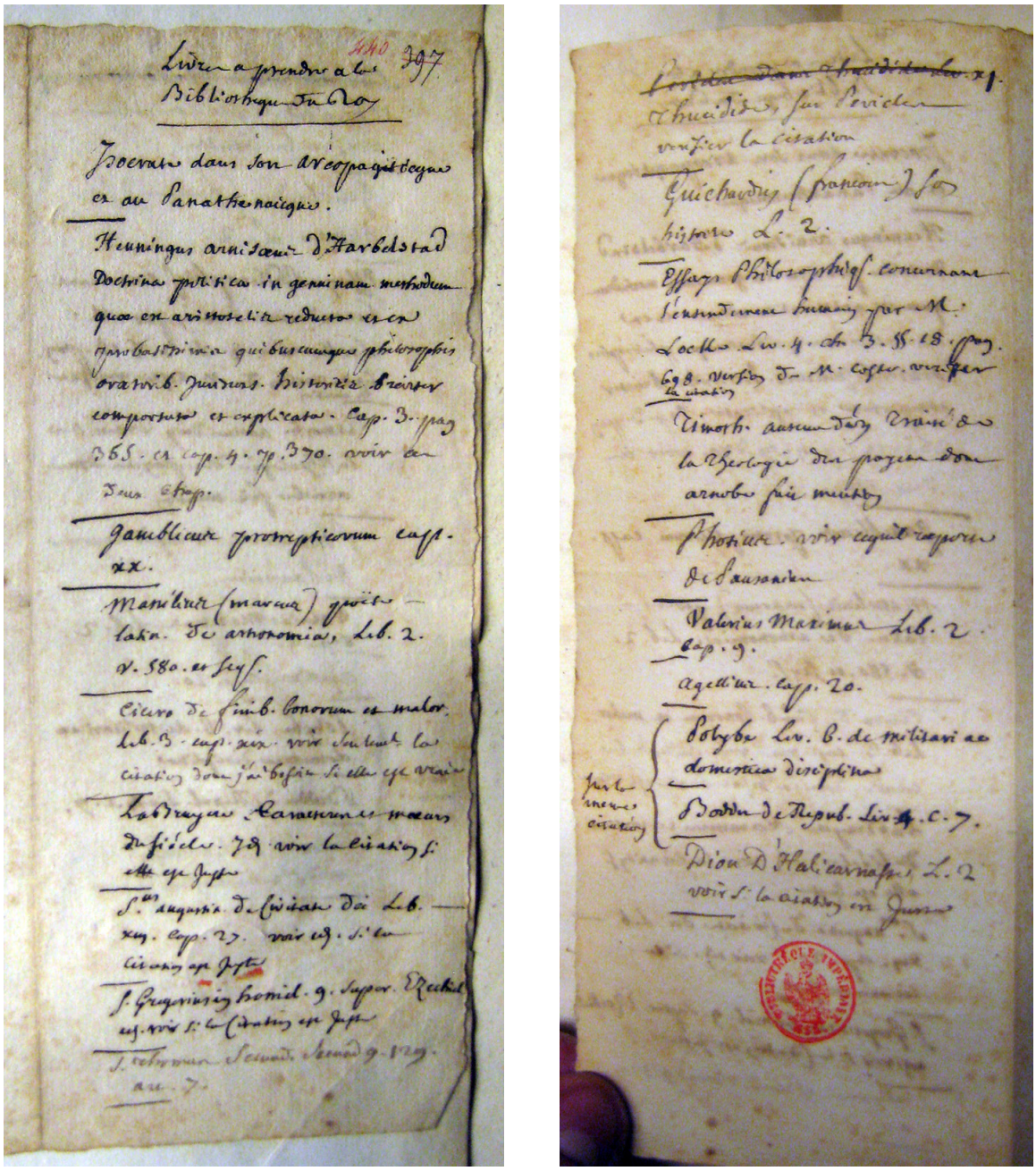
L'on a recherché avec ſoin l'origine de ces additions, ſans la pouvoir découvrir. Ces Armes ne ſont point d'un Prevoſt de Paris, nous les avons toutes dans le Feron, il n'y en a aucune qui ait rapport à celles-cy ; tout ce que l'on en peut conjecturer de plus vray-ſemblable, c'eſt que ce ſont les Armes de quelqu'un des Scelleurs, & que les Tours n'ont eſté miſes de l'autre coſté que pour les accompagner. Ce Sceau depuis l'Edit de 1696. n'eſt donc plus d'aucun uſage, celuy à trois Fleur-de-lys eſtably par cet Edit ſans aucune exception, luy a ſuccedé : mais comme il eſt bon de ne pas enſevelir dans l'oubly cette antiquité, qui prouve l'une des principales prérogatives de la premiere Juriſdiction ordinaire du Royaume, nous en avons rapporté icy la figure, déſignée ſur le même Sceau qui a ſervi en dernier lieu.

Memorial de la Chambre des Comptes fol. 131.

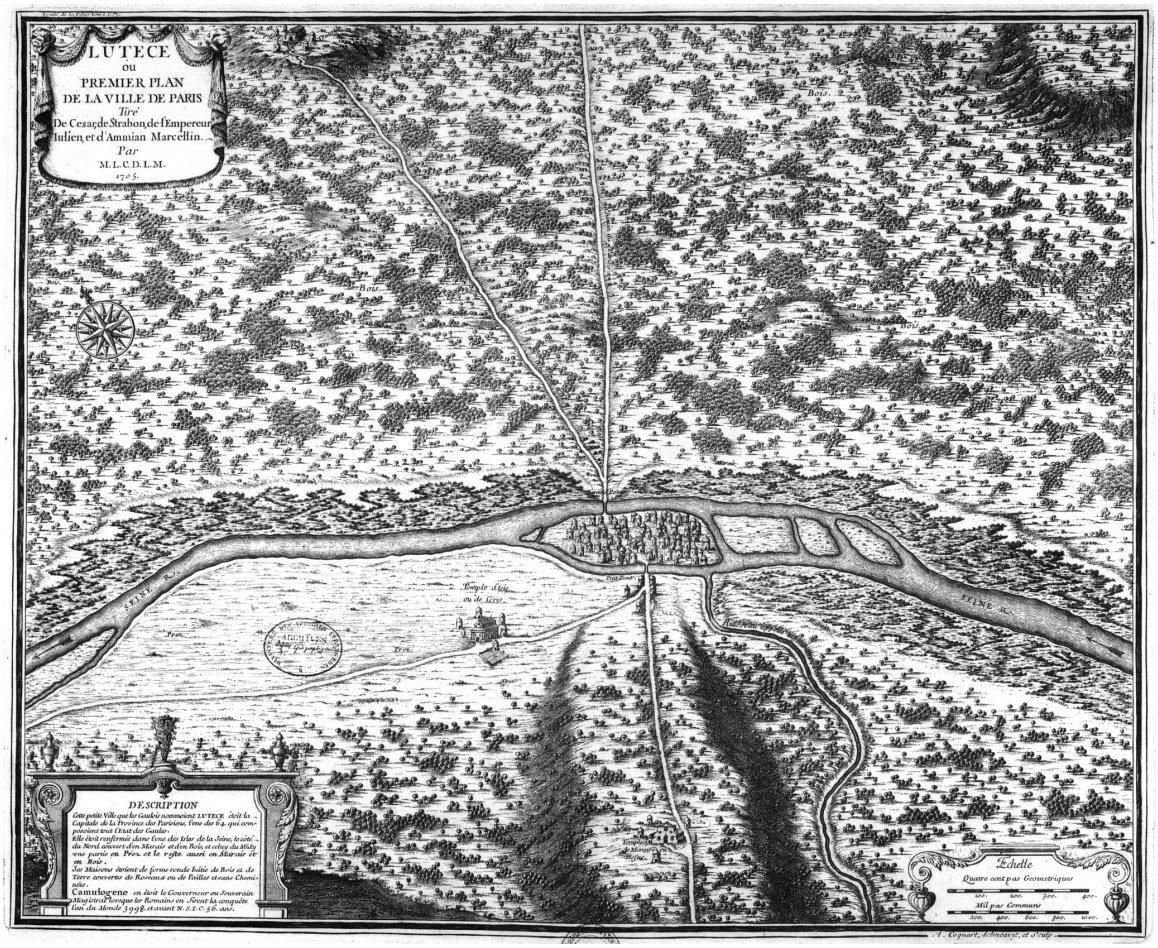
Comme ce Sceau Royal du Chaſtelet eſtoit originairement unique, il eſtoit auſſi univerſel : on s'en ſervoit dans le beſoin, & en l'abſence du grand Sceau pour ſceller toutes les Lettres de la Chancellerie. Firmin de Coquerel Evêque de Noyon & Chancelier de France, eſtant preſt d'en-

 treprendre

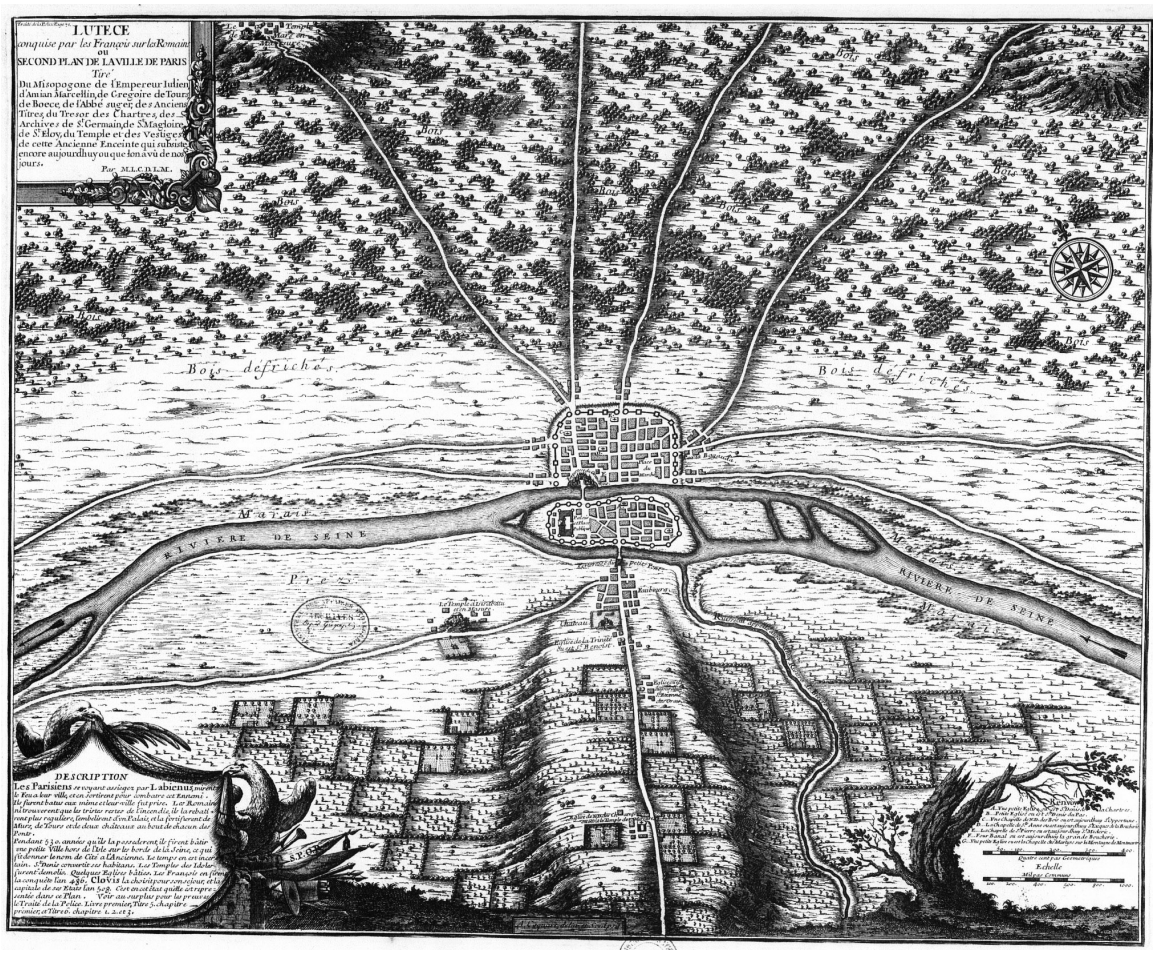
3.21. Seals of the Chancellerie and of the Châtelet in the *Traité de la police*, 1705. [Gallica]



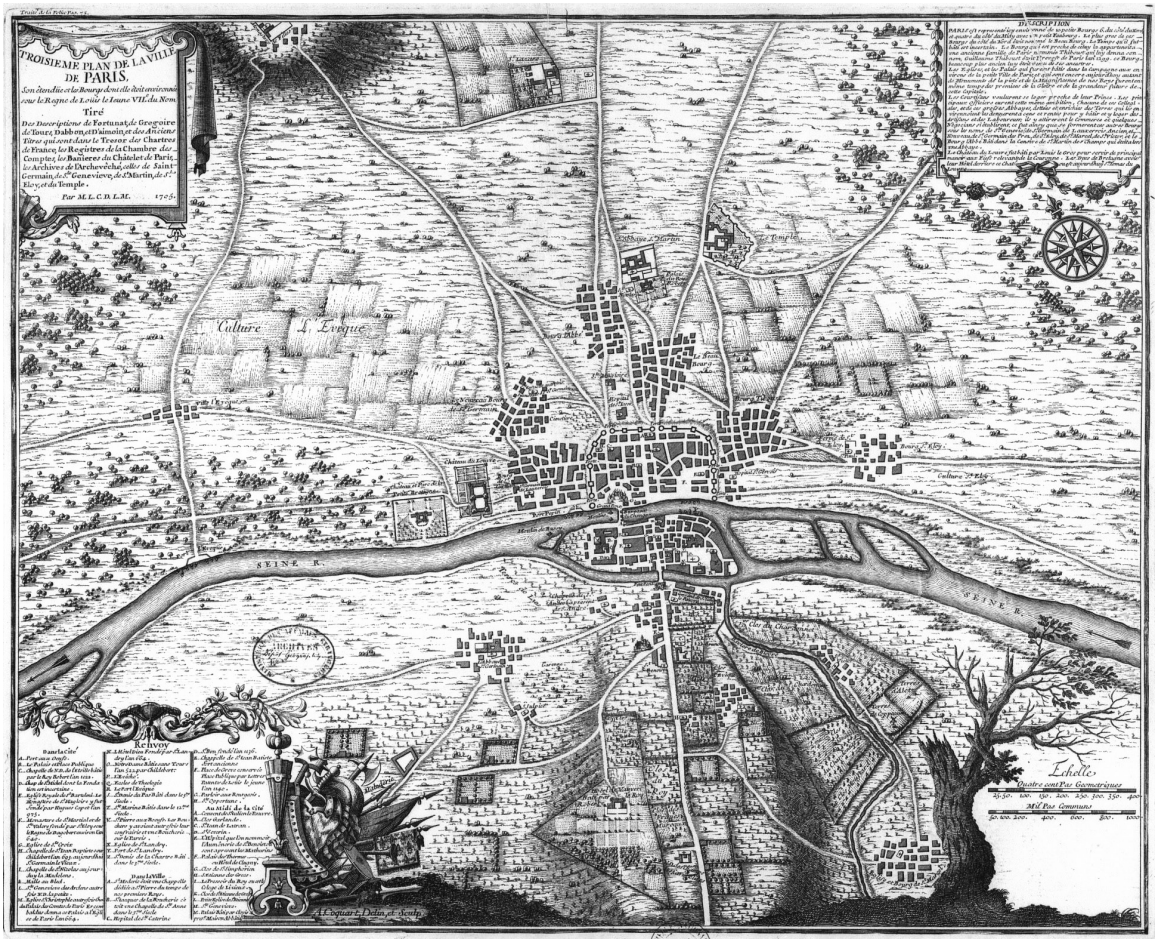
3.22-23. "Livres a prendre a la Bibliotheque du Roy," ca. 1720. [BnF ms. fr. 21566, fol. 440r-v]



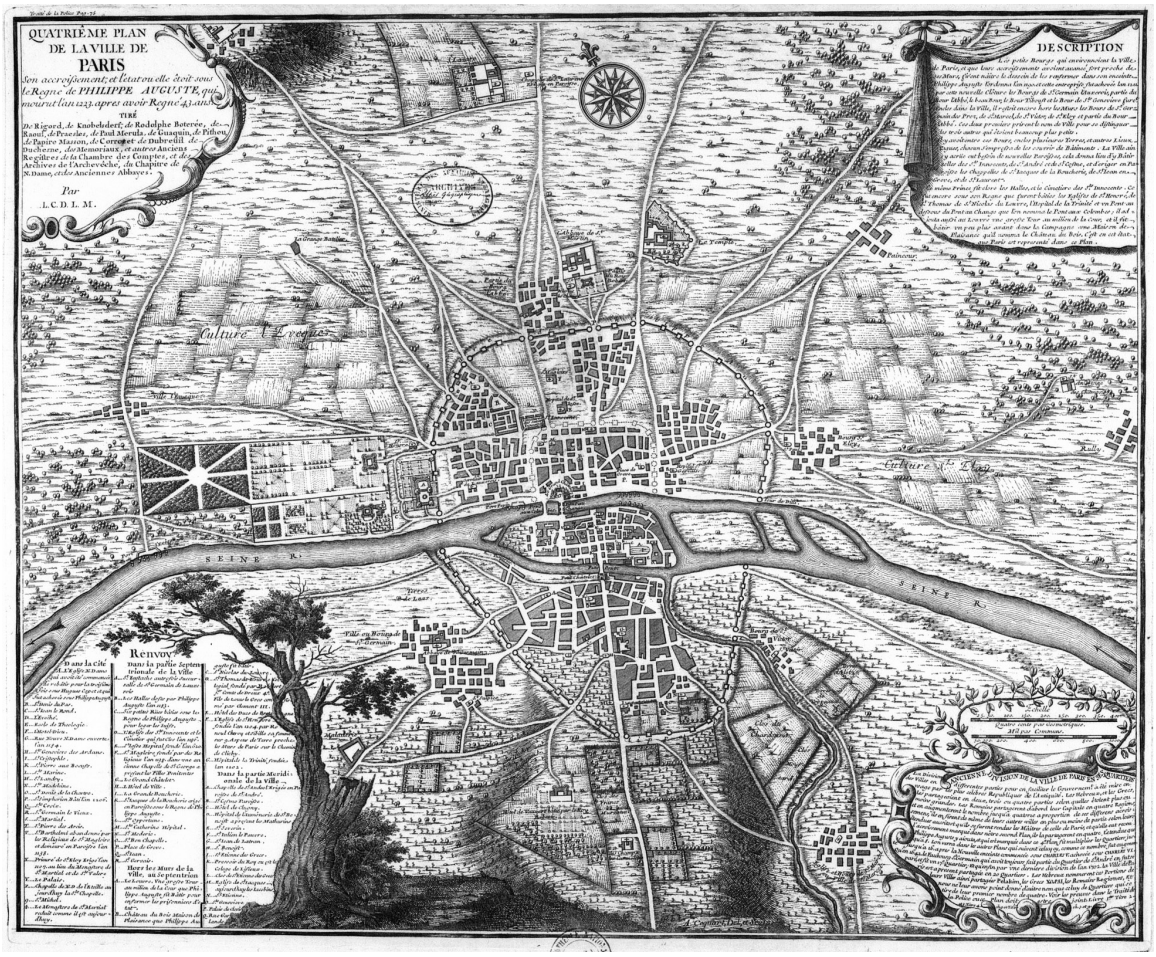
3.24. "Lutèce, ou Premier plan de la ville de Paris." *Traité de la police*, 1705. [Gallica]



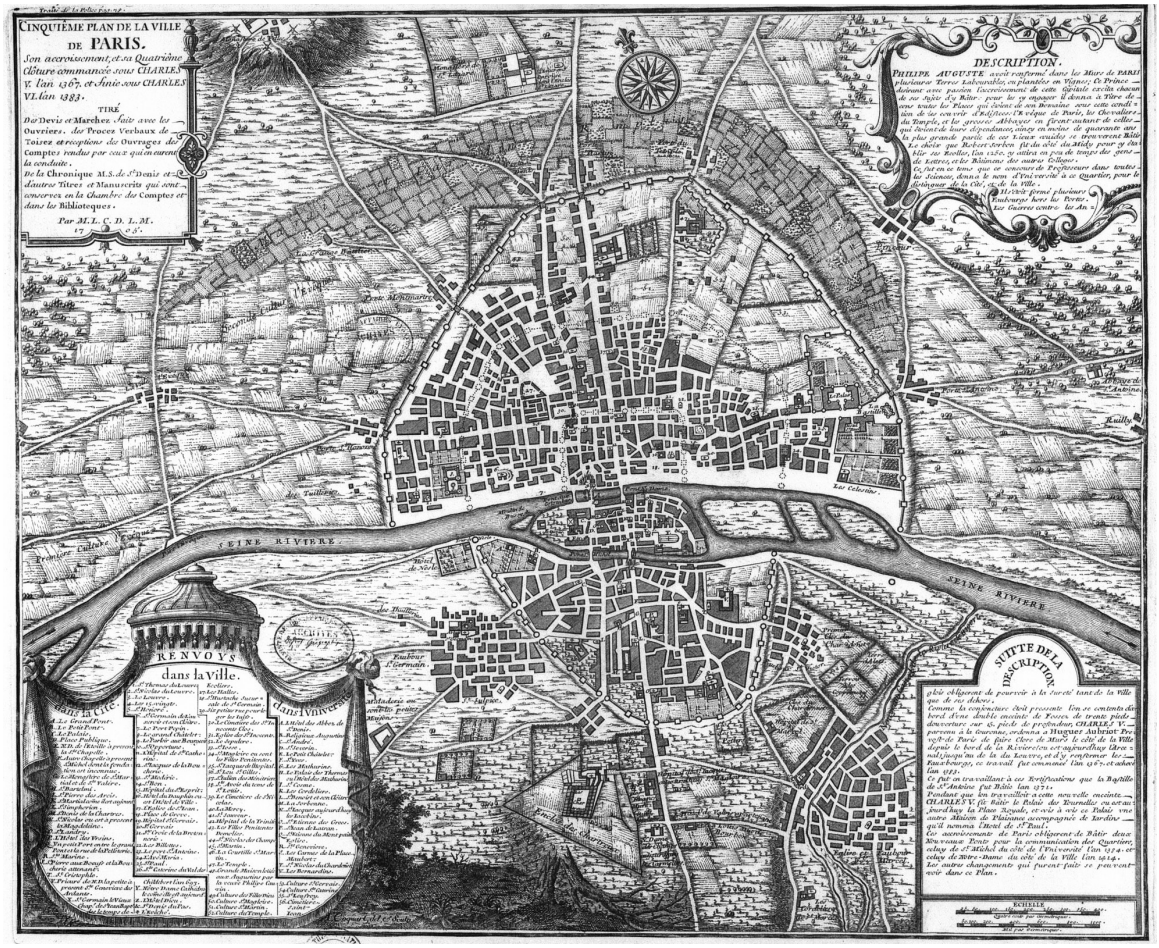
3.25. "Lutèce conquise par les François sur les Romains, ou Second plan de la ville de Paris." *Traité de la police*, 1705. [Gallica]



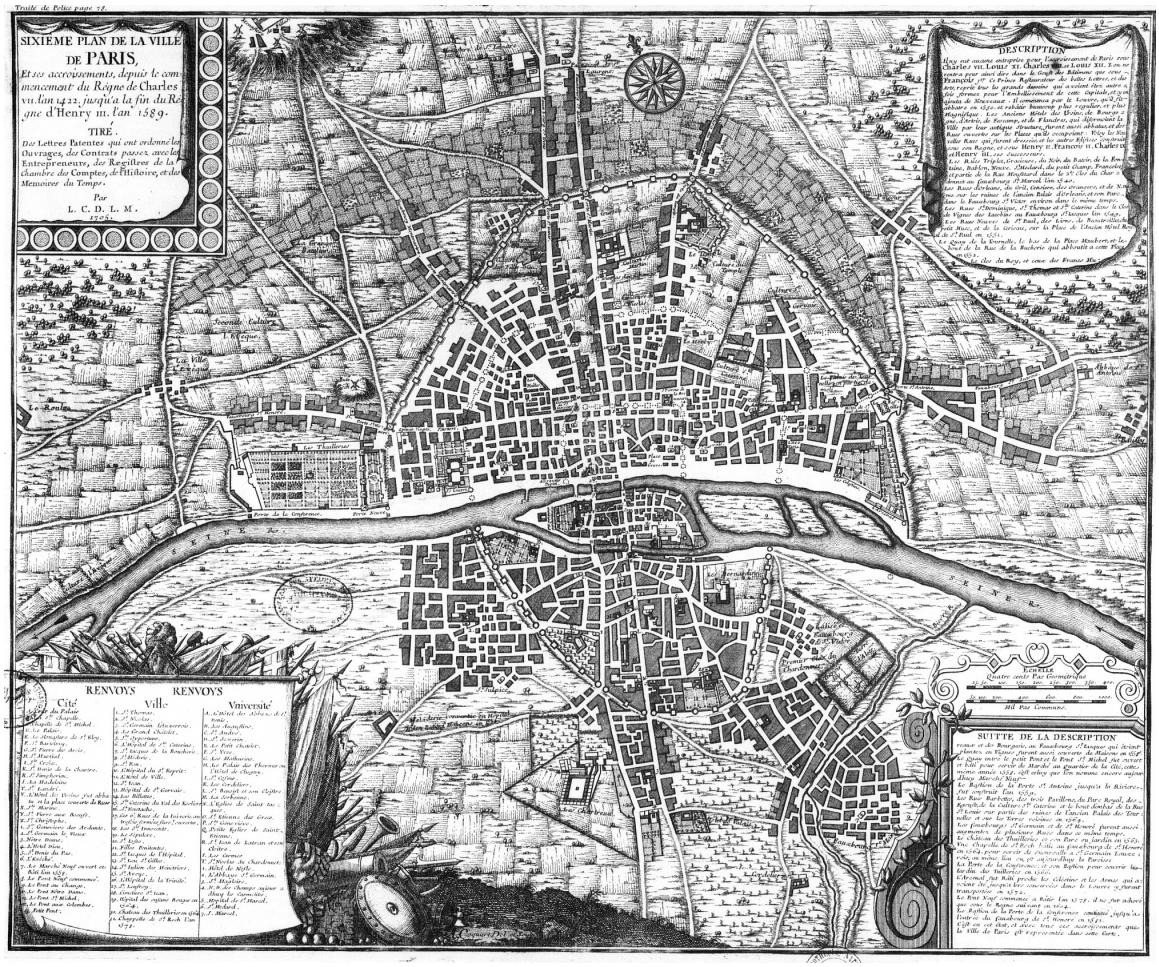
3.26. "Troisième plan de la ville de Paris." *Traité de la police*, 1705. [Gallica]



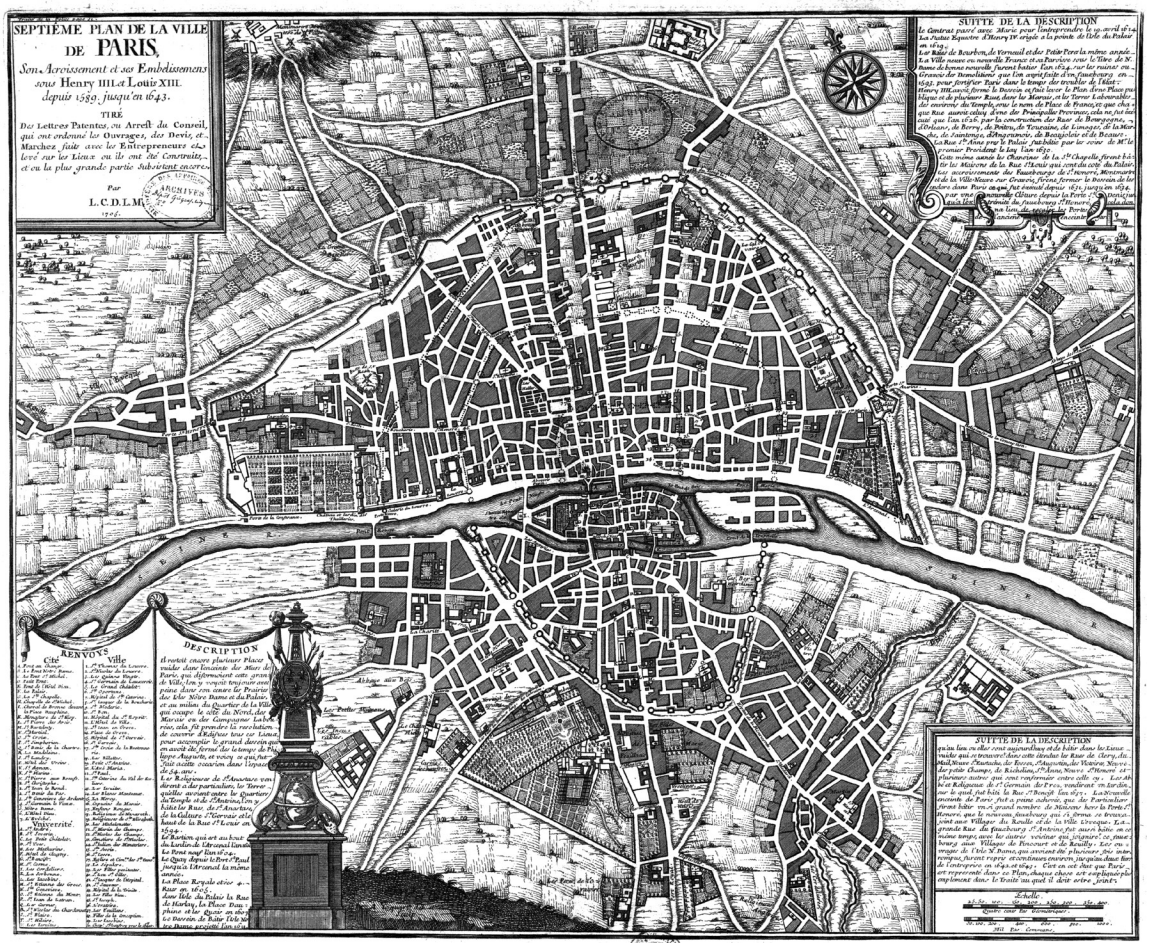
3.27. "Quatrième plan de la ville de Paris." *Traité de la police*, 1705. [Gallica]



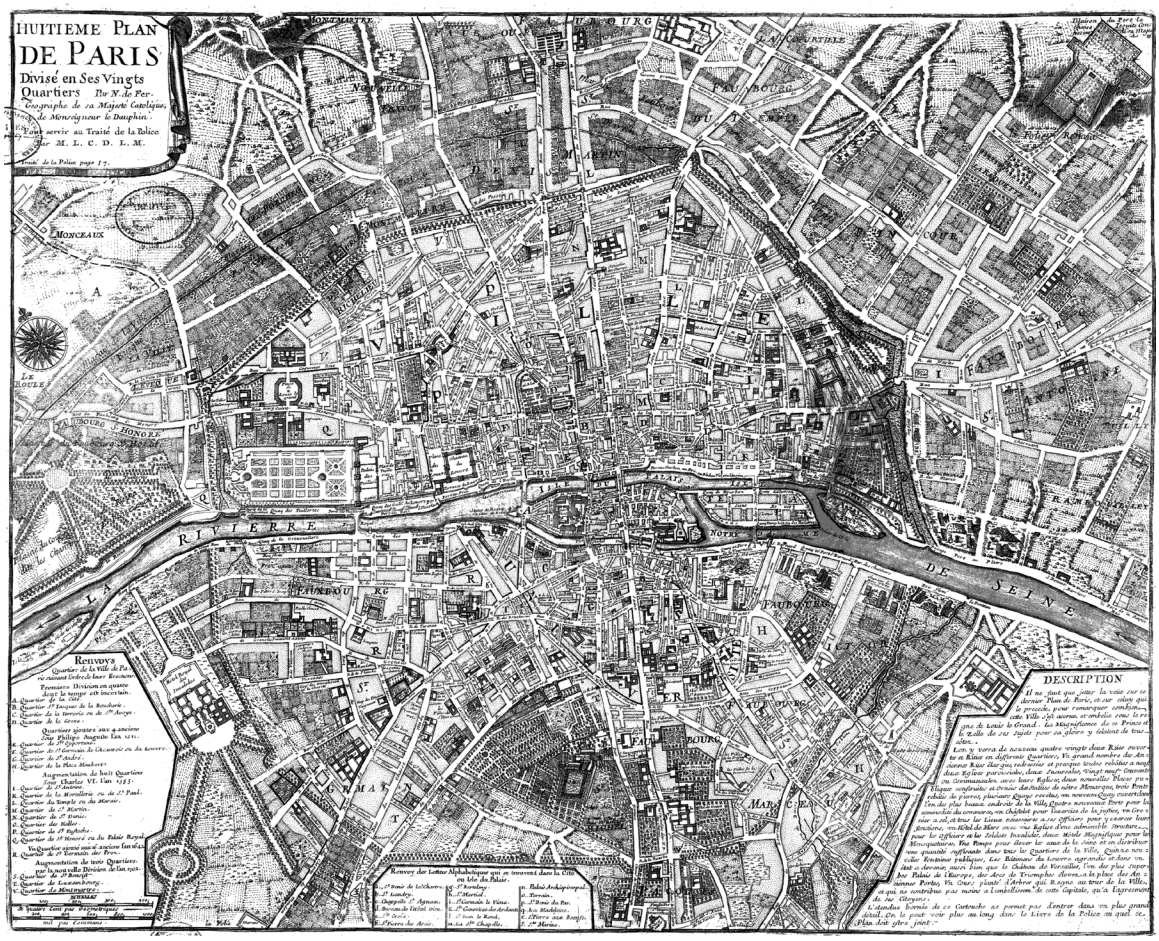
3.28. “Cinquième plan de la ville de Paris.” *Traité de la police*, 1705. [Gallica]



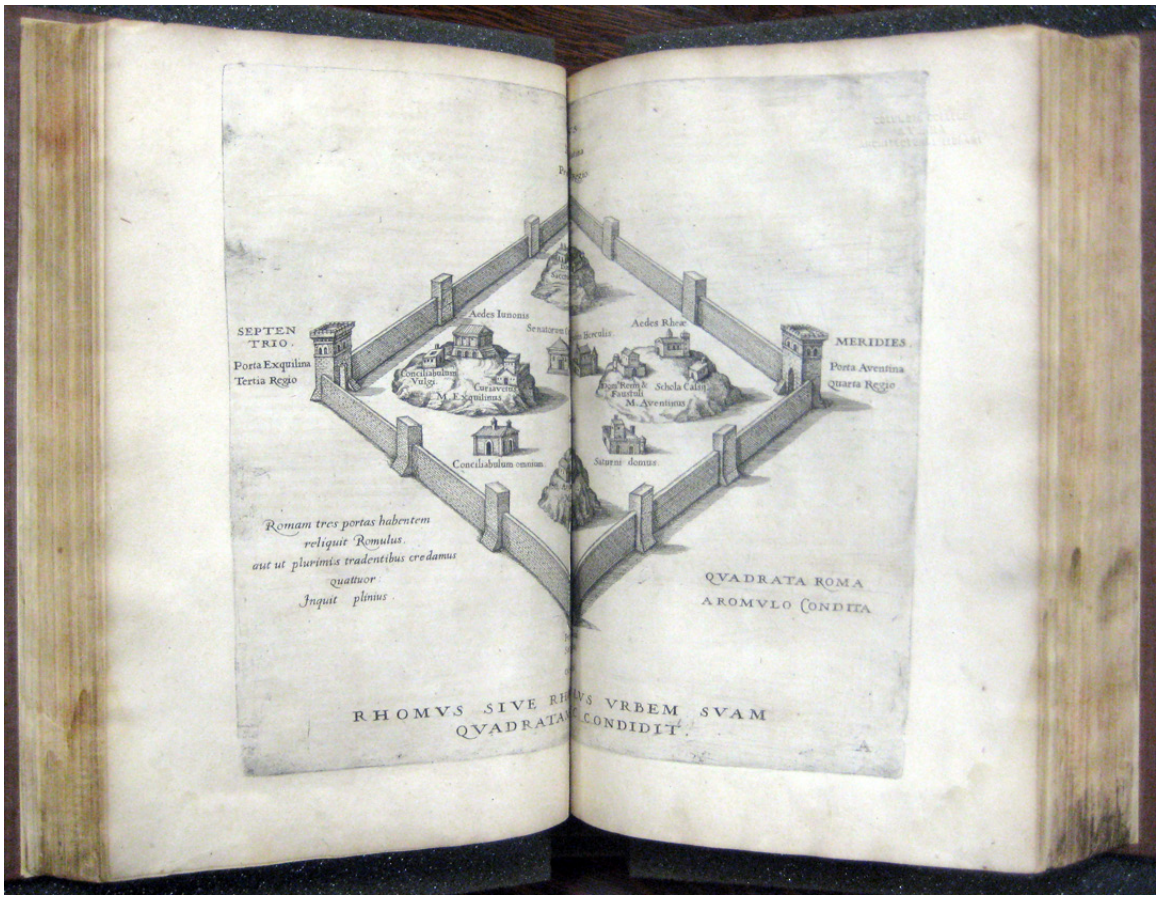
3.29. "Sixième plan de la ville de Paris." *Traité de la police*, 1705. [Gallica]



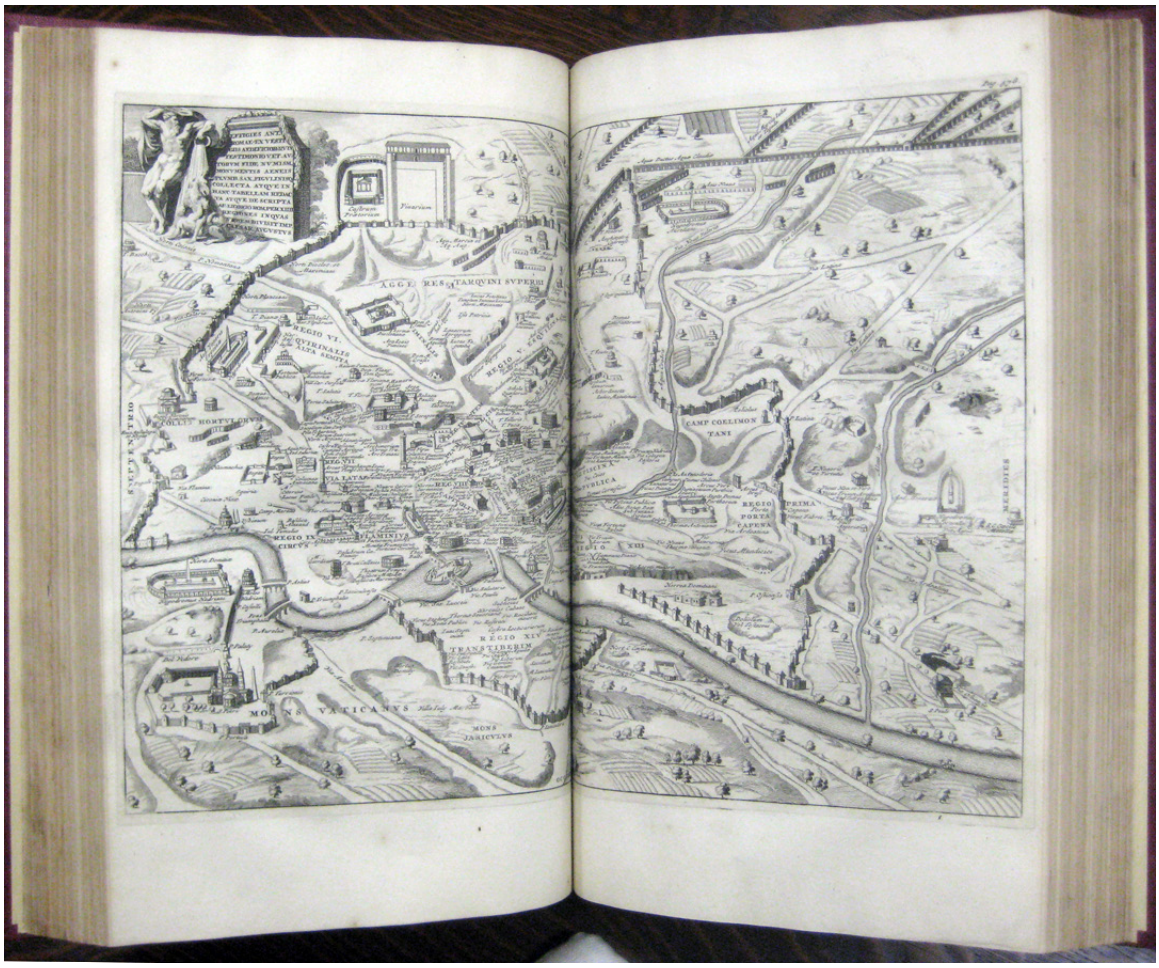
3.30. "Septième plan de la ville de Paris." *Traité de la police*, 1705. [Gallica]



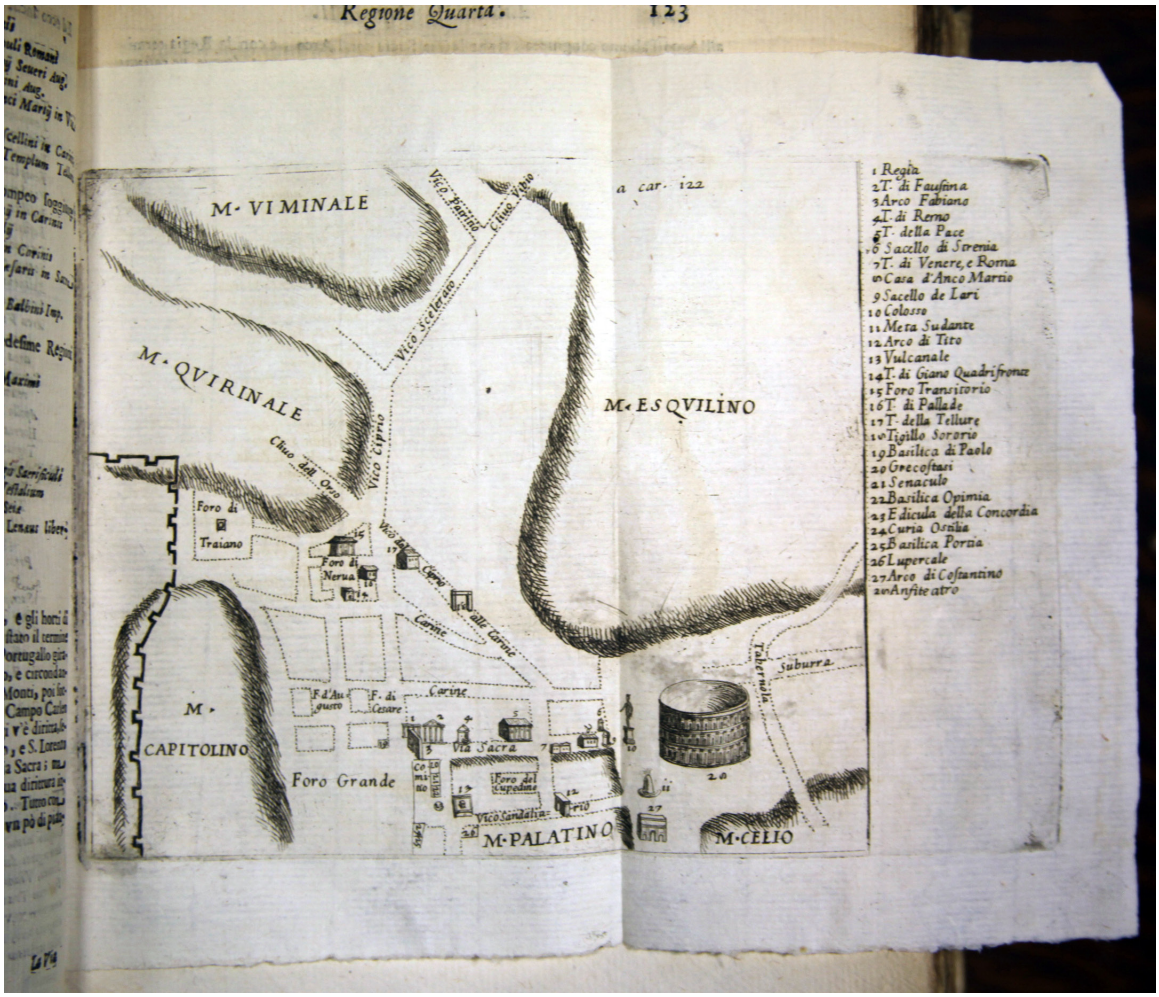
3.31. “Huitième plan de la ville de Paris.” *Traité de la police*, 1705. [Gallica]



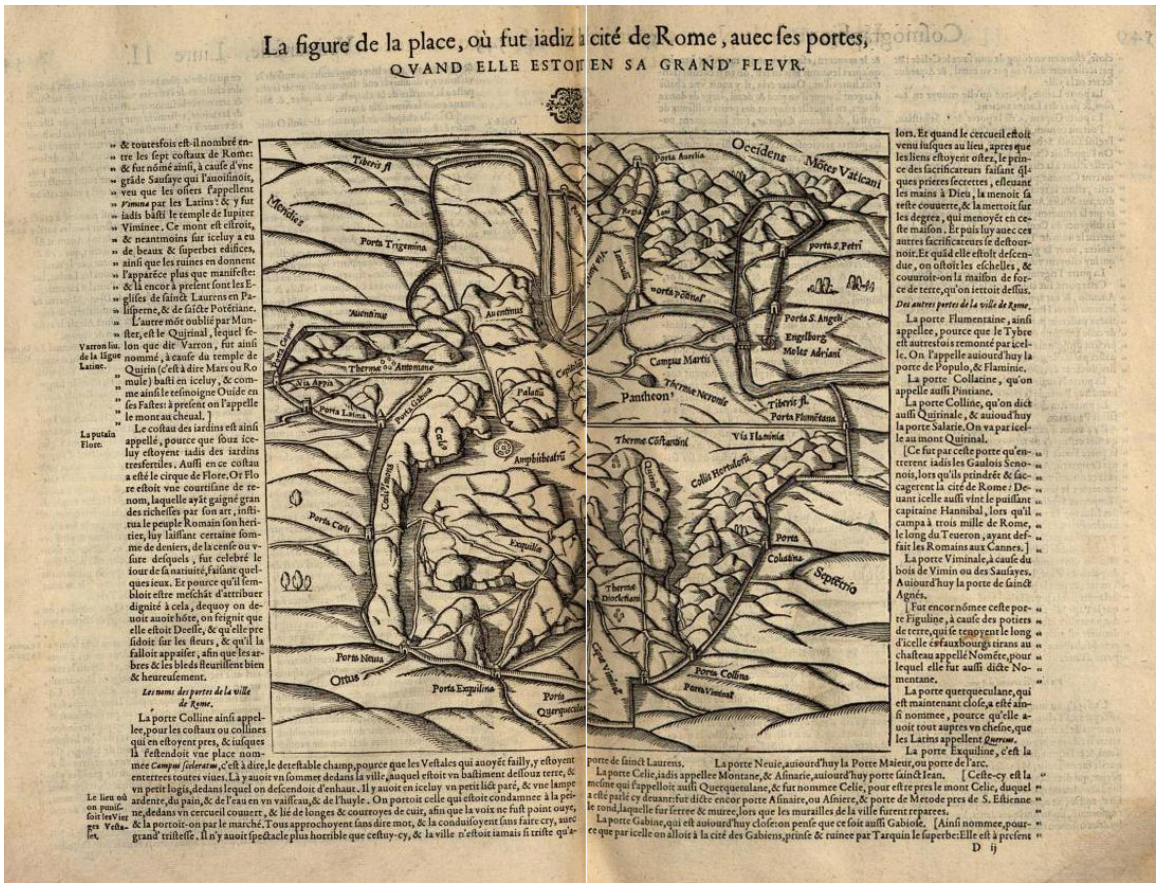
3.32. Fabio Calvo's ancient Rome in Jean-Jacques Boissard, *II pars Antiquitatum romanarum seu Topographia romanae urbis*, 1597. [Avery Library]



3.33. Pirro Ligorio's ancient Rome in Johann Georg Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum romanarum*, 1696. [Avery Library]



3.34. Famiano Nardini, *Roma antica*, 1666. [Avery Library]



» & toutesfois est-il nombré en-
» tre les sept costaux de Rome:
» & fut nómé ainsi, à cause d'vne
» grãde Sausaye qui l'auoisinoit,
» veu que les osiers s'appellent
» *Vimina* par les Latins: & y fut
» iadis bãsti le temple de Iupiter
» Viminee. Ce mont est estroit,
» & neantmoins sur iceluy a eu
» de beaux & superbes edifices,
» ainsi que les ruines en donnent
» l'apparẽce plus que manifeste:
» & là encor à present sont les E-
» glises de sainct Laurens en Pa-
» lisperne, & de saicte Potẽtiane.
» L'autre mõt oublié par Mun-
» ster, est le Quirinal, lequel se-
Varron liu. de la ligue Latine.
» lon que dit Varron, fut ainsi
» nommé, à cause du temple de
» Quirin (c'est à dire Mars ou Ro
» mule) basti en iceluy, & com-
» me ainsi le tesmoigne Ouide en
» ses Fastes: à present on l'appelle
» le mont au cheual.]

La potain Flore.

Le costau des iardins est ainsi appellé, pource que sõuz iceluy estoyent iadis des iardins tresfertiles. Aussi en ce costau a esté le cirque de Flore. Or Flore estoit vne courtisane de renom, laquelle ayãt gaigné gran des richesses par son art, institua le peuple Romain son heritier, luy laissant certaine somme de deniers, de la cense ou vsure desquels, fut celebré le iour de sa natiuité, faisant quelques ieux. Et pource qu'il sembloit estre meschãt d'attribuer dignité à cela, dequoy on deuoit auoir hõte, on feignit que elle estoit Deesse, & qu'elle presidoit sur les fleurs, & qu'il la falloit appaiser, afin que les arbres & les bleds fleurissent bien & heureusement.

Les noms des portes de la ville de Rome.

La porte Colline ainsi appellee, pour les costaux ou collines qui en estoyent pres, & iusques là s'estendoit vne place nommée *Campus sceleratus*, c'est à dire, le detestable champ, pource que les Vestales qui auoyẽt failly, y estoyent enterrees toutes viues. Là y auoit vn sommer dedans la ville, auquel estoit vn bastiment dessouz terre, & vn petit logis, dedans lequel on descendoit d'enhaut. Il y auoit en iceluy vn petit lict paré, & vne lampe ardente, du pain, & de l'eau en vn vaisseau, & de l'huyle. On portoit celle qui estoit condamnee à la peine, dedans vn cercueil couuert, & lié de longes & courroyes de cuir, afin que la voix ne fust point ouye, & la portoit-on par le marché. Tous approchoyent sans dire mot, & la conduisoyent sans faire cry, auec grand' tristesse. Il n'y auoit spectacle plus horrible que cestuy-cy, & la ville n'estoit iamais si triste qu'alors. Et quand le cercueil estoit venu iusques au lieu, apres que les liens estoyent ostez, le prince des sacrificateurs faisant quelques prieres secrettes, estendant les mains à Dieu, la menoit sa teste couuerte, & la mettoit sur les degrez, qui menoyẽt en ceste maison. Et puis luy auec ces autres sacrificateurs se destournoit. Et qu'il elle estoit descendue, on ostoit les eschelles, & couuroit-on la maison de force de terre, qu'on iettoit dessus.

Le lieu où on punissoit les Vestales.

Des autres portes de la ville de Rome.

La porte Flumentaine, ainsi appellee, pource que le Tybre est autrefois remonté par icelle. On l'appelle auiourd'huy la porte de Populo, & Flaminie.

La porte Collatine, qu'on appelle aussi Pintiane.

La porte Colline, qu'on dict aussi Quirinale, & auiourd'huy la porte Salarie. On va par icelle au mont Quirinal.

[Ce fut par ceste porte qu'entrerent iadis les Gaulois Senonois, lors qu'ils prindrẽt & saccagerent la cité de Rome: Deuant icelle aussi vint le puissant capitaine Hannibal, lors qu'il campa à trois mille de Rome, le long du Tueteron, ayant defait les Romains aux Cannes.]

La porte Viminale, à cause du bois de Vimin ou des Sausayes. Auiourd'huy la porte de sainct Agnés.

[Fut encor nõmee ceste porte Figuline, à cause des potiers de terre, qui se tenoyent le long d'icelle es fauxbourgs tirans au chasteau appellé Nomẽte, pour lequel elle fut aussi dicte Nomentane.

La porte querqueculane, qui est maintenant close, a esté ainsi nommee, pource qu'elle auoit tout auprès vn chesne, que les Latins appellent *Quercus*.

La porte Exquiline, c'est la porte de sainct Laurens. La porte Neuie, auiourd'huy la Porte Maieur, ou porte de l'arc.

La porte Celie, iadis appellee Montane, & Asinarie, auiourd'huy porte sainct Iean. [Ceste-cy est la mesme qui s'appelloit aussi Querquetulane, & fut nommee Celie, pour est re pres le mont Celie, duquel a esté parlé cy deuant: fut dicte encor porte Asinaire, ou Asinere, & porte de Metode pres de S. Estienne le rond, laquelle fut ferree & muree, lors que les murailles de la ville furent reparees.

La porte Gabiae, qui est auiourd'huy close: on pense que ce soit aussi Gabiole. [Ainsi nommee, pource que par icelle on alloit à la cité des Gabiens, prinse & ruinee par Tarquin le superbe: Elle est à present

D ij

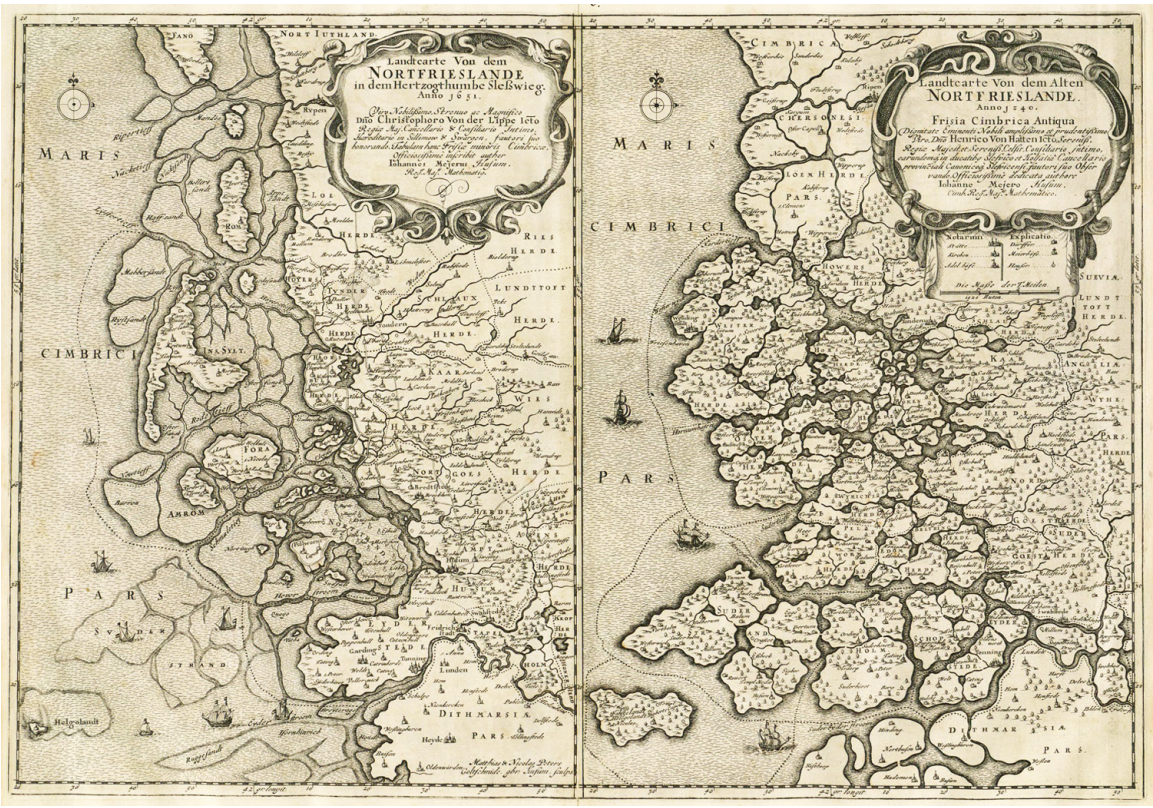
3.35. Ancient Rome in François de Belleforest, *La cosmographie universelle de tout le monde*, 1575. [Ghent University Library. Google Books]

3.36. Ancient Rome in Allain Manesson Mallet, *Description de l'univers*, 1683. [Avery Library]

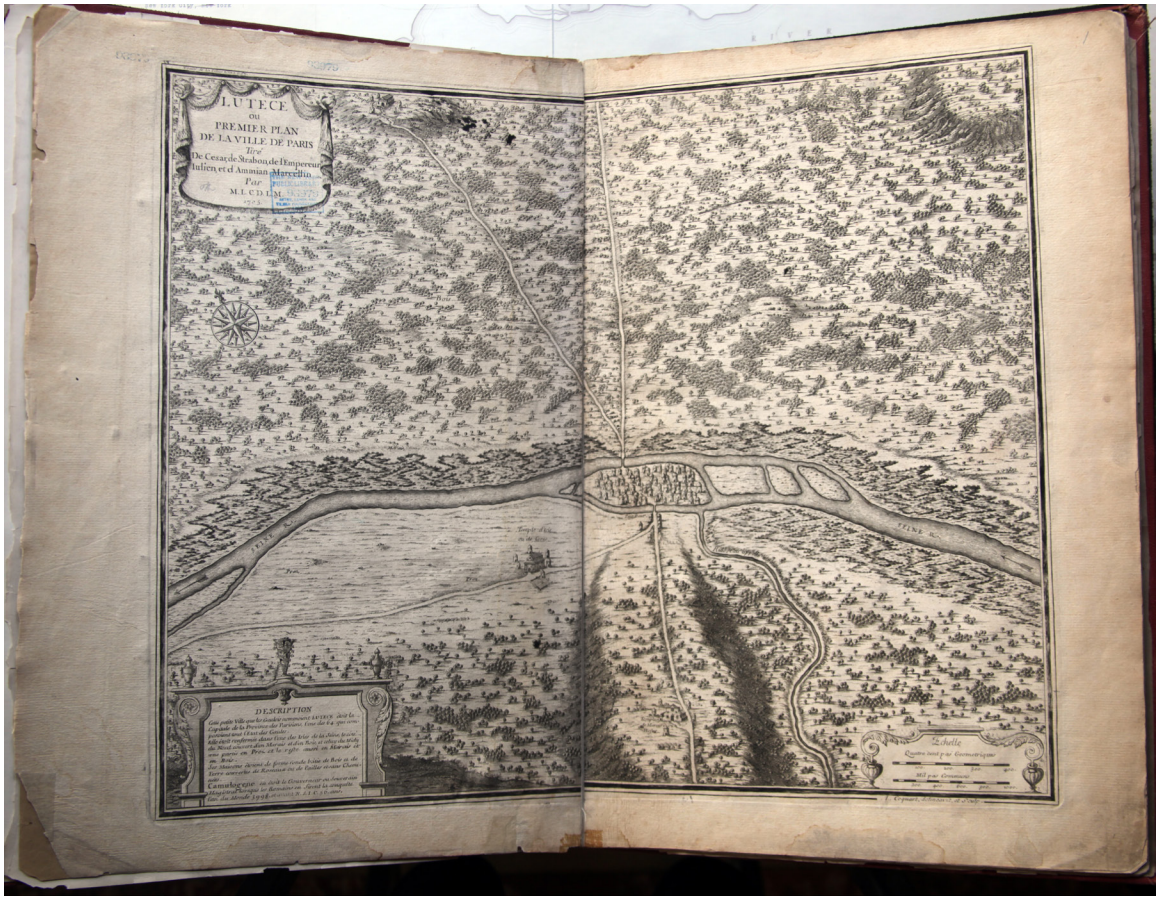
3.37. Trade card of Nicolas de Fer, "A Paris dans l'Isle du Palais sur le quay de l'Orloge a la Sphere Royale," 1705. [British Museum]

3.38. Nicolas de Fer, “Terre sainte, ancienne, moderne, et historique,” 1701. [Gallica]

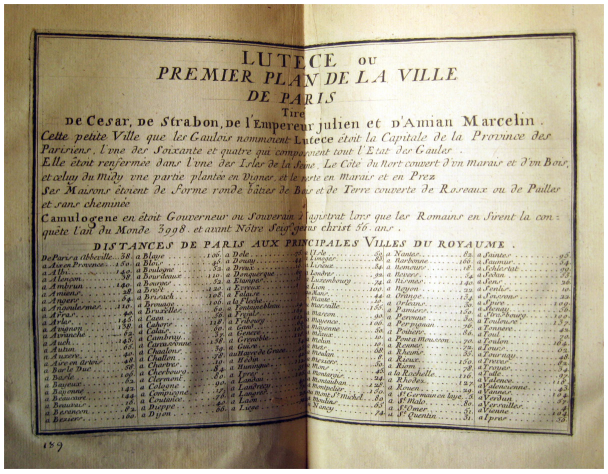
3.39. Bonaventura van Overbeke, *Reliquiae antiquae urbis Romae*, 1708, 1763. [Arachne]



3.40. Johannes Mejer, “Landcarte Von dem Nortfrieslande,” 1652. [REX]



3.41. Album of the maps in the *Traité de la police*, 1705. [NYPL maps]

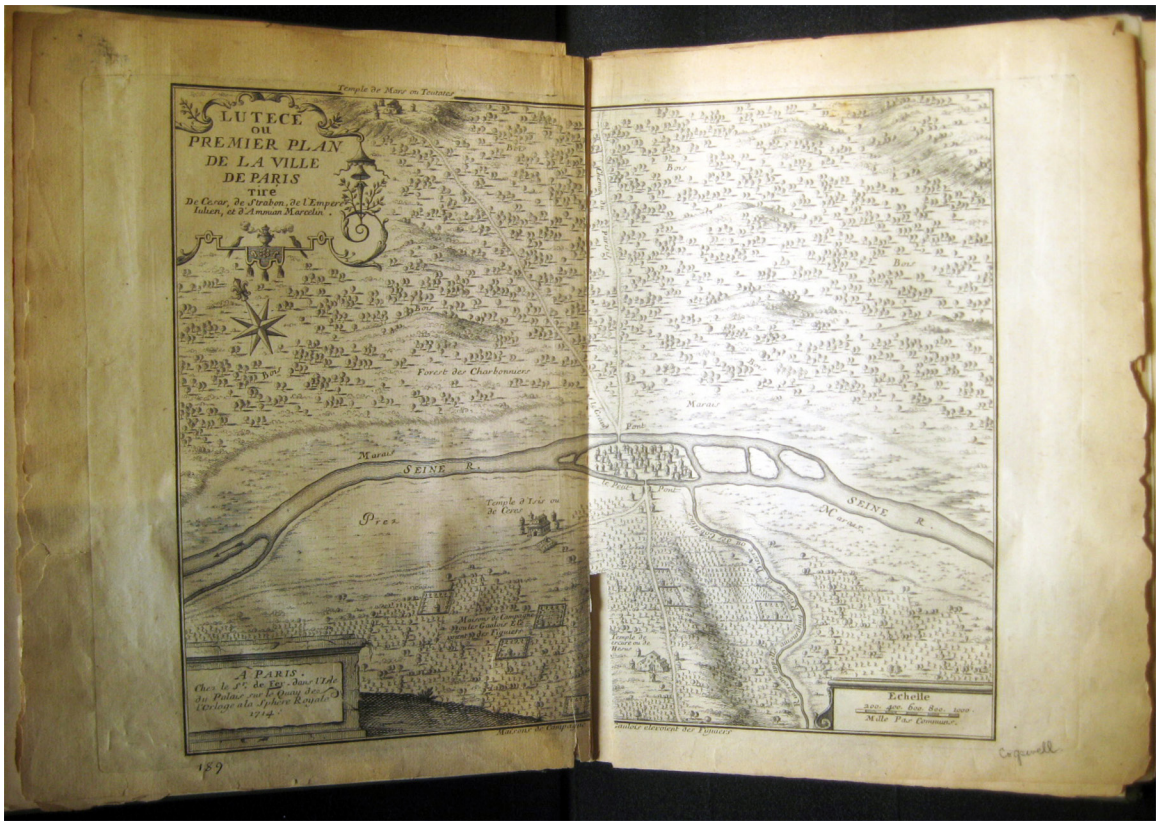


LUTECE ou
PREMIER PLAN DE LA VILLE
DE PARIS
Tiré
De Cesar, de Strabon, de l'Empereur Julien et d'Amian Marcelin.

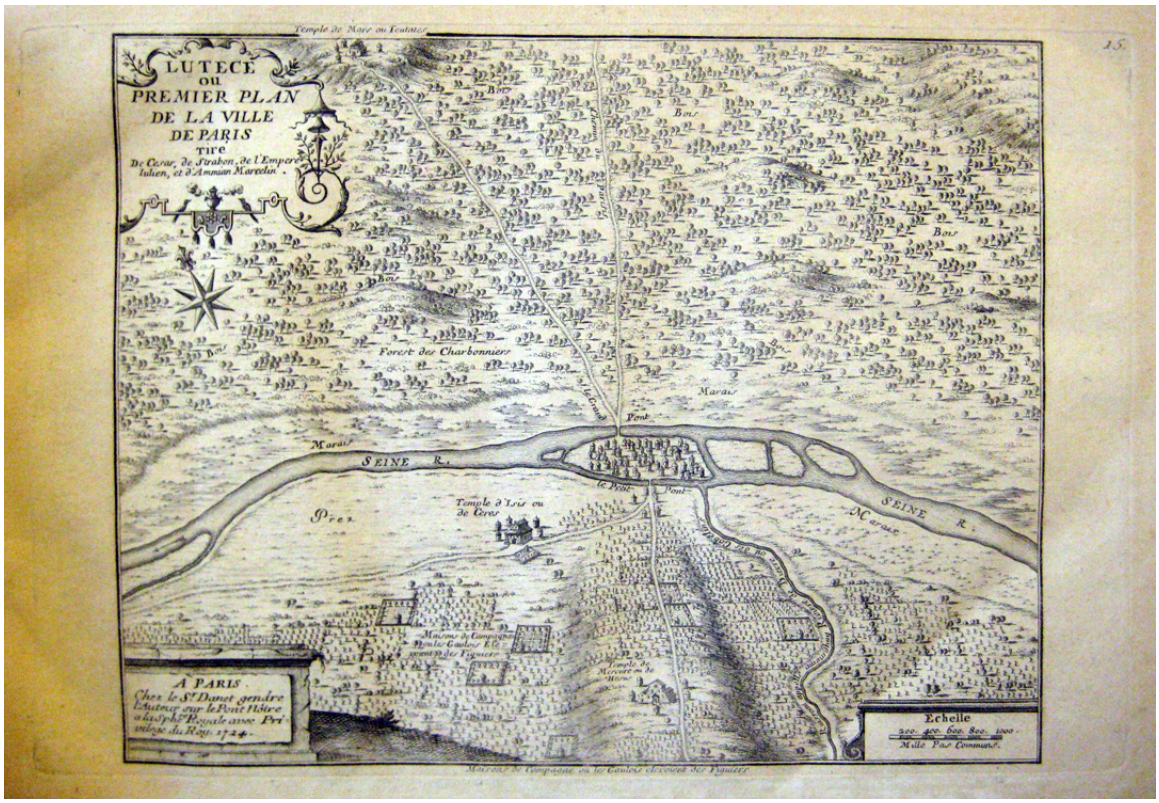
Cette petite Ville que les Gaulois nommoient Lutece étoit la Capitale de la Province des Parisiens, l'une des Soixante et quatre qui composoient tout l'Etat des Gaules.
Elle étoit renfermée dans l'une des Isles de la Seine. Le Coté du Nort couvert d'un Marais et d'un Bois, et celuy du Midy une partie plantée en Vignes et le reste en Marais et en Prez
Ses Maisons étoient de Forme ronde bâties de Bois et de Terre couverte de Roseaux ou de Paillas et sans cheminée
Camulogene en étoit Gouverneur ou Souverain lorsque les Romains en firent la conquête l'an du Monde 3998. et avant Nôtre Seig.r Jesus christ 56. ans.

DISTANCES DE PARIS AUX PRINCIPALES VILLES DU ROYAUME.

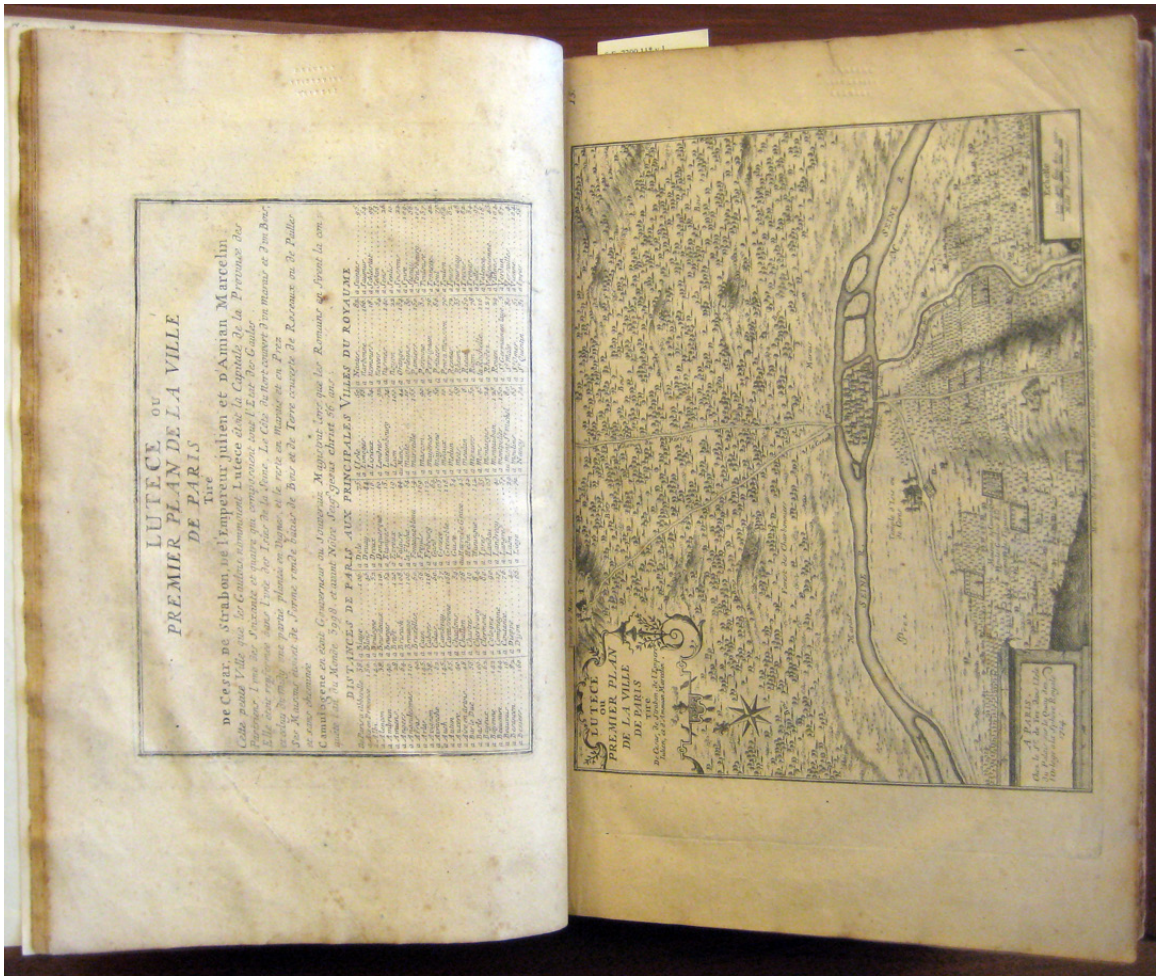
De Paris à Abbeville	38	a Blaye	106	a Dole	80	a Lisle	56	a Nantes	82
a Aix en Provence	160	a Blois	45	a Douay	36	a Langres	80	a Narbonne	166
a Alby	140	a Boulogne	52	a Dreux	34	a Loudun	36	a Nomans	16
a Alençon	38	a Bourdeaux	110	a Dunquerque	70	a Landrec	90	a Nevers	54
a Ambrun	140	a Bourges	52	a Etampes	14	a Luxembourg	94	a Niemes	140
a Amiens	38	a Brest	124	a Evreux	20	a Lyon	100	a Orange	132
a Angers	84	a Brisach	168	a Falaise	44	a Mans	44	a Orleans	15
a Angoulesmes	112	a Bruxelles	100	a Fontainebleau	15	a Marseille	157	a Paris	15
a Arles	140	a Bruxelles	60	a Frejus	160	a Marsin	50	a Pamiers	150
a Arras	145	a Caen	24	a Fribourg	150	a Metz	90	a Perrenne	50
a Auxerre	138	a Cahorre	118	a Gien	18	a Moulins	100	a Perpignan	200
a Avignon	154	a Calais	56	a Gravelin	80	a Montauban	80	a Poitiers	80
a Aurch	148	a Cambray	38	a Grenoble	110	a Mulhouse	110	a Pont a Mousson	70
a Autun	60	a Carcassonne	130	a Guen	40	a Nais	40	a Rodez	100
a Auxerre	40	a Chalons	18	a Guerande	80	a Nesle	18	a Rheims	30
a Avre en Aveir	48	a Chalons	10	a Hesdin	8	a Nevers	15	a Rouen	12
a Bayle Duc	38	a Charres	84	a Hunegue	56	a Nismes	78	a Rennes	78
a Bayle	146	a Cherbourg	60	a Issoire	48	a Rochelle	112	a Rulle	90
a Bayeux	82	a Clermont	90	a Landau	94	a Rhodez	132	a Salenes	116
a Bayonne	142	a Cologne	55	a Landrecy	30	a Roanne	34	a Salmoncenne	18
a Beaucaire	144	a Compiegne	18	a Langres	80	a St Germain en laye	3	a Saumur	14
a Beaumar	78	a Coutance	40	a Laon	8	a St Malo	80	a Sens	18
a Beaunon	82	a Bugge	80	a Lisse	8	a St Omer	8	a Sarrebelle	90
a Besiers	160	a Dijon				a St Quentin	8	a Vanne	14
								a Verne	53



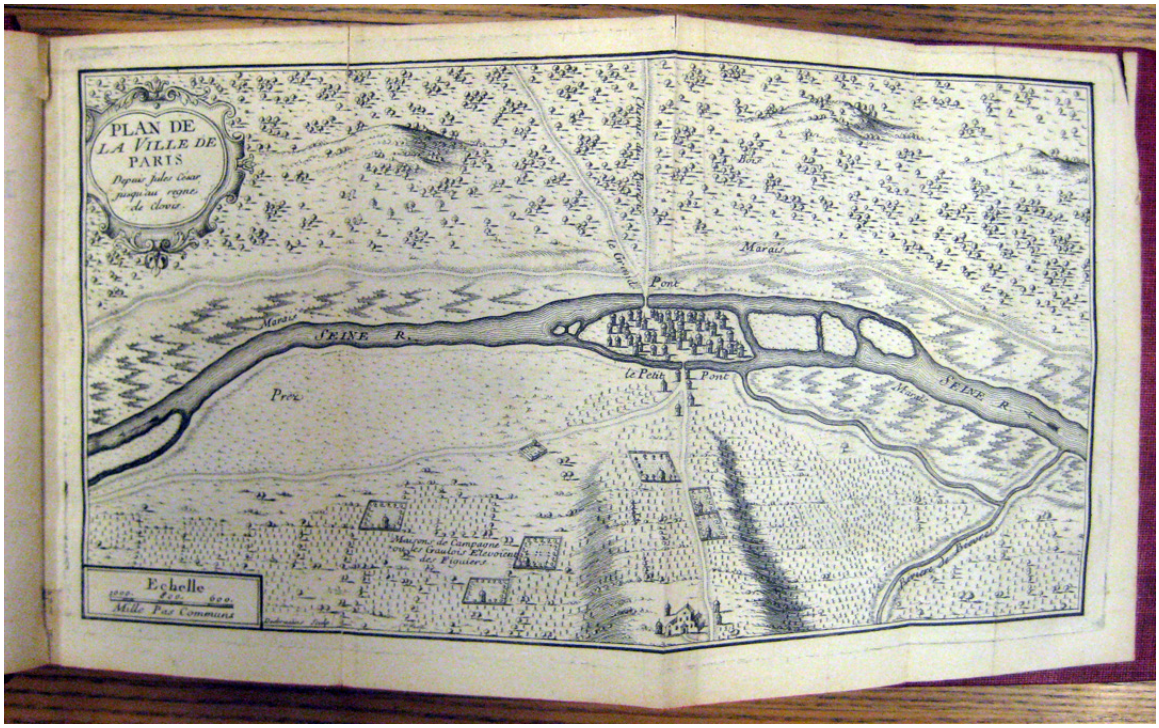
3.42-43. Album produced in 1714 by Nicolas de Fer, with Delamare's maps reduced in format and re-engraved. [NYPL maps]



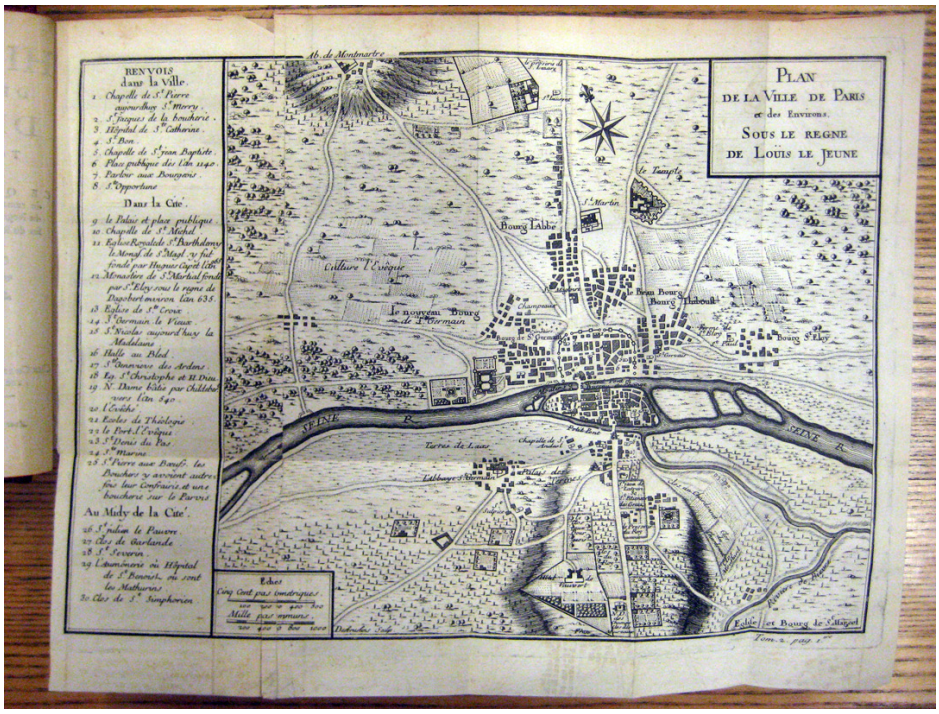
3.44. The 1714 re-engraving of Lutèce reprinted in Nicolas de Fer, *Les beautés de la France*, 1724. [Houghton Library]

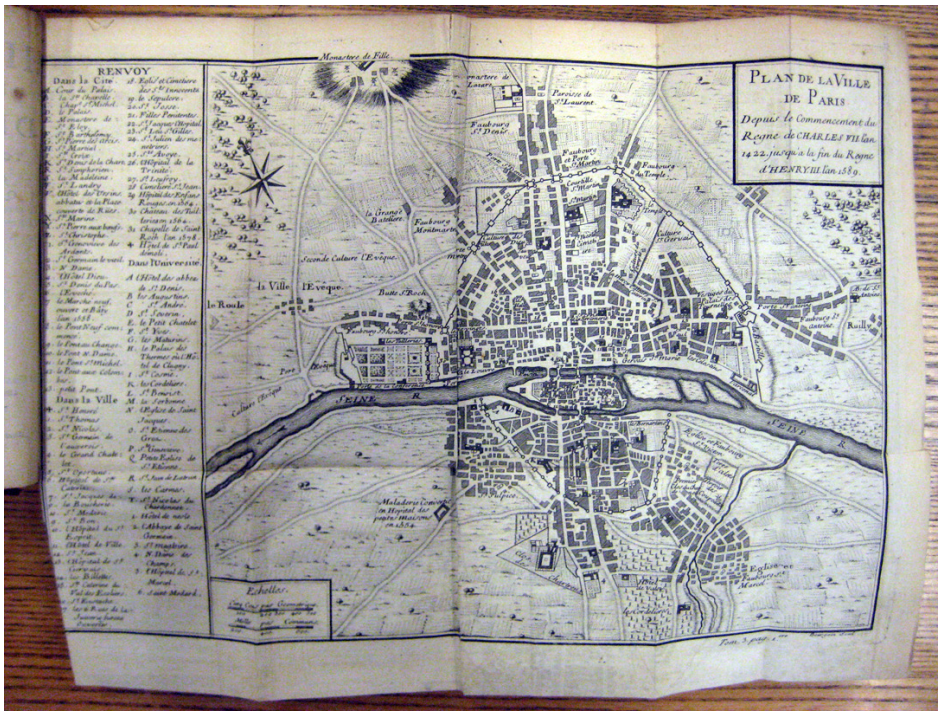


3.45. The 1714 re-engraving of Lutèce included in Henri Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, 1724. [Houghton Library]

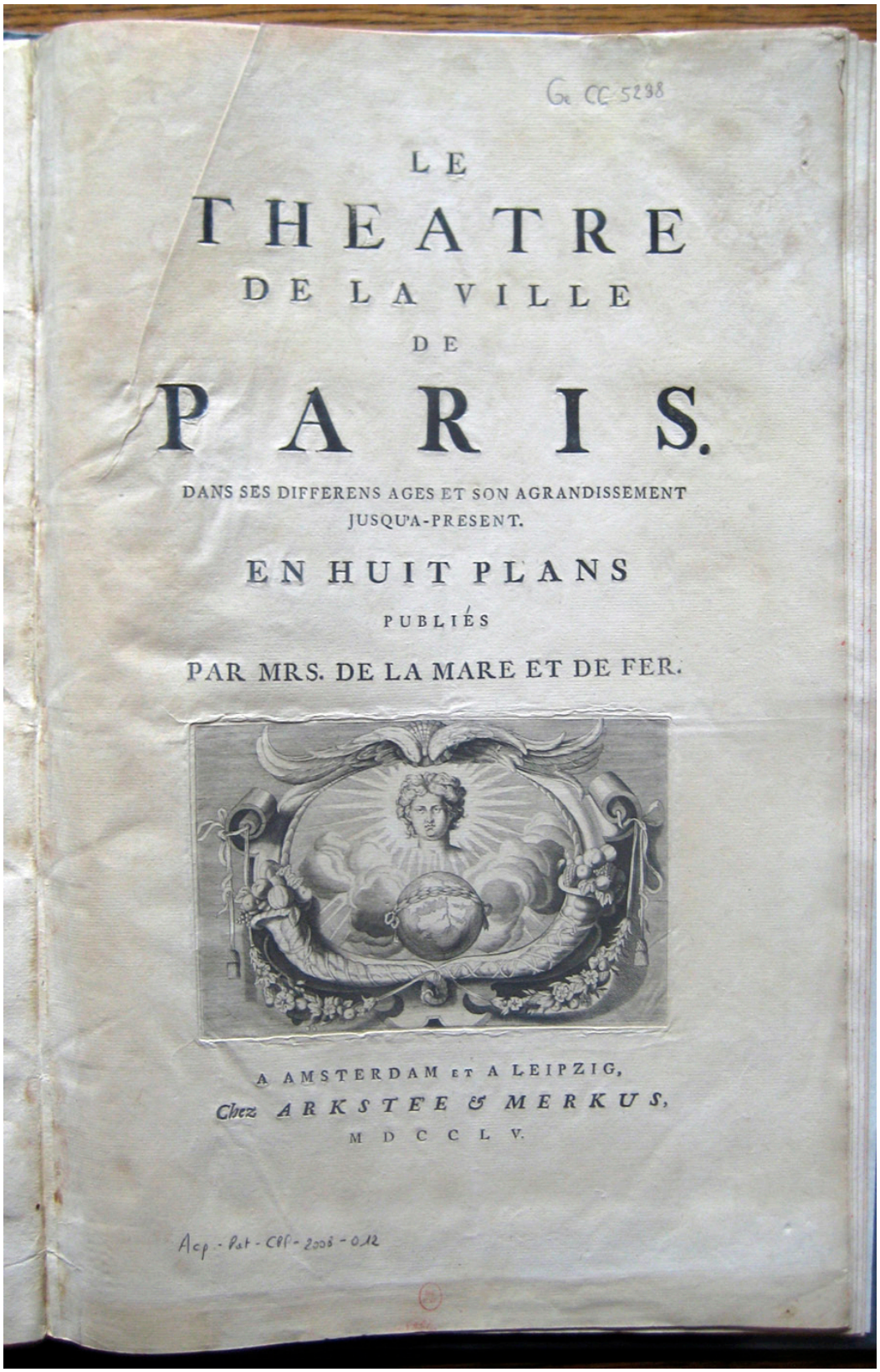


3.46. Lutèce re-engraved for the 1735 abridged edition of Michel Félibien and Guy-Alexis Lobineau's *Histoire de la ville de Paris*. [Butler Library]





3.47-48. Delamare's maps three and six re-engraved for the 1735 abridged edition of Michel Félibien and Guy-Alexis Lobineau's *Histoire de la ville de Paris*. [Butler Library]



LE
THEATRE
DE LA VILLE
DE
PARIS.

DANS SES DIFFERENS AGES ET SON AGRANDISSEMENT
JUSQU'A-PRESENT.

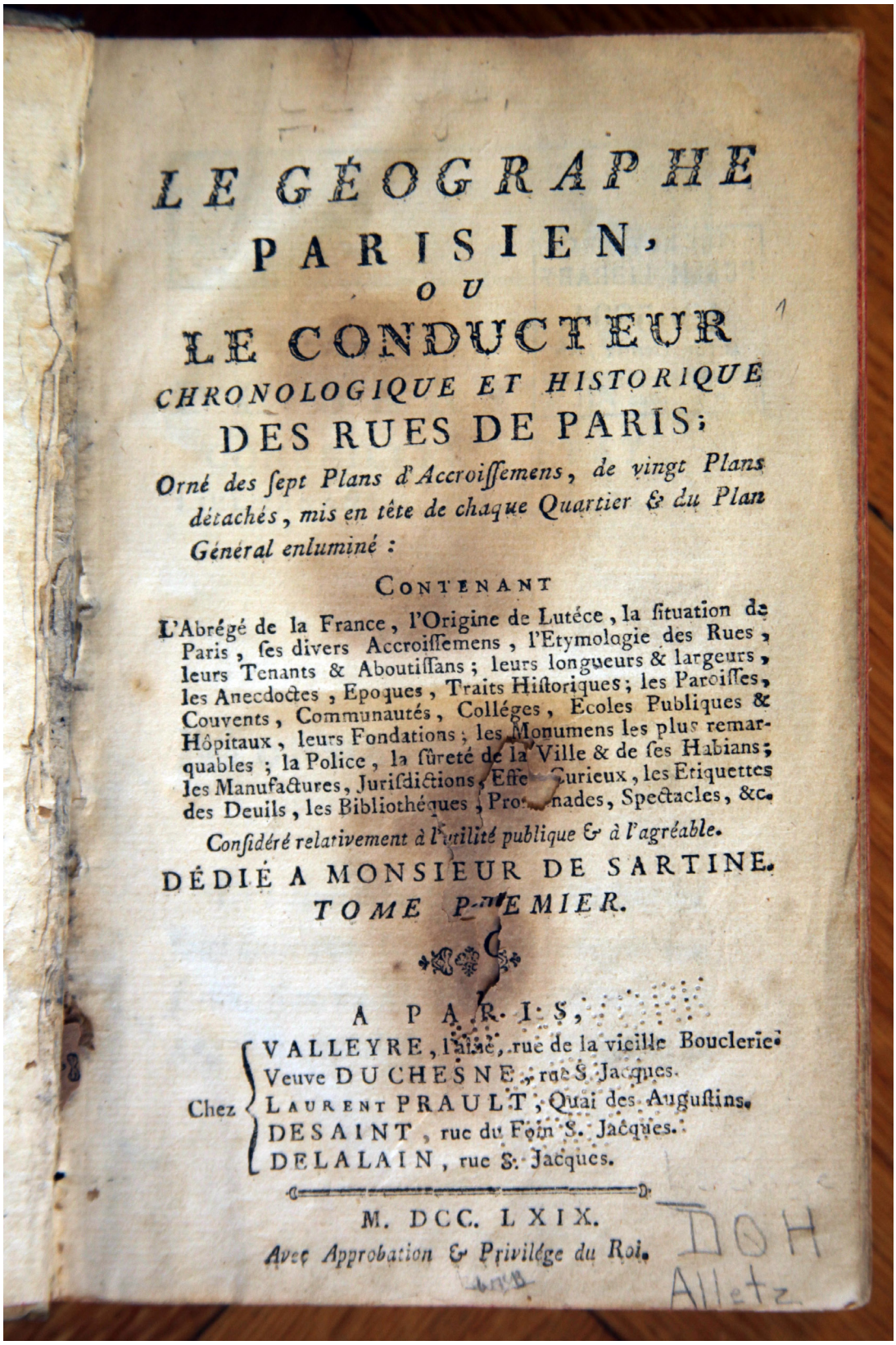
EN HUIT PLANS

PUBLIÉS

PAR MRS. DE LA MARE ET DE FER.

A AMSTERDAM ET A LEIPZIG,
Chez ARKSTEE & MERKUS,
MDCCLV.

3.49. *Le theatre de la ville de Paris*, 1755. [BnF cartes Ge CC 5298]



LE GÉOGRAPHE
PARISIEN,
OU
LE CONDUCTEUR
CHRONOLOGIQUE ET HISTORIQUE
DES RUES DE PARIS;

Orné des sept Plans d'Accroissemens, de vingt Plans détachés, mis en tête de chaque Quartier & du Plan Général enluminé :

CONTENANT

L'Abrégé de la France, l'Origine de Lutéce, la situation de Paris, ses divers Accroissemens, l'Etymologie des Rues, leurs Tenants & Aboutissans; leurs longueurs & largeurs, les Anecdoctes, Epoques, Traits Historiques; les Paroisses, Couvents, Communautés, Colléges, Ecoles Publiques & Hôpitaux, leurs Fondations; les Monumens les plus remarquables; la Police, la sûreté de la Ville & de ses Habians; les Manufactures, Jurisdictions, Effets Curieux, les Etiquettes des Deuils, les Bibliothéques, Promenades, Spectacles, &c.

Considéré relativement à l'utilité publique & à l'agréable.

DÉDIÉ A MONSIEUR DE SARTINE.

TOME PREMIER.

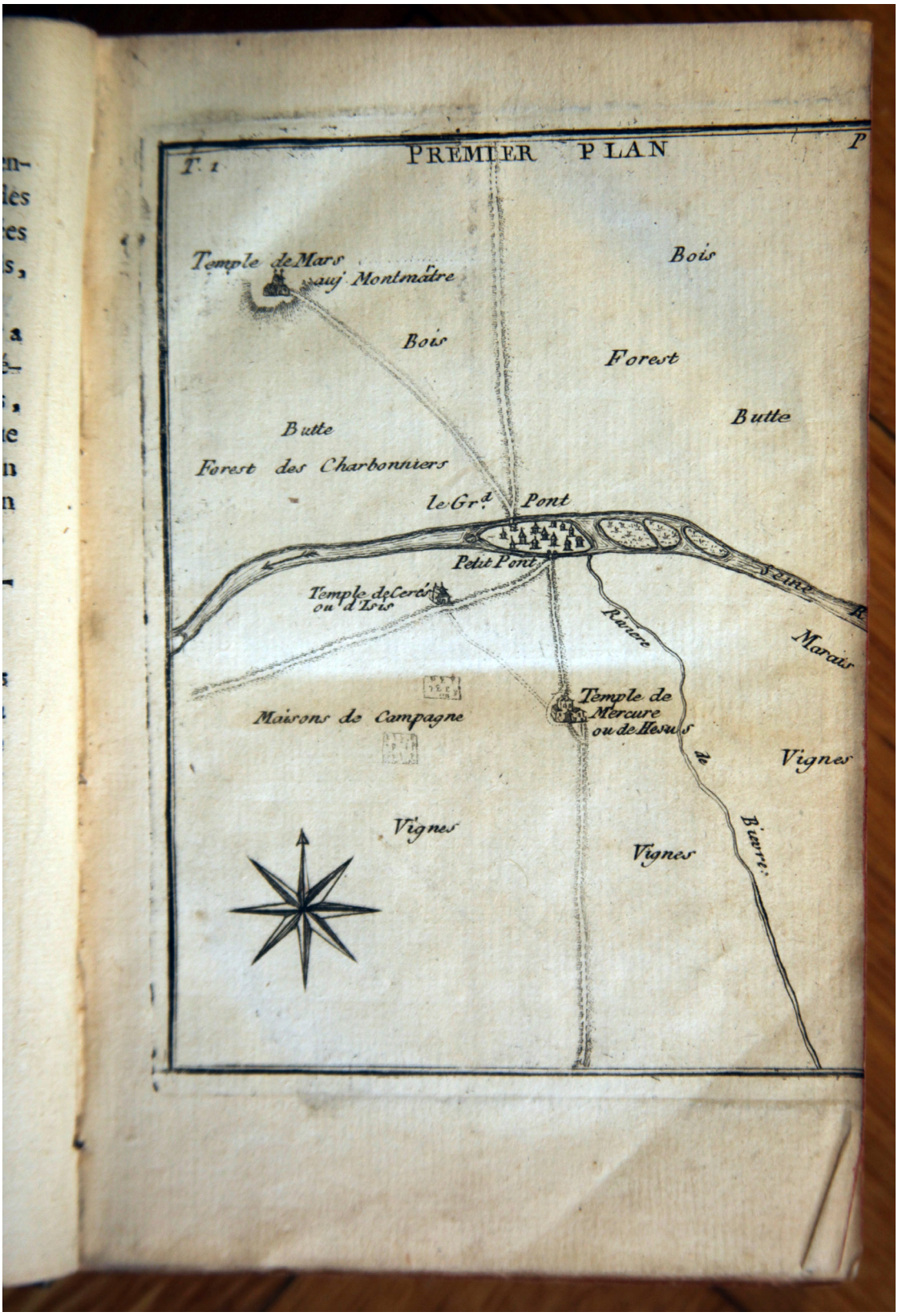
A PARIS,

Chez VALLEYRE, l'aîné, rue de la vieille Bouclerie.
Veuve DUCHESNE, rue S. Jacques.
LAURENT PRAULT, Quai des Augustins.
DESAINT, rue du Foin S. Jacques.
DELALAIN, rue S. Jacques.

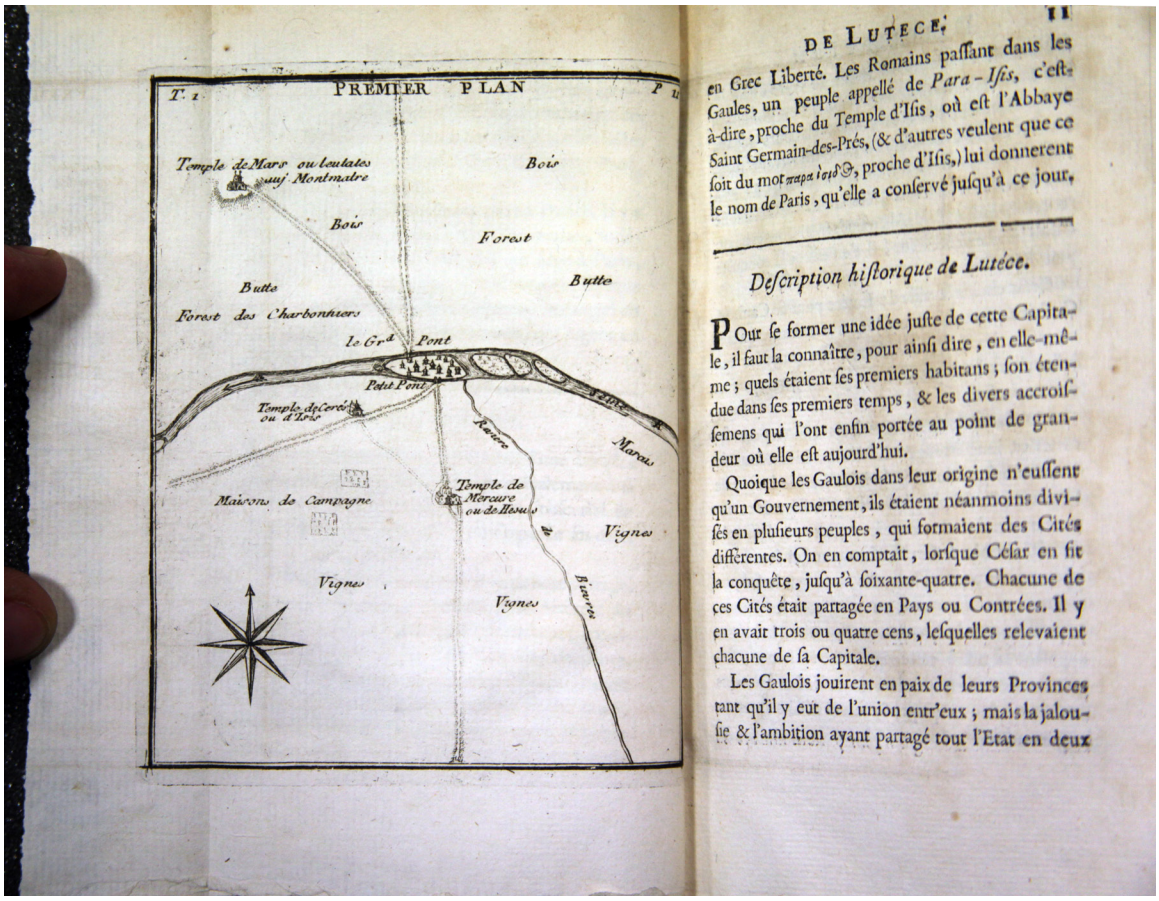
M. DCC. LXIX.

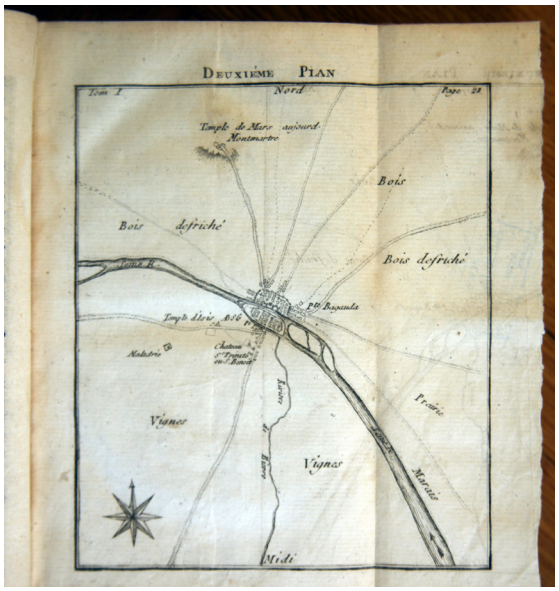
Avec Approbation & Privilége du Roi.

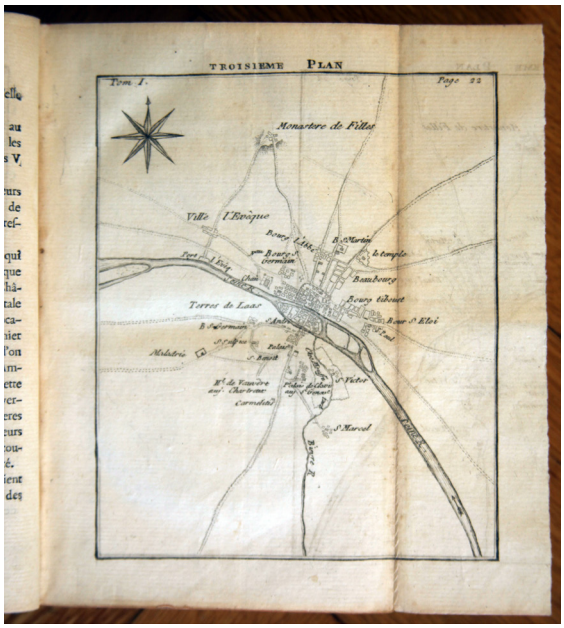
3.50. Title page of Le Sage, *Le géographe parisien*, 1769. [NYPL]



3.51. Lutèce in *Le géographe parisien*, 1769. [NYPL]

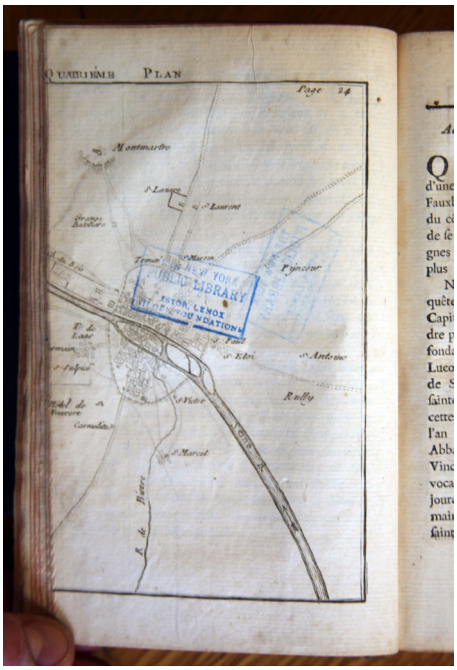


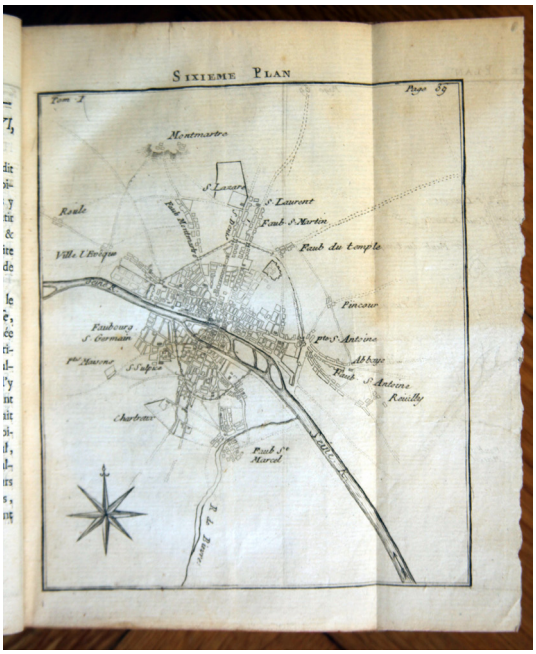




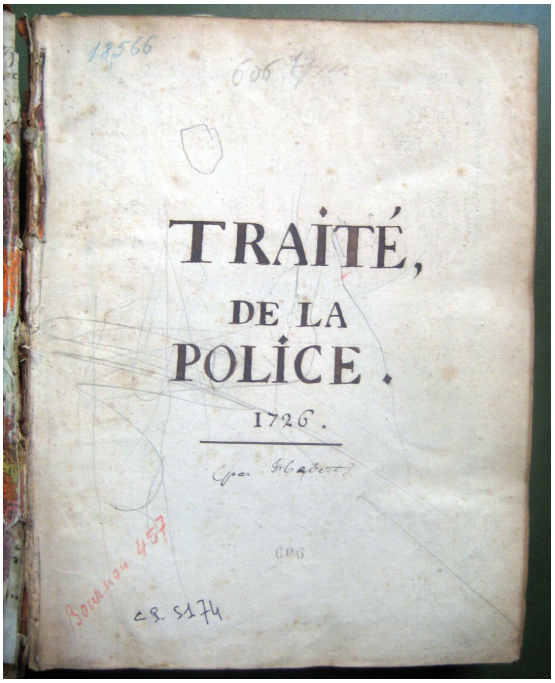
3.52. Lutèce in *Le géographe parisien*, 1769. [Avery Library]

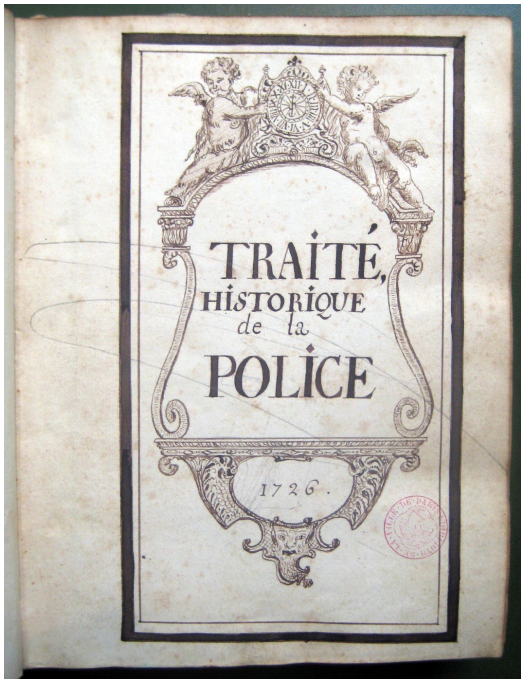
3.53-54. Delamare's maps two and three in *Le géographe parisien*, 1769. [NYPL]

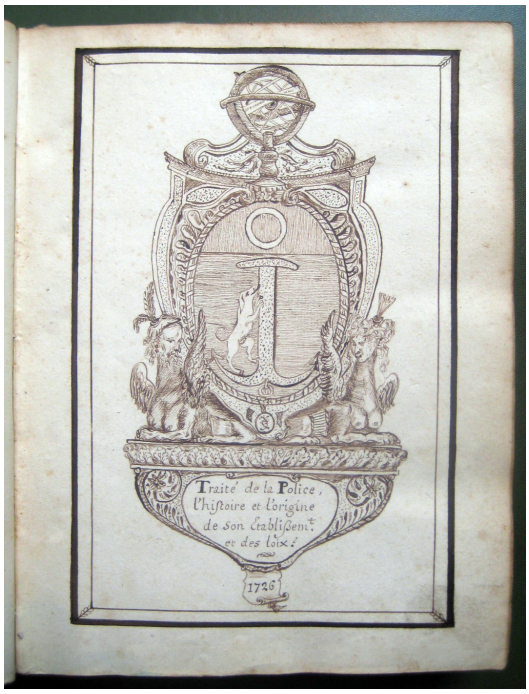




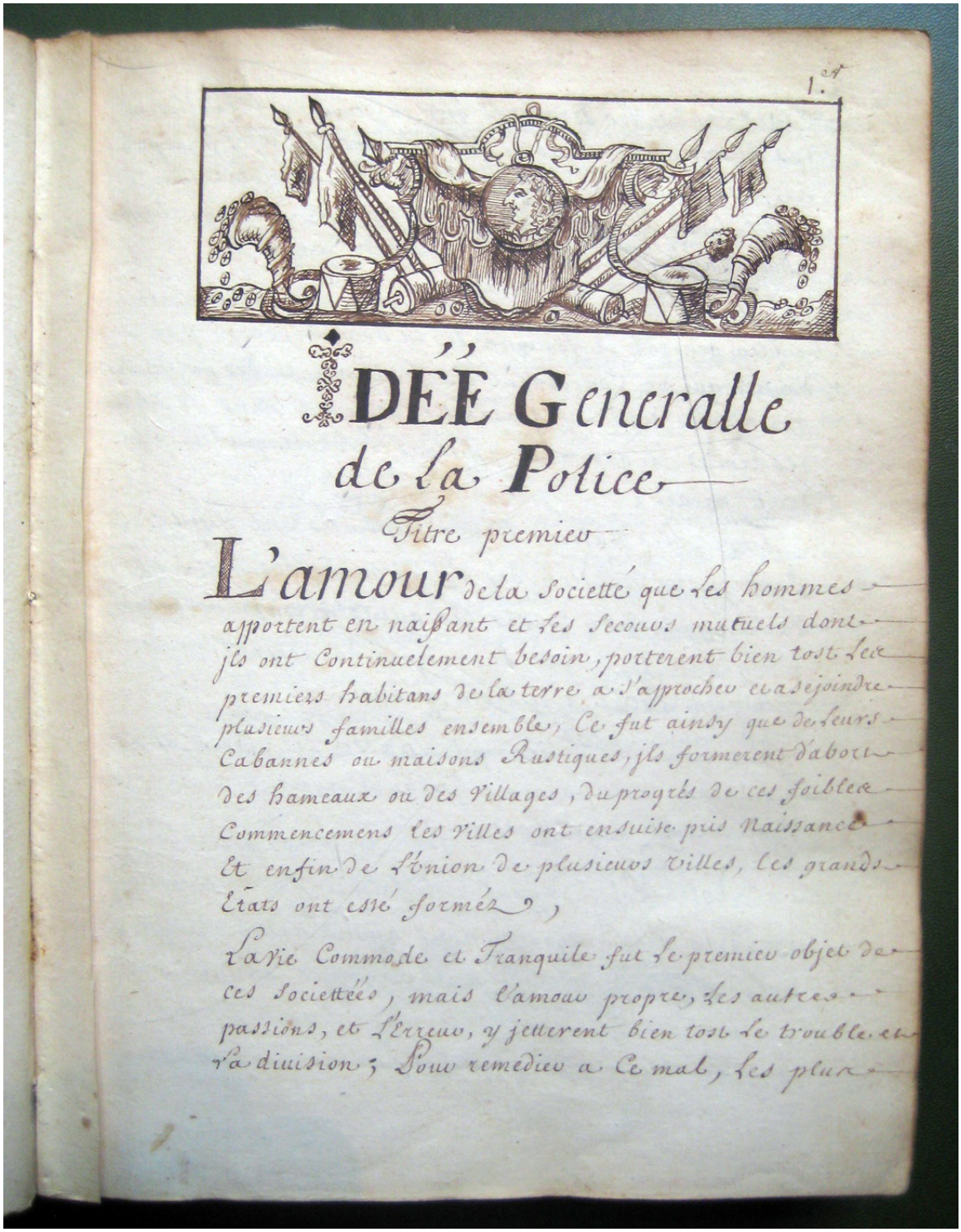
3.55-58. Delamare's maps four to seven in *Le géographe parisien*, 1769. [NYPL]







3.59-62. Title pages of the manuscript abridgment of the *Traité de la police,* 1726-27. [BHVP CP 5174]



1.er

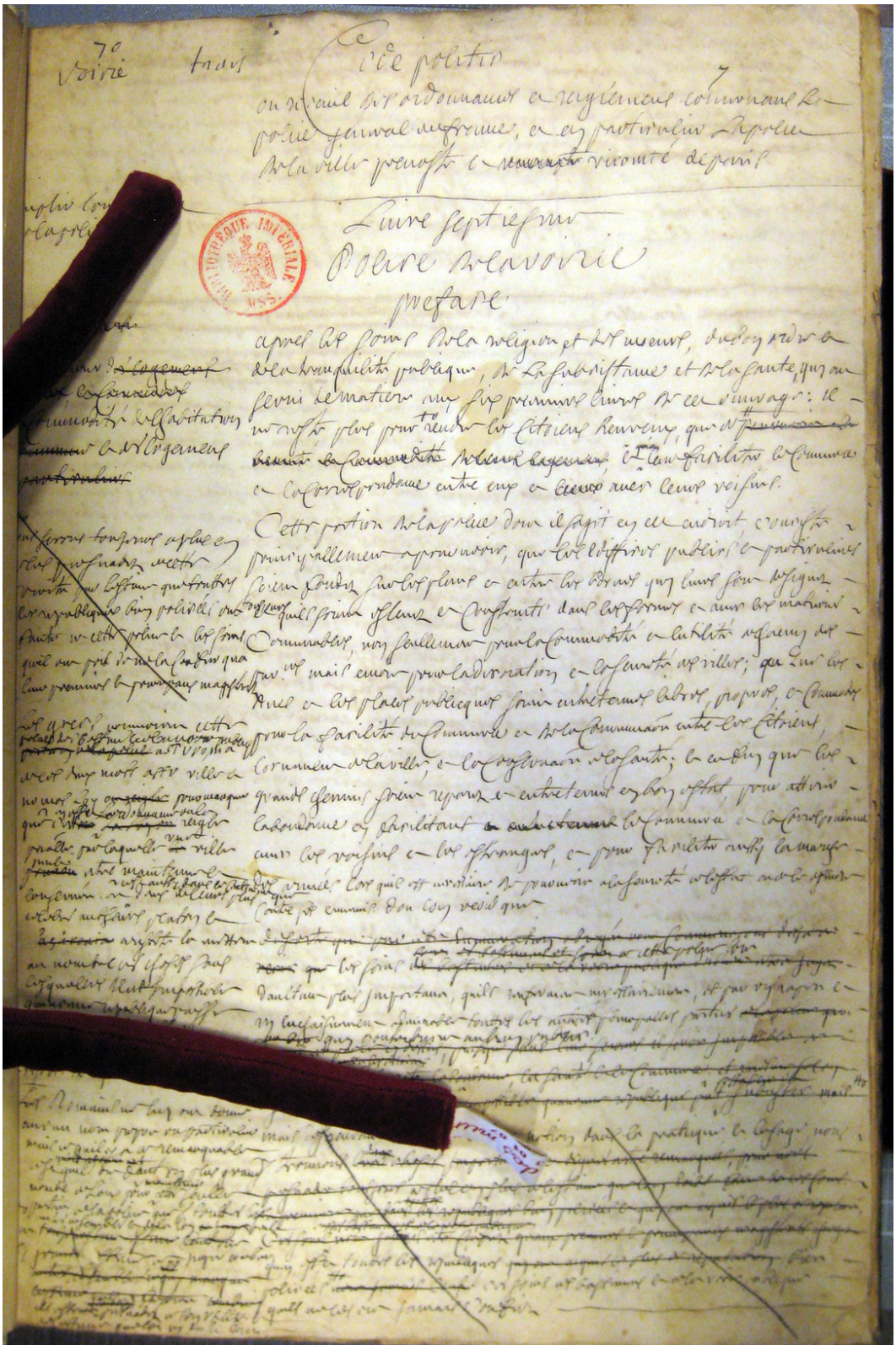
IDÉE Generalle de la Police

Titre premier

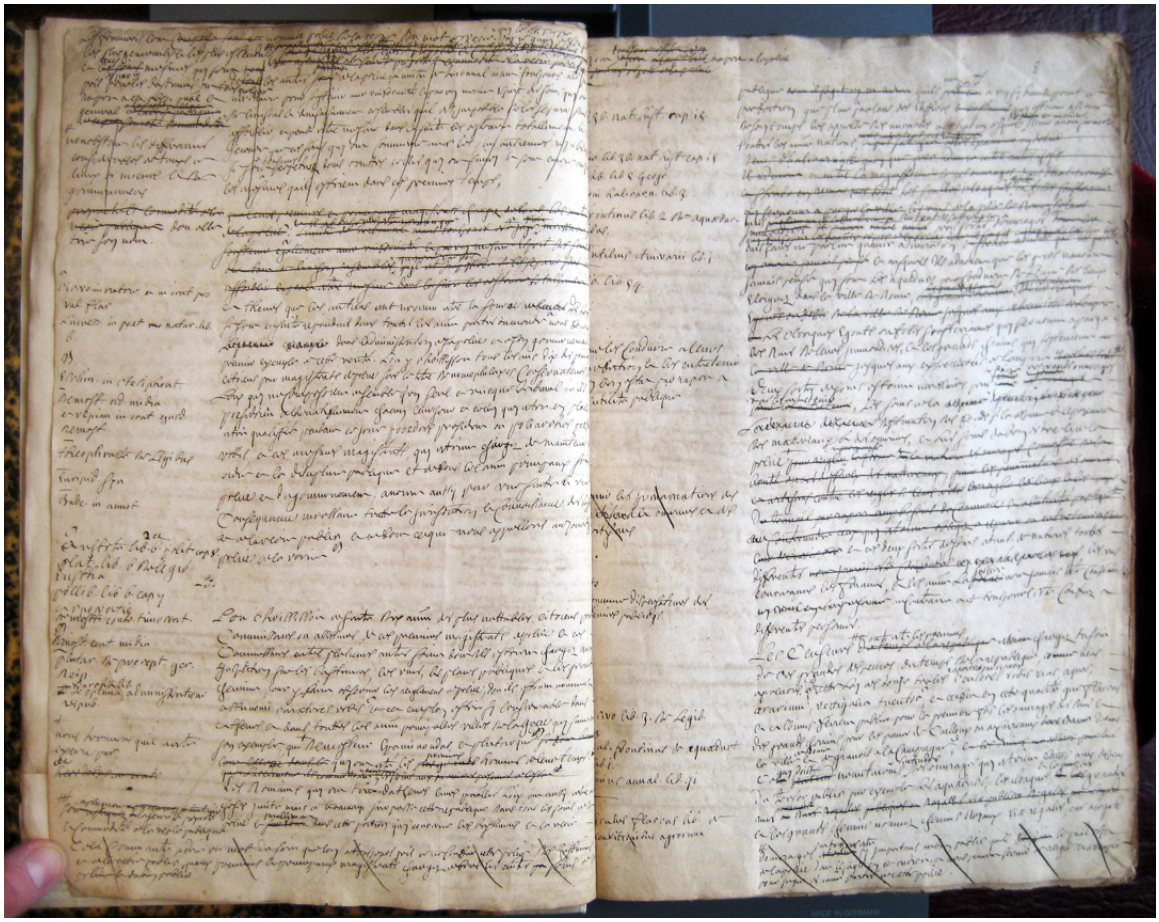
L'amour de la Societté que les hommes apportent en naissant et les secours mutuels dont ils ont continuelement besoin, porterent bien tost les premiers habitans de la terre a s'approcher et a se joindre plusieurs familles ensemble; Ce fut ainsy que de leurs Cabannes ou maisons Rustiques, ils formerent d'abord des hameaux ou des villages, du progrés de ces foibles commencemens les villes ont ensuite pris Naissance et enfin de l'onion de plusieurs villes, les grands Etats ont esté formés,

La vie commode et tranquile fut le premier objet de ces societtées, mais l'amour propre, les autres passions, et l'erreur, y jetterent bien tost le trouble et la diuision; Pour remedier a ce mal, les plus

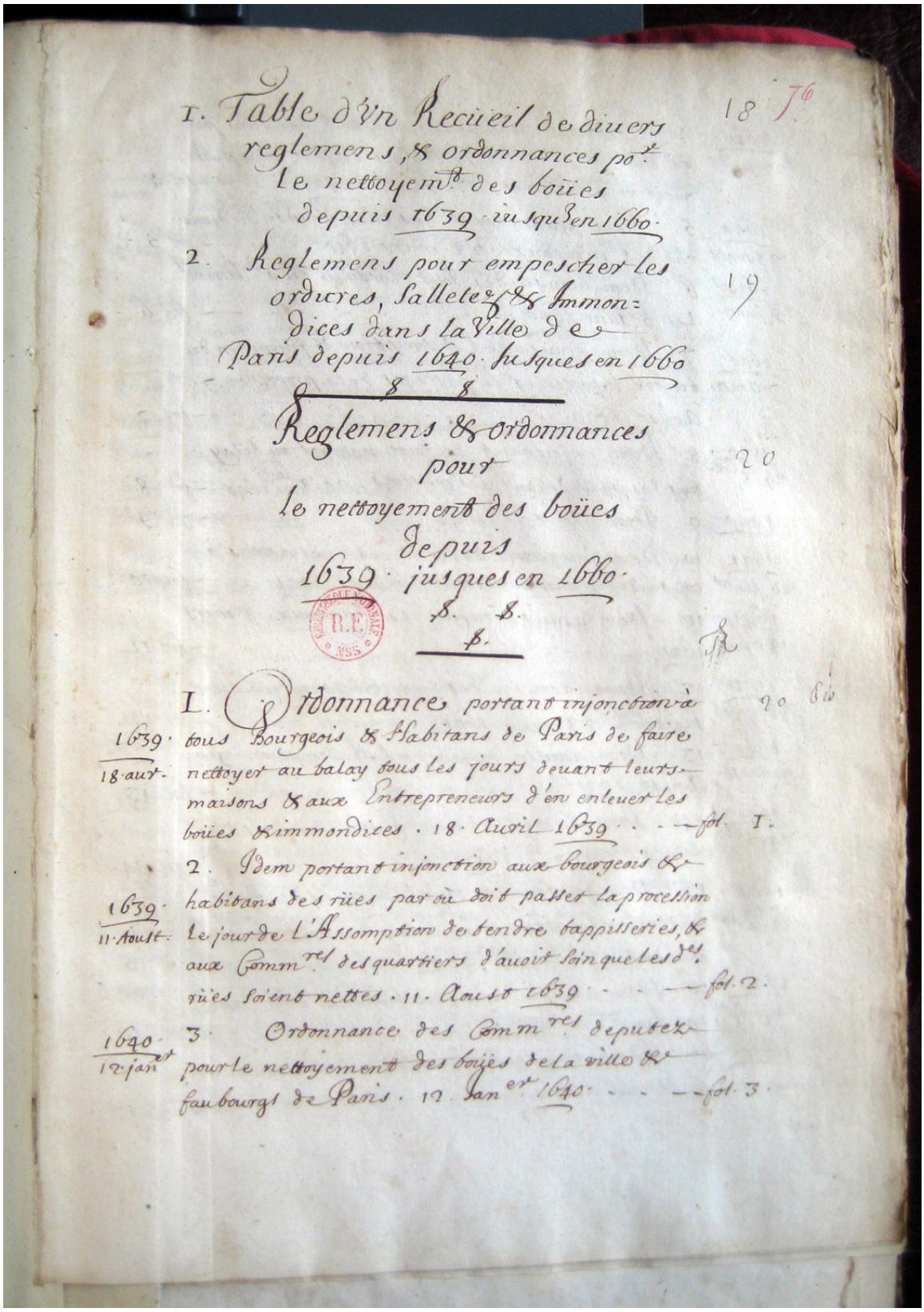
3.63. First page of the manuscript abridgment of the *Traité de la police,* 1726-27. [BHVP CP 5174]



3.64. “Code politiq, ou recueil des ordonnances et reglemens concernant la police generale de france, et en particulier la police de la ville prevoste et vicomte de paris. Livre septieme. Police de la voirie. Preface.” [BnF ms. fr. 21563, fol. 7]



3.65. Delamare's draft for the book on the *voirie*. [BnF ms. fr. 21563, fols. 7v-8r]



1. Table d'vn Recueil de diuers reglemens, & ordonnances p.r le nettoyem.t des boües depuis 1639 iusqu'en 1660. 18 76

2. Reglemens pour empescher les ordures, Sallete.z & Immondices dans la Ville de Paris depuis 1640 jusques en 1660 19

Reglemens & ordonnances pour le nettoyement des boües depuis 1639 jusques en 1660. 20

1. Ordonnance portant injonction à tous Bourgeois & Habitans de Paris de faire nettoyer au balay tous les jours deuant leurs maisons & aux Entrepreneurs d'en enleuer les boües & immondices. 18. Auril 1639 . . . — fol. 1. 20 bis

1639. 18. aur.

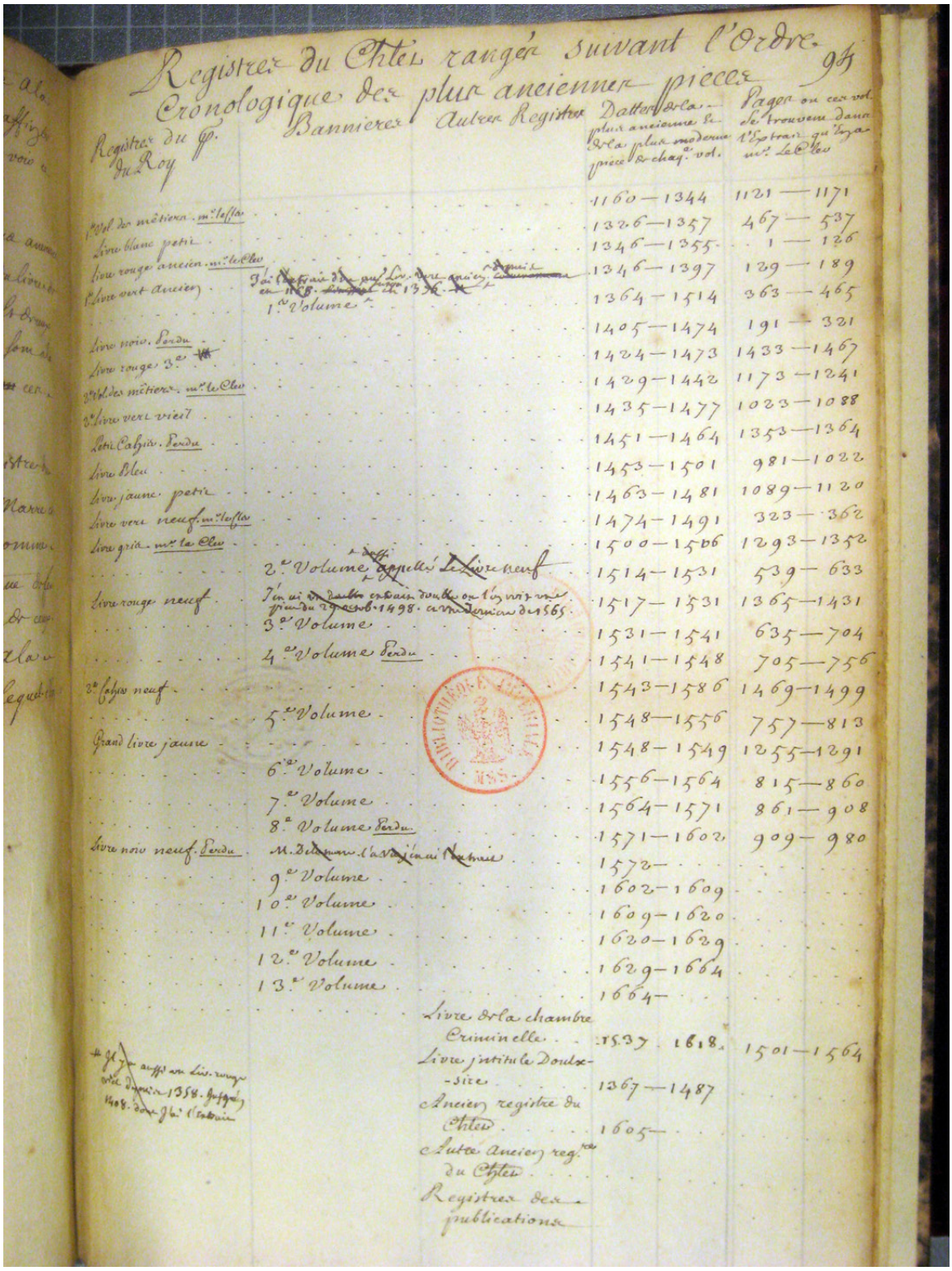
2. Idem portant injonction aux bourgeois & habitans des rües par où doit passer la procession le jour de l'Assomption de tendre tappisseries, & aux Comm.rez des quartiers d'auoir soin que les d.es rües soient nettes. 11. Aoust 1639 . . . — fol. 2.

1639. 11. Aoust.

3. Ordonnance des Comm.rez deputez pour le nettoyement des boües de la ville & faubourgs de Paris. 12. Jan.er 1640 . . . — fol. 3.

1640. 12. jan.er

3.66. "Table d'un Recueil de divers reglemens & ordonnances pour le nettoyement des boües depuis 1639 jusques en 1660." [BnF ms. fr. 16742, fol. 76]



Registres du Chtel rangéz suivant l'Ordre Cronologique des plus anciennes pieces 94

Registres du gr. du Roy	Bannieres	Autres Registres	Datte de la plus ancienne & de la plus moderne piece de chaq. vol.	Pages ou ces vol. se trouvent dans l'Extrait qu'en a m. le Clerc
			1160 — 1344	1121 — 1171
1er Vol des métiers. m. le Cler			1326 — 1357	467 — 537
Livre blanc petit			1346 — 1355	1 — 126
Livre rouge ancien. m. le Clerc			1346 — 1397	129 — 189
1er Livre vert ancien	Voir l'extrait de cet Liv. dans ancien ~~[illegible]~~ en 1348. ~~[illegible]~~ 1354.		1364 — 1514	363 — 465
	1er Volume		1405 — 1474	191 — 321
Livre noir. Perdu			1424 — 1473	1433 — 1467
Livre rouge 3e			1429 — 1442	1173 — 1241
2e Vol des métiers. m. le Clerc			1435 — 1477	1023 — 1088
2e Livre vert vieil			1451 — 1464	1353 — 1364
Petit Cahier. Perdu			1453 — 1501	981 — 1022
Livre bleu			1463 — 1481	1089 — 1120
Livre jaune petit			1474 — 1491	323 — 362
Livre vert neuf. m. le Cler			1500 — 1506	1293 — 1352
Livre gris. m. le Clerc				
	2e Volume appellé ~~Le Livre neuf~~		1514 — 1531	539 — 633
Livre rouge neuf	Il en est un autre certain double ou les noms vont jusqu'au 2 nov. 1498. a vu un ancien de 1565		1517 — 1531	1365 — 1431
	3e Volume		1531 — 1541	635 — 704
	4e Volume Perdu		1541 — 1548	705 — 756
3e Cahier neuf			1543 — 1586	1469 — 1499
	5e Volume		1548 — 1556	757 — 813
Grand livre jaune			1548 — 1549	1255 — 1291
	6e Volume		1556 — 1564	815 — 860
	7e Volume		1564 — 1571	861 — 908
	8e Volume Perdu		1571 — 1602	909 — 980
Livre noir neuf. Perdu	M. Bitemann l'a vu ~~[illegible]~~		1572 —	
	9e Volume		1602 — 1609	
	10e Volume		1609 — 1620	
	11e Volume		1620 — 1629	
	12e Volume		1629 — 1664	
	13e Volume		1664 —	
		Livre de la chambre Criminelle	1537 — 1618	1501 — 1564
		Livre intitulé Doulx-sire	1367 — 1487	
		Ancien registre du Chtel	1605 —	
		Autre ancien reg.re du Chtel		
		Registres des publications		

* Il y en a aussi un Liv. rouge ordl. depuis 1358. jusqu'à 1408. dont j'ai l'extrait

3.67. "Registres du Ch[âte]let rangéz suivant l'ordre chronologique des plus anciennes pieces." [BnF n.a.f. 243, fol. 94]

CONTINUATION
DU
TRAITÉ
DE
LA POLICE,

Contenant

L'HISTOIRE DE SON ÉTABLISSEMENT,
Les fonctions & les prérogatives de ses Magistrats ; toutes les Loix & les Réglemens qui la concernent.

AVEC UN RECUEIL

DE TOUS LES REGLEMENS ET STATUTS DES SIX CORPS DES MARCHANDS, & de toutes les Communautez des Arts & Métiers.

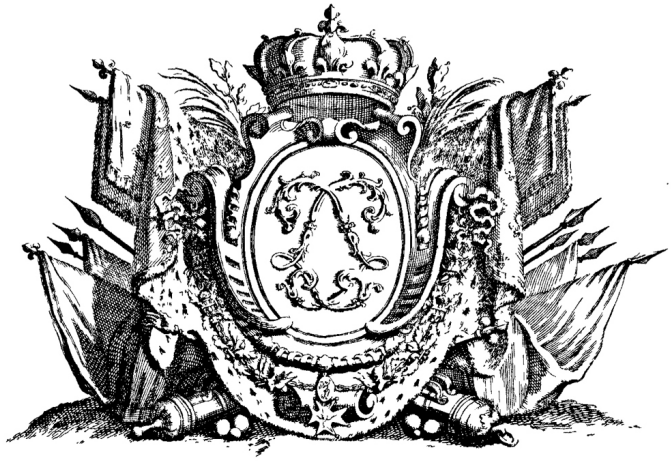
TOME QUATRIÉME.

DE LA VOIRIE,

DE TOUT CE QUI EN DEPEND OU QUI Y A QUELQUE RAPPORT

On y a joint

UNE SUITE DE LA DESCRIPTION HISTORIQUE ET TOPOGRAPHIQUE DE PARIS ; & deux Plans nouvellement gravez ; l'un représente l'état présent de la Ville de Paris ; avec ses Accroissemens, ses Bornes & ses Limites ; l'autre désigne tous les Canaux, Conduits, Tuyaux & Reservoirs pour la distribution des Eaux aux Fontaines publiques de la Ville & des Fauxbourgs.

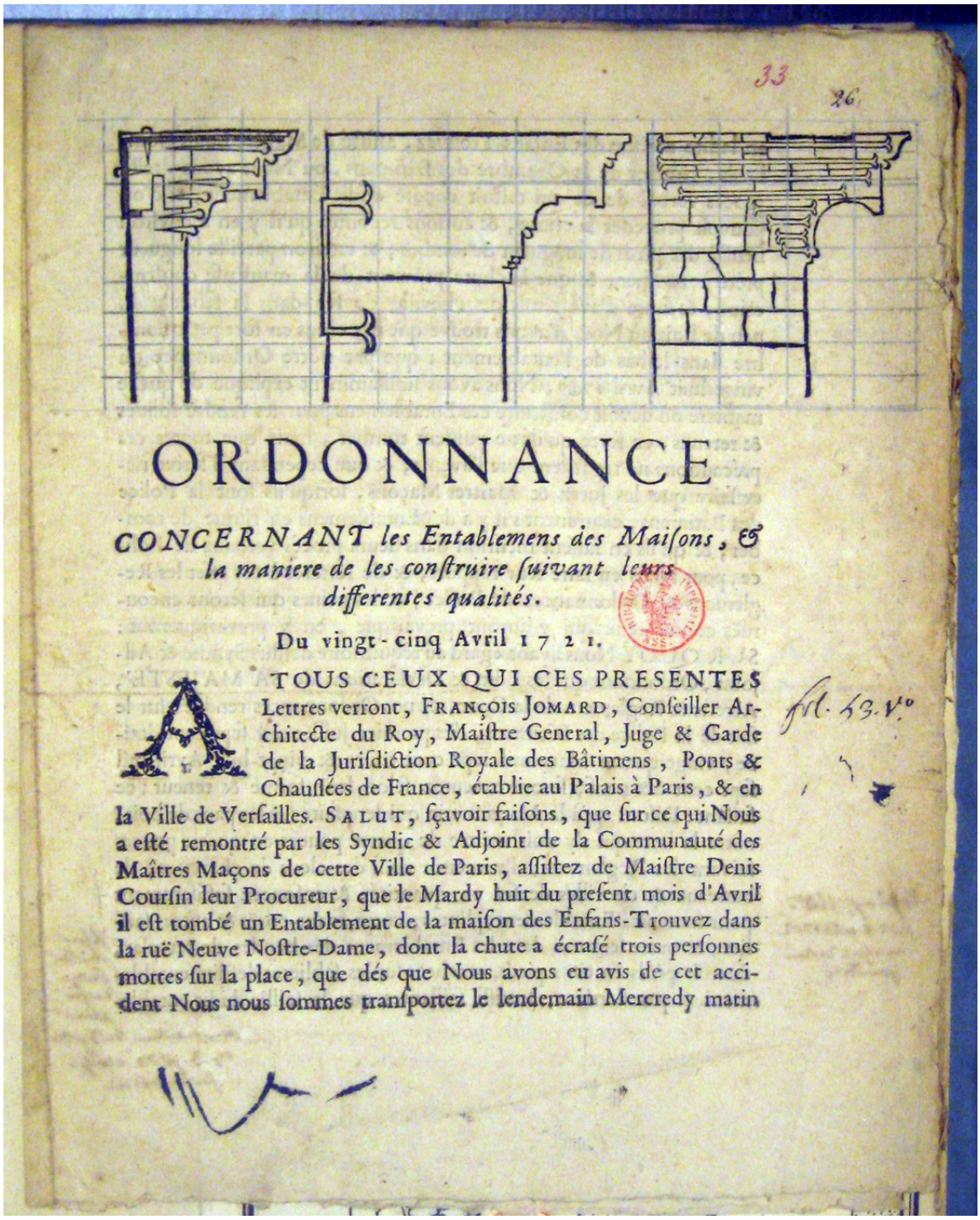


A PARIS.
Chez JEAN-FRANÇOIS HERISSANT, ruë Neuve-Notre-Dame, à la Providence.

M DCC XXXVIII
AVEC PRIVILEGE DE SA MAJESTÉ.

3.68. Title page of the fourth volume of the *Traité de la police*, 1738. [Bibliothèque Cujas]

3.69. Vignette in the fourth volume of the *Traité de la police*, 1738. [Middleton Library]



33

26.

ORDONNANCE

CONCERNANT les Entablemens des Maisons, & la maniere de les construire suivant leurs differentes qualités.

Du vingt-cinq Avril 1721.

A TOUS CEUX QUI CES PRESENTES Lettres verront, FRANÇOIS JOMARD, Conseiller Architecte du Roy, Maistre General, Juge & Garde de la Jurisdiction Royale des Bâtimens, Ponts & Chaussées de France, établie au Palais à Paris, & en la Ville de Versailles. SALUT, sçavoir faisons, que sur ce qui Nous a esté remontré par les Syndic & Adjoint de la Communauté des Maîtres Maçons de cette Ville de Paris, assistez de Maistre Denis Coursin leur Procureur, que le Mardy huit du present mois d'Avril il est tombé un Entablement de la maison des Enfans-Trouvez dans la ruë Neuve Nostre-Dame, dont la chute a écrasé trois personnes mortes sur la place, que dés que Nous avons eu avis de cet accident Nous nous sommes transportez le lendemain Mercredy matin

fol. 43. V°

3.70. Ordinance on entablatures, 25 April 1721. [BnF ms. fr. 21696, fol. 33]

Peines contre les Entrepreneurs & Ouvriers.

» tout à peine contre chacun des contrevenans, Entrepreneurs abusans & mesusans » de l'Art de Maçonnerie, de demeurer garants & responsables en leurs propres & » privés noms, des dommages & interêts des » parties, sans préjudice de plus grande » peine s'il y échet, & de rétablir à leurs » frais & dépens, & sans répétition contre » les Proprietaires des Bâtimens où se trouveront lesdites malfaçons; même à l'égard » des Maîtres, d'interdiction, & de telles » peines qu'il appartiendra contre les Compagnons.

Les Jurez & Maîtres visiteront les entablemens

» Que les Jurez & Maîtres que nous » commettrons par chacun mois à la visite » des Bâtimens, seront tenus dans leurs » Procès verbaux qu'ils dresseront & signeront sur les lieux, & qu'ils nous rapporteront tous les vendredis de chaque semaine à notre Audiance, en la maniere accoûtumée, de faire mention de ceux qu'ils » auront visités, & des abus & malversations qu'ils y auront remarqués contraires » aux Ordonnances & Réglemens, sous telles peines qu'il appartiendra.

» Ordonnons pareillement qu'il sera par » nous informé, à la Requête desdits Syndic & Adjoints, contre l'Entrepreneur de » l'ouvrage en question, pour l'information » faite, & à nous rapportée, être ordonné » ce que de raison.

Voyez aussi l'Ordonnance du 28 Avril 1719, au ch. 2. du Tit. des Incendies.

Un autre accident arrivé dans la rue Neuve Nôtre-Dame, le Mardi de la Semaine Sainte 8. Avril 1721. par la chute d'un entablement qui se detacha du mur de la maison des Enfans trouvés, dont trois personnes furent tuées sur la place, donna lieu au Maître Général des Bâtimens de rendre une nouvelle Ordonnance le 25. du même mois, qui a ajoûté d'autres précautions à la précedente. Voici ce qu'elle porte : « Disons » qu'à la Maçonnerie qui sera faite sur les » pans de bois, outre la latte qui s'y doit » mettre de quatre pouces en quatre pouces, suivant les Réglemens, d'y mettre aussi » des cloux de charrettes, de bateaux, & » chevilles de fer en quantité, & enfoncés » suffisamment pour soutenir l'entablement, » plinthes, corps, avant-corps & autres » saillies; & outre, sera mis dans les entablemens des bandes de fer plat, de trois » pieds en trois pieds, attachées sur les sablieres dedits entablemens, & par derriere, « & aussi saillantes que la saillie dudit entablement, & clouées chacune de deux « cloux sur lesdites sablieres, une par-dessus « & l'autre par le derriere de la sabliere opposé à la face de l'entablement : & quant « aux Bâtimens qui se construiront en pierres de taille, les entablemens porteront le « parpin du mur outre la saillie, & au cas « que la saillie de l'entablement soit si grande qu'elle puisse emporter la bassecule « de l'assise, on sera tenu d'y mettre des « harpons de fer au derriere, pour les retenir « dans le mur de face au-dessous : quant aux « murs qui se construiront de moilons & mortier ou en plâtre, il sera mis dans les plinthes, corps, avant corps & entablemens, « des fantons de fer en quantité, & d'épaisseur suffisante, enfoncés jusques à mi mur; « quant aux plinthes, corps, & avant corps « & quant aux entablemens, ils porteront « toute l'épaisseur du mur, outre la saillie « dudit entablement, pour supporter la charge d'icelui; le tout à peine contre les « Maîtres Maçons, Compagnons & autres « contrevenans, abusans & mesusans, de demeurer garants & responsables des Ouvrages où se trouveront des malfaçons, & « des dommages & interêts envers les Proprietaires, & autres qu'il appartiendra; « même d'interdiction contre les Maîtres Maçons qui les auront faites ou fait faire, & « de plus grandes peines s'il y échoit. Et « afin qu'on ne puisse ignorer la maniere de « construire les entablemens, suivant qu'il est « ci-dessus expliqué, nous en avons fait faire « les empreintes qui seront mises en tête des « presentes : permettons ausdits Syndic & « Adjoints de faire informer contre celui qui « a fait ou fait faire ledit entablement de la « maison des Enfans trouvés, leur enjoignons de tenir la main à l'exécution des « presentes, & aux Jurez & Maîtres que « nous nommerons chacun mois pour faire « la visite de Police des Bâtimens, de nous « rapporter tous les Vendredis de chacune « semaine, les contraventions à ces presentes, « & autres malfaçons faites ou à faire, même « de nous donner avis des vieux entablemens « qui peuvent se trouver en peril, & d'en « faire mention dans leurs Procès verbaux « de Police, pour memoire seulement «.

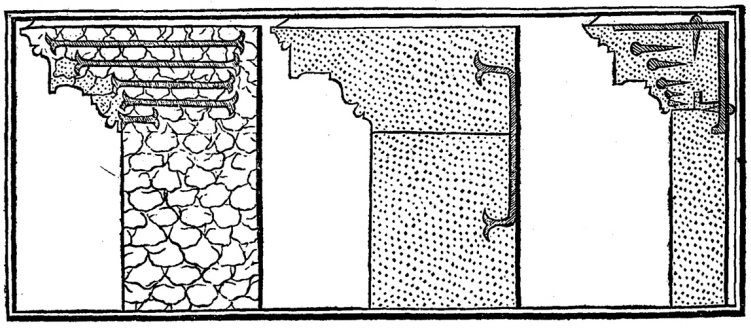
Il sera mis des bandes de fer plat aux entablemens en pans de bois de trois pieds en trois pieds, attachées sur sablieres.

Aux entablemens de pierre de taille, sera mis des harpons de fer.

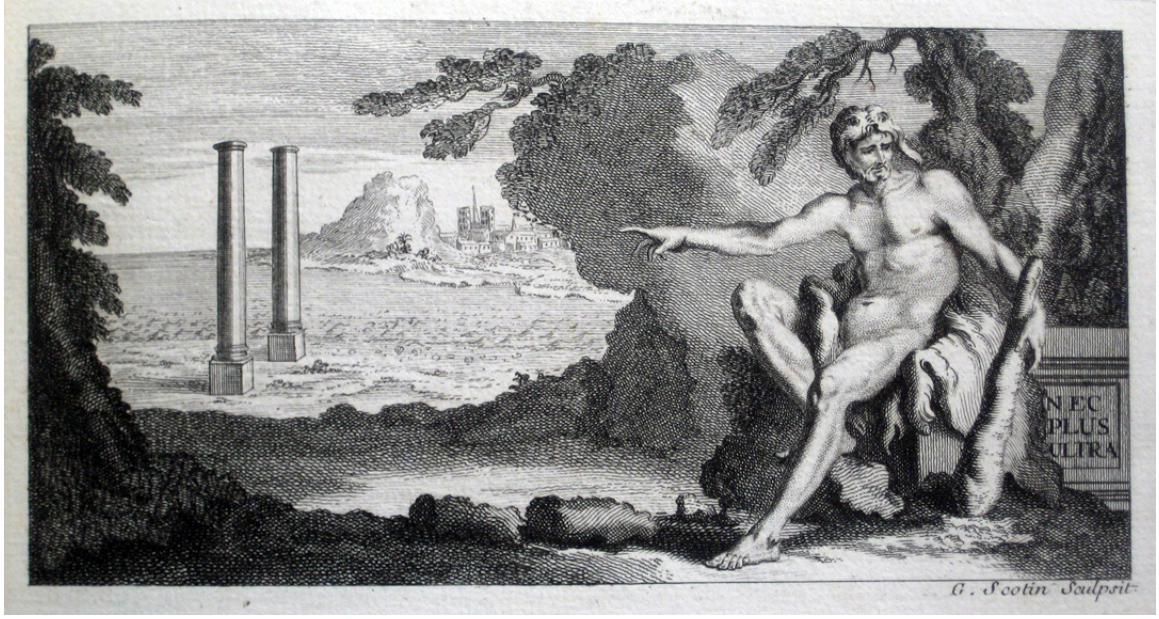
Forme des entablemens.

MODELES DES ENTABLEMENS.

Entablement en Moilon. *Entablement en Pierre de taille.* *Entablement en Pans de bois.*

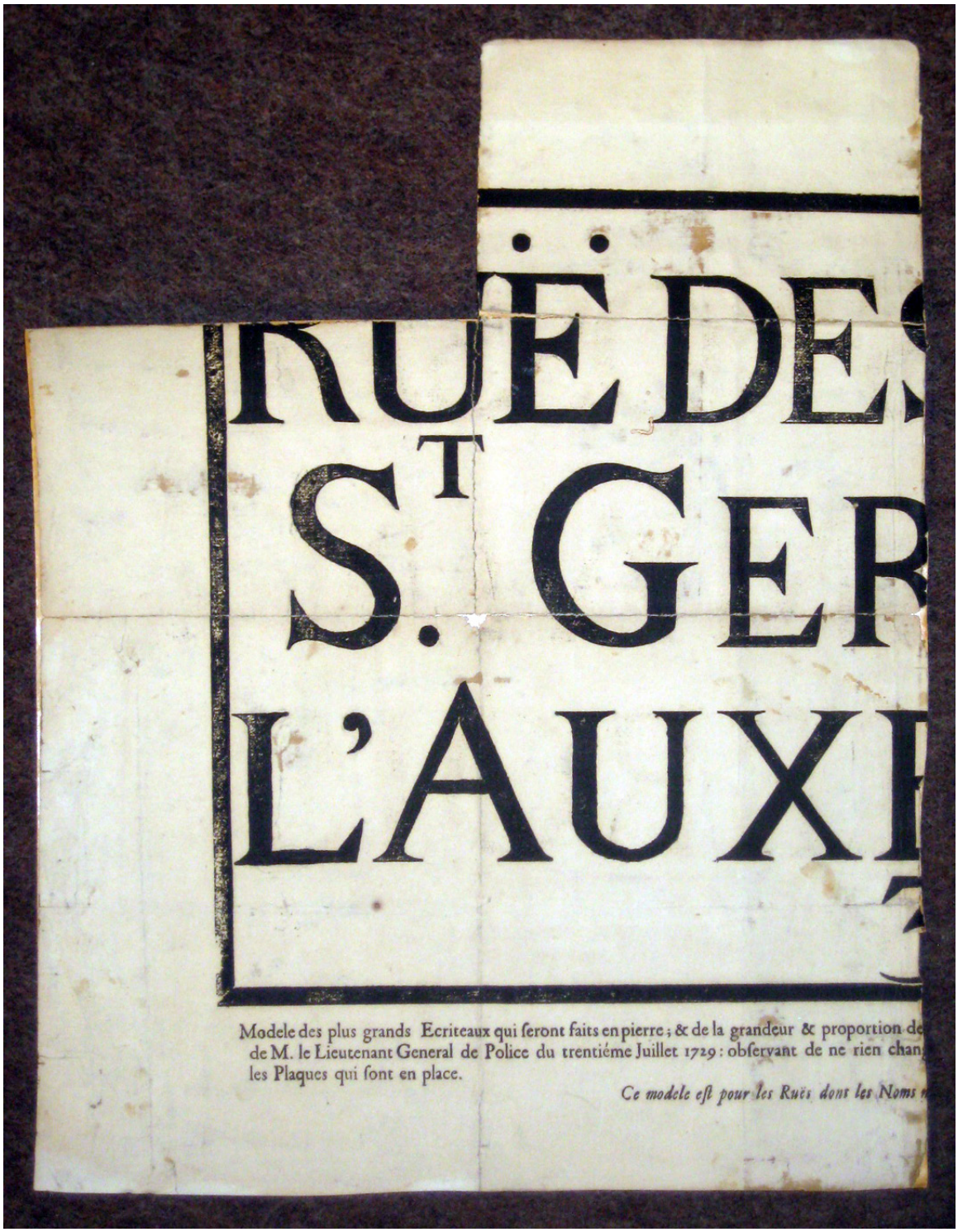


3.71. The 1721 ordinance on entablatures in the *Traité de la police*, 1738. [Gallica]



3.72. "Nec plus ultra." Vignette in one of the volumes produced for the Travail des Limites, 1732. [BHVP Ms Na 492 Réserve 150]

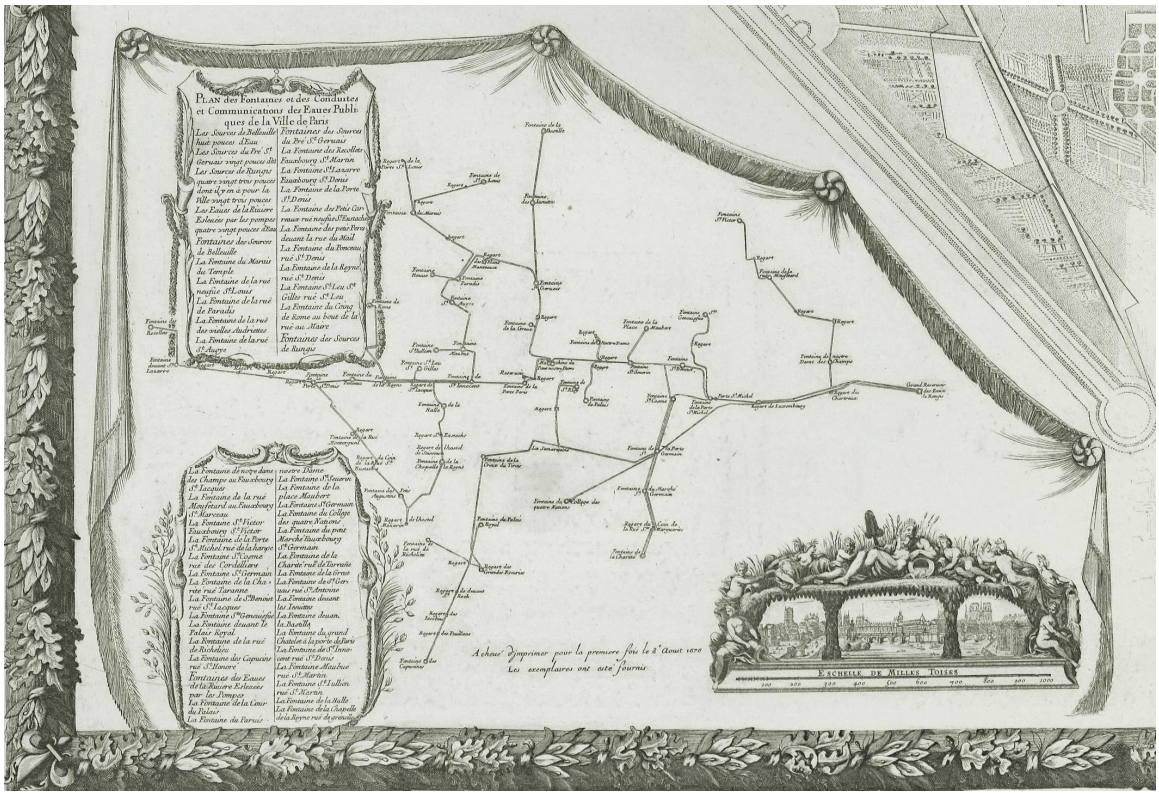
3.73. Stone sign in the Rue de Charenton marking the 1724-28 city limits.

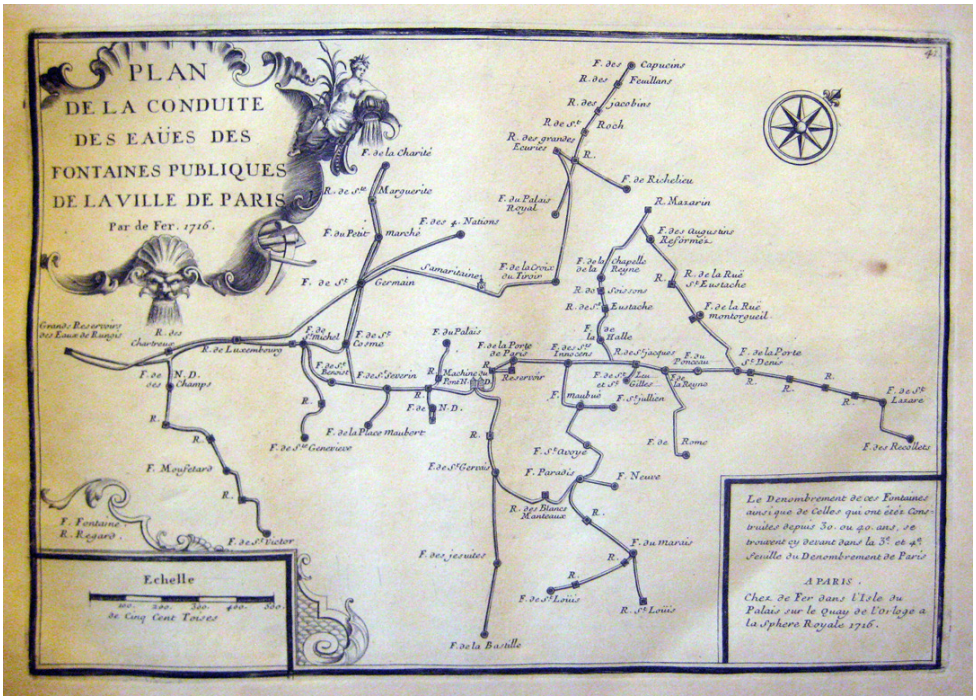


3.74. Mock-up of a street sign, 1729. [Musée de la Préfecture de Police]

3.75-76. Street signs at the Rue de Boucherat and the Rue de la Vrillière.

3.77-78. Street signs at the Rue des Fossés Saint-Jacques and the Fontaine Trogneux (corner of the Rue du Faubourg Saint-Antoine and the Rue de Charonne).

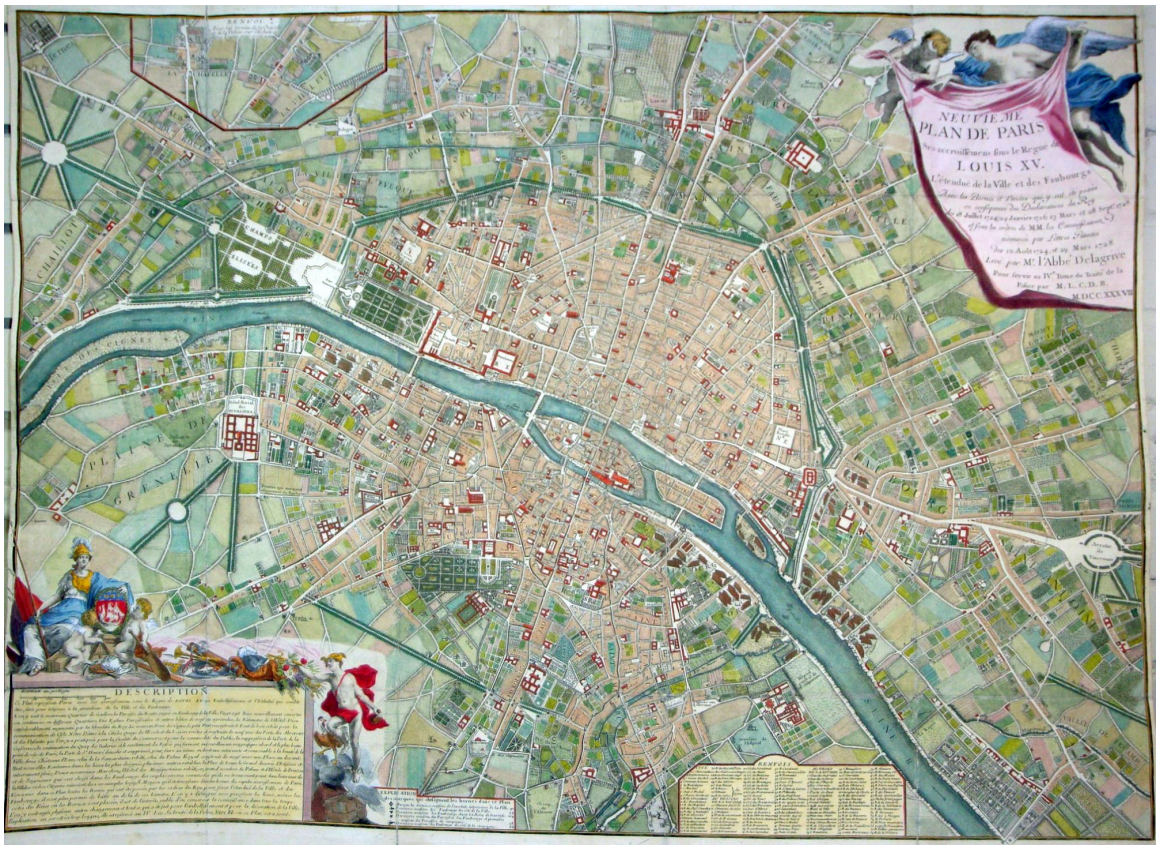




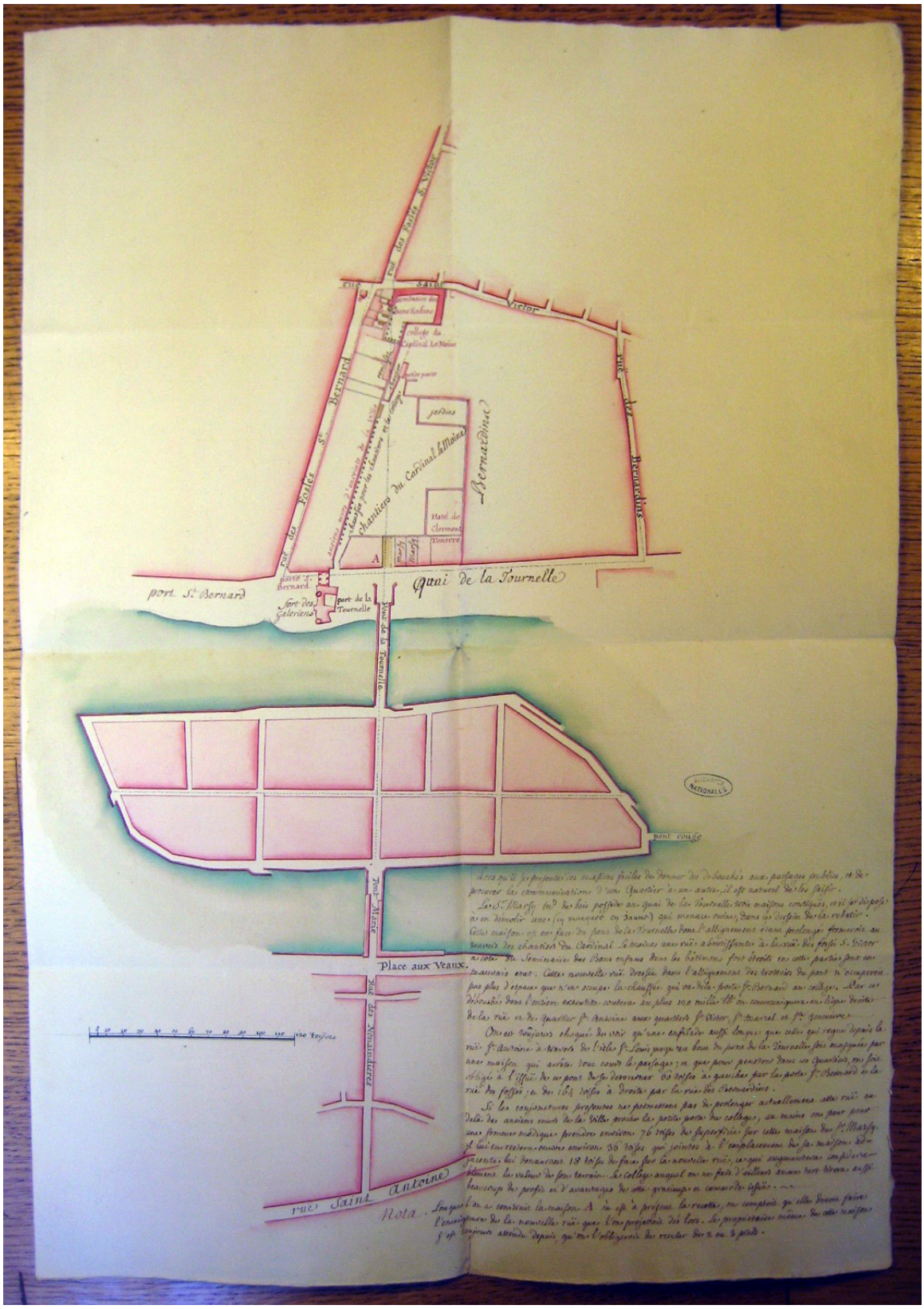
3.79. Diagram of the water system in Pierre Bullet and François Blondel, "Plan de Paris," 1676. [Oderik]

3.80. Nicolas de Fer, "Plan de la conduite des eaües des fontaines publiques de la ville de Paris," 1716, in *Les beautés de la France*, 1724. [Houghton Library]

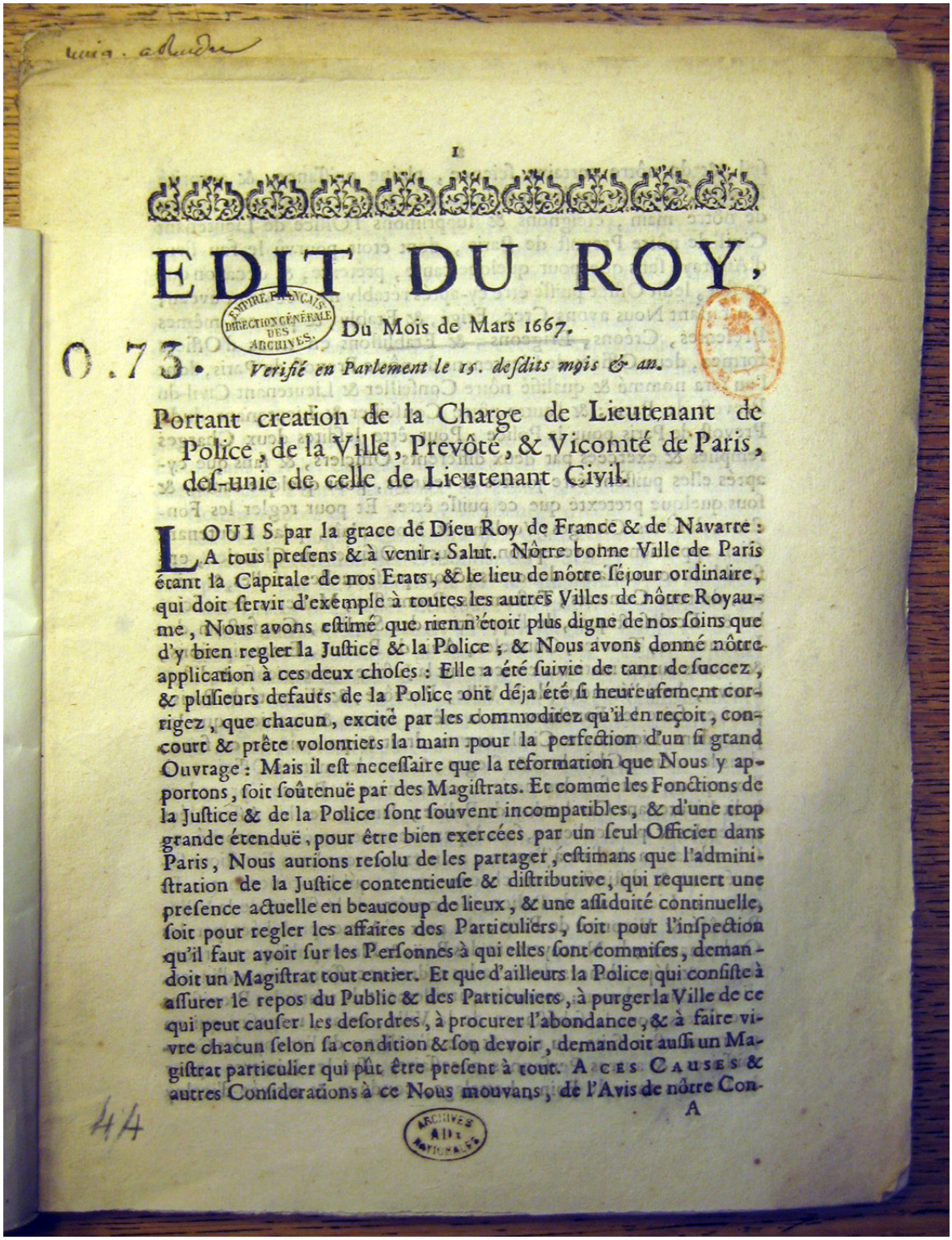
3.81. Jean Delagrive, “Plan des fontaines de la ville et des faubourgs de Paris,” 1730. [BnF cartes Ge C 9768]



3.82. Jean Delagrive, “Neuvième plan de Paris,” 1737. [Alexandre Antique Prints, Maps & Books]



4.1. Jean Delagrive, project for a new street at the Pont de la Tournelle, 1756. [AN F/14/184/A]



I

EDIT DU ROY,

Du Mois de Mars 1667.

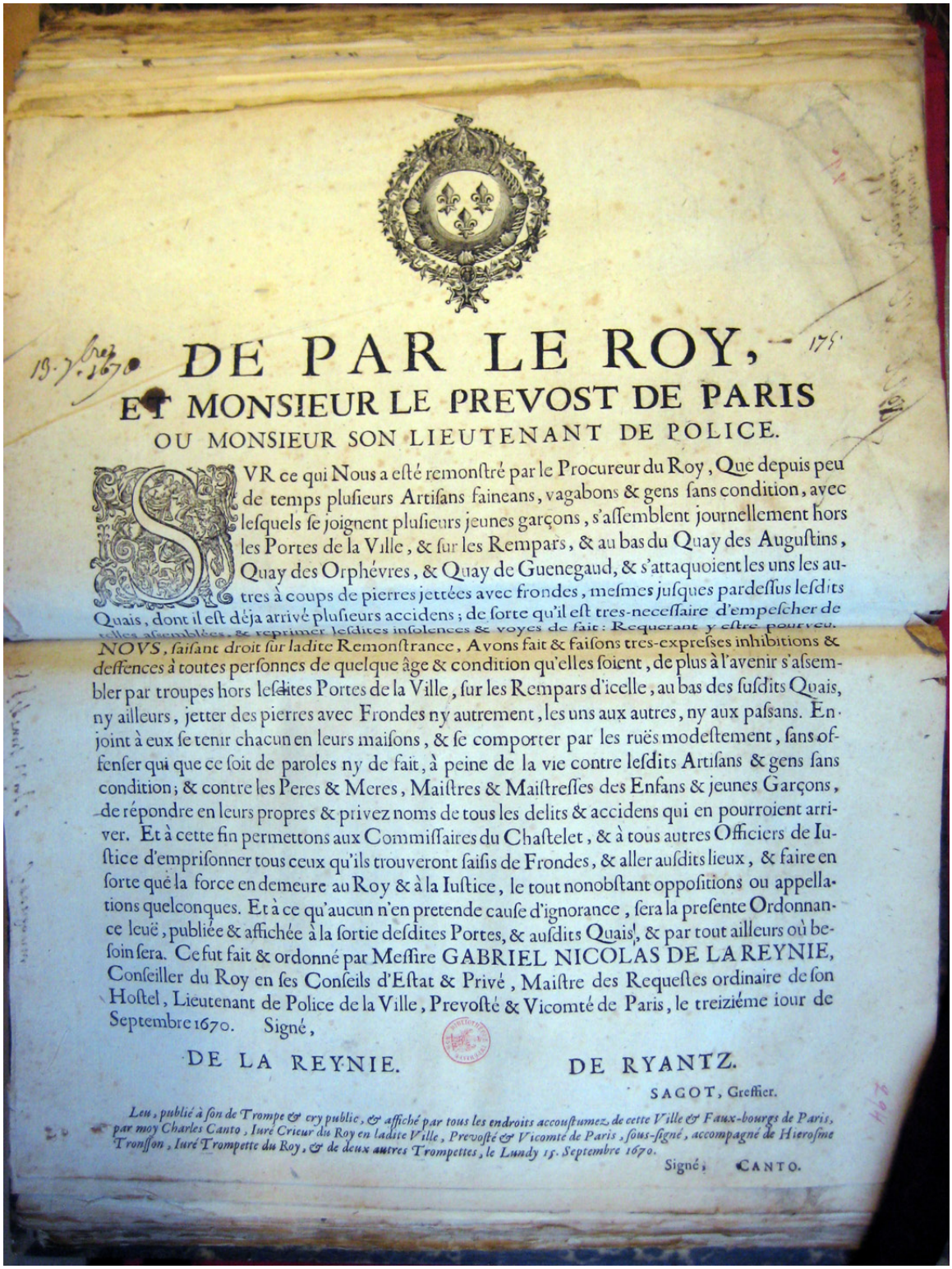
Verifié en Parlement le 15. desdits mois & an.

Portant creation de la Charge de Lieutenant de Police, de la Ville, Prevôté, & Vicomté de Paris, des-unie de celle de Lieutenant Civil.

LOUIS par la grace de Dieu Roy de France & de Navarre : A tous presens & à venir : Salut. Nôtre bonne Ville de Paris étant la Capitale de nos Etats, & le lieu de nôtre séjour ordinaire, qui doit servir d'exemple à toutes les autres Villes de nôtre Royaume, Nous avons estimé que rien n'étoit plus digne de nos soins que d'y bien regler la Justice & la Police ; & Nous avons donné nôtre application à ces deux choses : Elle a été suivie de tant de succez, & plusieurs defauts de la Police ont déja été si heureusement corrigez, que chacun, excité par les commoditez qu'il en reçoit, concourt & prête volontiers la main pour la perfection d'un si grand Ouvrage : Mais il est necessaire que la reformation que Nous y apportons, soit soûtenuë par des Magistrats. Et comme les Fonctions de la Justice & de la Police sont souvent incompatibles, & d'une trop grande étenduë, pour être bien exercées par un seul Officier dans Paris, Nous aurions resolu de les partager, estimans que l'administration de la Justice contentieuse & distributive, qui requiert une presence actuelle en beaucoup de lieux, & une assiduité continuelle, soit pour regler les affaires des Particuliers, soit pour l'inspection qu'il faut avoir sur les Personnes à qui elles sont commises, demandoit un Magistrat tout entier. Et que d'ailleurs la Police qui consiste à assurer le repos du Public & des Particuliers, à purger la Ville de ce qui peut causer les desordres, à procurer l'abondance, & à faire vivre chacun selon sa condition & son devoir, demandoit aussi un Magistrat particulier qui pût être present à tout. A CES CAUSES & autres Considerations à ce Nous mouvans, de l'Avis de nôtre Con-

A

A.1. Edict of creation of the office of Lieutenant de Police, March 1667. [AN AD/Ⅲ/390]



DE PAR LE ROY,

ET MONSIEUR LE PREVOST DE PARIS

OU MONSIEUR SON LIEUTENANT DE POLICE.

SVR ce qui Nous a esté remonstré par le Procureur du Roy, Que depuis peu de temps plusieurs Artisans faineans, vagabons & gens sans condition, avec lesquels se joignent plusieurs jeunes garçons, s'assemblent journellement hors les Portes de la Ville, & sur les Rempars, & au bas du Quay des Augustins, Quay des Orphévres, & Quay de Guenegaud, & s'attaquoient les uns les autres à coups de pierres jettées avec frondes, mesmes jusques pardessus lesdits Quais, dont il est déja arrivé plusieurs accidens; de sorte qu'il est tres-necessaire d'empescher de telles assemblées, & reprimer lesdites insolences & voyes de fait: Requerant y estre pourveu. NOVS, faisant droit sur ladite Remonstrance, Avons fait & faisons tres-expresses inhibitions & deffences à toutes personnes de quelque âge & condition qu'elles soient, de plus à l'avenir s'assembler par troupes hors lesdites Portes de la Ville, sur les Rempars d'icelle, au bas des susdits Quais, ny ailleurs, jetter des pierres avec Frondes ny autrement, les uns aux autres, ny aux passans. Enjoint à eux se tenir chacun en leurs maisons, & se comporter par les ruës modestement, sans offenser qui que ce soit de paroles ny de fait, à peine de la vie contre lesdits Artisans & gens sans condition; & contre les Peres & Meres, Maistres & Maistresses des Enfans & jeunes Garçons, de répondre en leurs propres & privez noms de tous les delits & accidens qui en pourroient arriver. Et à cette fin permettons aux Commissaires du Chastelet, & à tous autres Officiers de Iustice d'emprisonner tous ceux qu'ils trouveront saisis de Frondes, & aller ausdits lieux, & faire en sorte que la force en demeure au Roy & à la Iustice, le tout nonobstant oppositions ou appellations quelconques. Et à ce qu'aucun n'en pretende cause d'ignorance, sera la presente Ordonnance leuë, publiée & affichée à la sortie desdites Portes, & ausdits Quais, & par tout ailleurs où besoin sera. Ce fut fait & ordonné par Messire GABRIEL NICOLAS DE LA REYNIE, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils d'Estat & Privé, Maistre des Requestes ordinaire de son Hostel, Lieutenant de Police de la Ville, Prevosté & Vicomté de Paris, le treiziéme iour de Septembre 1670. Signé,

DE LA REYNIE. DE RYANTZ.

SAGOT, Greffier.

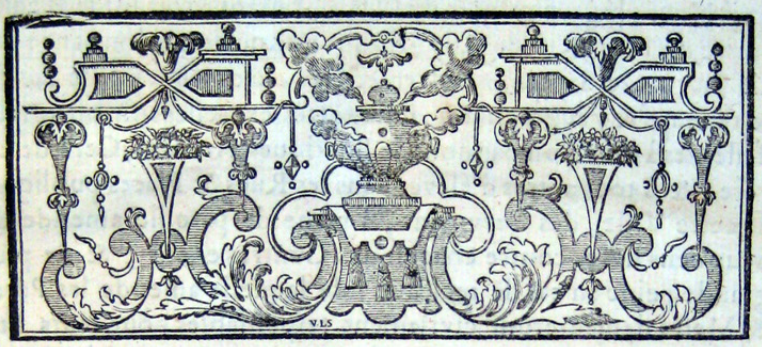
Leu, publié à son de Trompe & cry public, & affiché par tous les endroits accoustumez de cette Ville & Faux-bourgs de Paris, par moy Charles Canto, Iuré Crieur du Roy en ladite Ville, Prevosté & Vicomté de Paris, sous-signé, accompagné de Hierosme Tronsson, Iuré Trompette du Roy, & de deux autres Trompettes, le Lundy 15. Septembre 1670.

Signé, CANTO.

A.2. Police ordinance concerning ne'er-do-wells, 13 September 1670. [BnF ms. fr. 21693, fol. 294]

16. Octobre 1736 Cervolans 365 209

1



ORDONNANCE
DE POLICE.

Qui fait deffenses d'élever des Cervolans dans les Ruës & Places publiques de cette Ville.

Du seize Octobre 1736.

SUR ce qui Nous a esté remontré par le Procureur du Roy ; Que quoique par nostre Ordonnance du onze Septembre mil sept cens trente-six & autres précédemment renduës concernant la liberté & la sûreté des ruës, il soit fait très-expresses inhibitions & deffenses à toutes personnes de joüer dans les Ruës ou Places publiques au Volant, au Bastonnet, aux Quilles & autres Jeux dont les Passans puissent estre incommodez ou blessez, ou les Lanternes publiques cassées, à peine de deux cens livres d'amende, quelques jeunes Gens cependant se donnent encore la licence d'élever dans les Ruës ou Places publiques des Cervolans, ce qui occasionne les mêmes inconveniens. A ces causes requeroit le Procureur du Roy

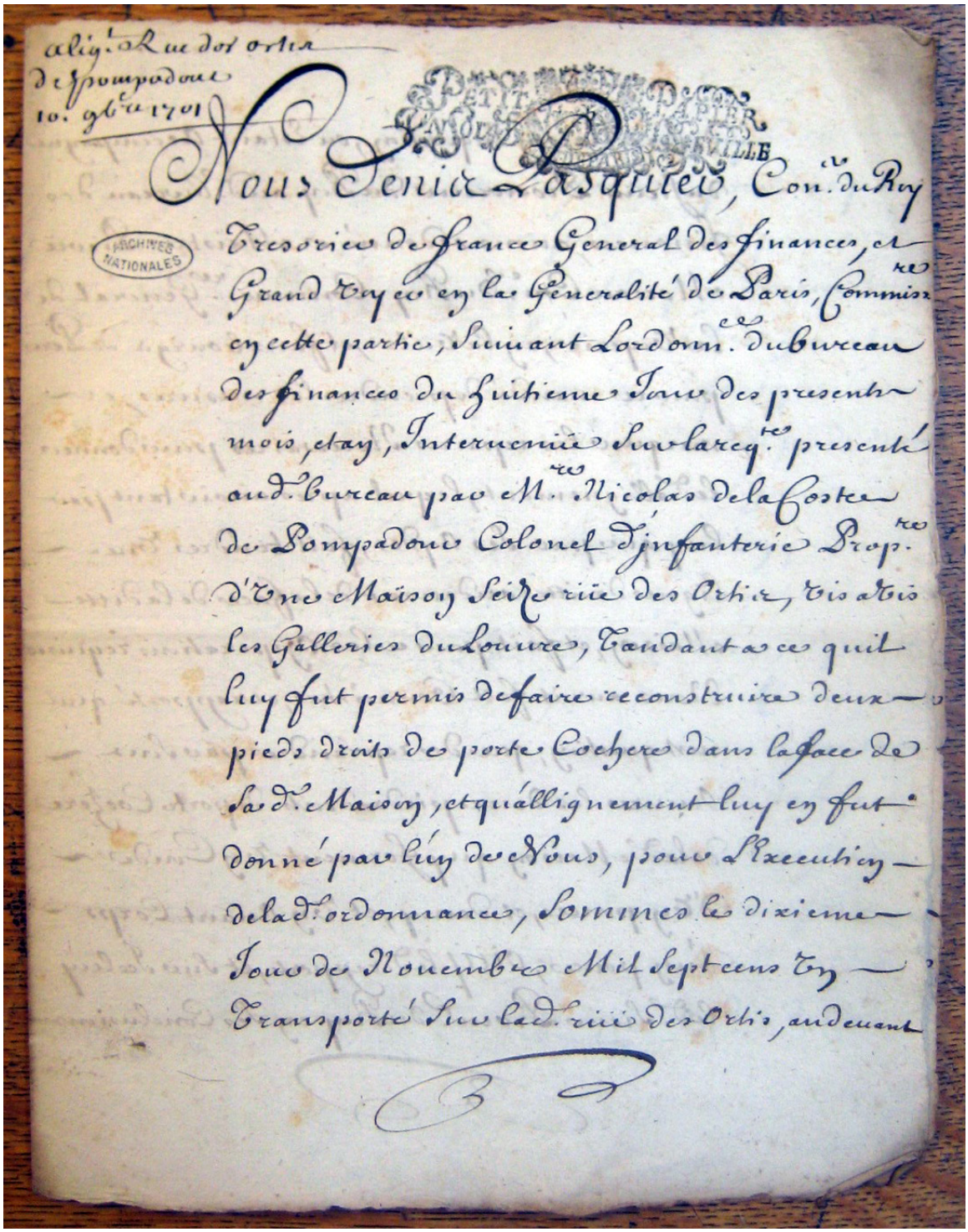
A.3. Police ordinance concerning kites, 16 October 1736. [BnF ms. fr. 21693, fol. 365]

SVR ce qui nous a esté remonstré par le Procureur du Roy; Qu'ayant cy-deuant rendu plainte des abus qui se commettoient iournellement par les Proprietaires des Maisons de la Ville & Fauxbourgs de Paris, au sujet des éleuations des Murs de face & pans de bois qu'ils faisoient sur les ruës, lesquels outre qu'ils ne gardoient aucunes mesures ny regularité dans la façade des Maisons, ils les éleuoient d'vne hauteur si excesse, que les ruës en estoient obscurcies, & les voisins en souffroient beaucoup d'incommoditez, que d'ailleurs cette grande éleuation pouuoit causer des inconueniens fâcheux, lesdits murs & pans de bois pouuant plus facilement tomber par leur propre poids, comme il a remarqué à ceux nouuellement faits dans la ruë S. Vincent, lesquels quoy qu'à peine acheuez sont tout desfez, & que pource il nous eût requis d'y pourueoir ainsi qu'il appartiendroit. NOVS aurions rendu nostre Ordonnance le 19. Iuillet dernier, portant injonction aux Maistres des œuures de Maçonnerie & Charpenterie des Bastimens du Roy de venir au Bureau pour nous donner leur aduis sur ce qu'ils trouueroient estre necessaire; ce qu'ayant fait le 21. Iuillet dernier apres les auoir entendus, Nous leur aurions ordonné d'en conferer entr'eux, & de bien examiner tous les expediens necessaires pour remedier aux abus qui se commettent, & en suitte nous en donner leur aduis par écrit, dont Michel Villedo & Simon d'Espine Maistres des Oeuures de Maçonnerie des Bastimens de sa Majesté, & Sebastien Bruant Maistre des Oeuures de Charpenterie desdits Bastimens satisfaisants à nostre Ordonnance auroient donné leur aduis le 8. du present mois au Procureur du Roy, qui nous auroit representé, & requis que de nouueau il nous plûst pourueoir sur les remonstrances inserées en nostredite Ordonnance du 19. Iuillet dernier, ensemble sur le retranchement des saillies & aduances des Maisons qui sont sur ruës contrarmement aux Ordonnances cy-deuant données, que les pans de bois & murs de face faits depuis deux ans soient visitez, pour en cas que les hauteurs soient excessiues y pourueoir ainsi qu'il sera iugé necessaire pour la seureté & vtilité publique. VEV les Ordonnances & Reglements faits au sujet de la Voyrie, le rapport desdits Maistres des Oeuures des Bastimens du Roy en forme d'aduis du 8. Aoust dernier, nostredite Ordonnance du 19. Iuillet precedent, NOVS ayant égard audit requisitoire du Procureur du Roy, & en attendant qu'il ayt plû à sa Majesté pourueoir aux ordres necessaires pour l'ornement, decoration, elargissement des ruës de cette Ville & Fauxbourgs d'icelles: AVONS ORDONNE' & ordonnons aux Maistres des Oeuures des Bastimens du Roy & Commis à la Voyrie de faire visite generale dans la Ville & Fauxbourgs de Paris pour connoistre les saillies & coudes de Maisons ou les pans de bois & murs sont caducs, desquels ils dresseront leur rapport, pour iceluy veu estre ordonné sur l'abatis d'iceux, & les Maisons tirées au droit alignement des autres: Faisons deffences à tous Proprietaires de Maisons de cettedite Ville & Fauxbourgs de Paris de construire à l'aduenir aucuns murs de face ny pans de bois de hauteur de plus de huit thoises depuis le retz de chaussée des ruës iusques à l'entablement au dessus duquel nous ordonnons qu'à l'aduenir lesdites Maisons & Bastimens seront couuerts en crouppe de pauillon du costé desdites ruës. FAISONS pareillement deffences ausdits Proprietaires de faire faire aucunes pointes de Pignon formes rondes ny quarrées: ENIOINT ausdits Proprietaires de faire couurir à l'aduenir les pans de bois de lattes, clouds & plastre tant dedans que dehors, en telle maniere qu'ils soient en estat de pouuoir resister au feu, autrement & à faute de ce faire & en cas de contrauention à ce que dessus seront lesdits Proprietaires & ouuriers qui trauailleront ausdits bastimens condamnez à cent cinquante liures d'amende applicable à l'Hospit General, & les ouurages abatus & démolis à leurs frais & despens: ENIOIGNONS aussi ausdits Maistres des Oeuures des Bâtimens du Roy & au Commis à la Voyrie de faire rapport des Maisons ou il y a eu des pans de bois éleuez d'vne hauteur excessue depuis deux ans, pour iceluy veu estre ordonné ce que de raison, & de tenir la main à l'execution de la presente Ordonnance laquelle sera leuë, publiée & affichée par tous les Carrefours & autres endroits de cette Ville & Fauxbourgs, & executée nonobstant oppositions ou appellations quelconques. FAIT au Bureau des Finances, à Paris le 18. iour d'Aoust 1667.

Extrait des Registres du Bureau des Finances en la Generalité de Paris.

desordre contre lequel les Ordonnances ayent & plus rigoureuses, aussi il n'y en a eu aucun où [illegible] & outragées dans ce sujet le plus impor-

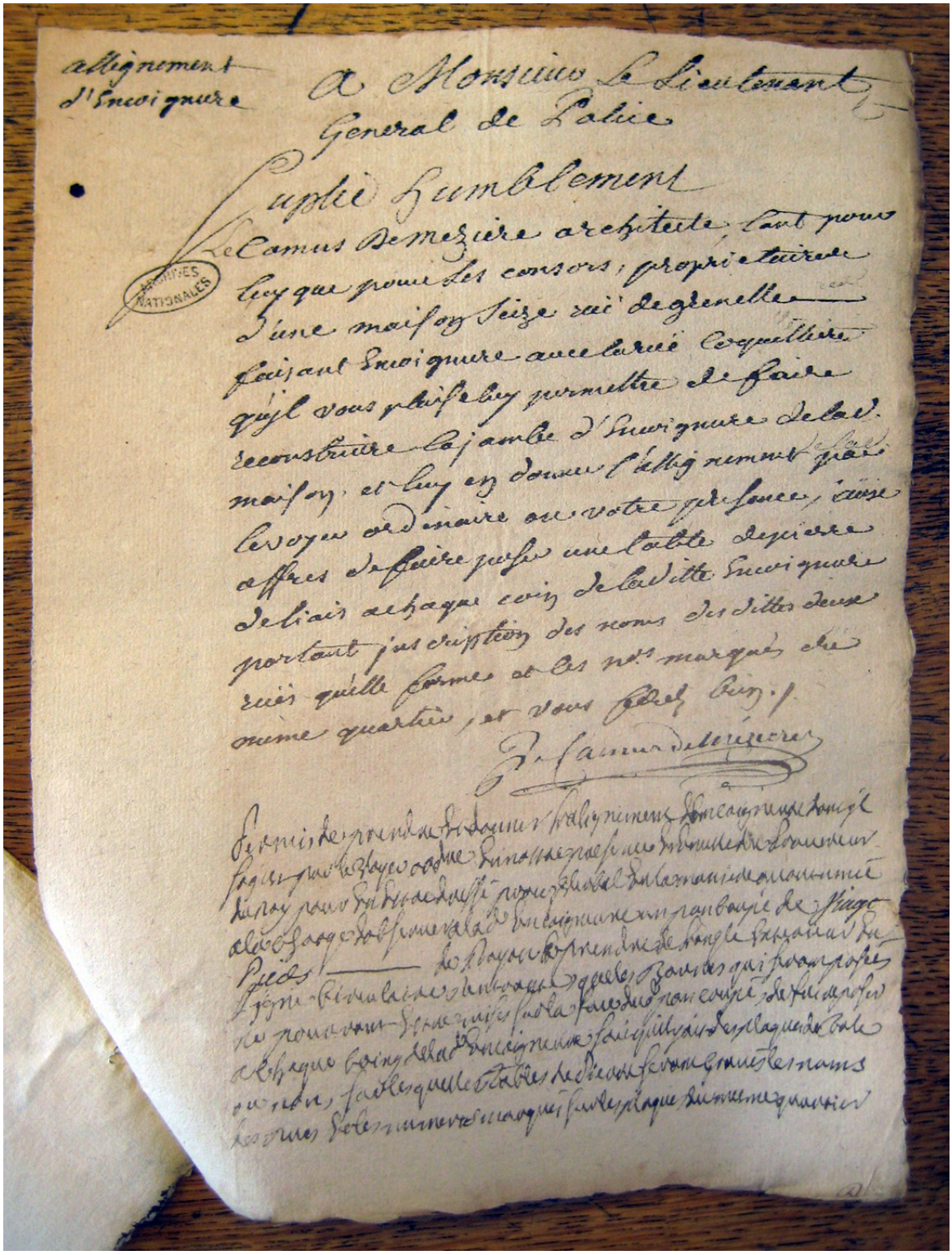
A.4. Ordinance on the height of buildings, Bureau des Finances, 18 August 1667. [BnF ms. fr. 21696, fol. 24]



alig.t de la rue des Orties de Pompadour 10. 9bre 1701

Nous Denis Pasquier, Con.er du Roy Tresorier de France General des finances, et Grand Voyer en la Generalité de Paris, Commiss.re en cette partie, Suivant l'ordonn.ce du bureau des finances du huitieme Jour des present mois, et ay, Interuenue sur la req.te presenté aud. bureau par M.re Nicolas de la Coste de Pompadour Colonel d'infanterie Prop.re d'une Maison Scize rue des Orties, vis a vis les Galleries du Louvre, tendant a ce qu'il luy fut permis de faire reconstruire deux pieds droits de porte Cochere dans la face de sa d. Maison, et qu'alignement luy en fut donné par luy de Nous, pour l'Execution de la d. ordonnance, Sommes le dixieme Jour de Novembre Mil Sept cens Un Transporté sur la d. rue des Orties, au devant

A.5. Alignment permit, Bureau des Finances, 10 November 1701. [AN H/2/2123]



allignement
d'Encoignure

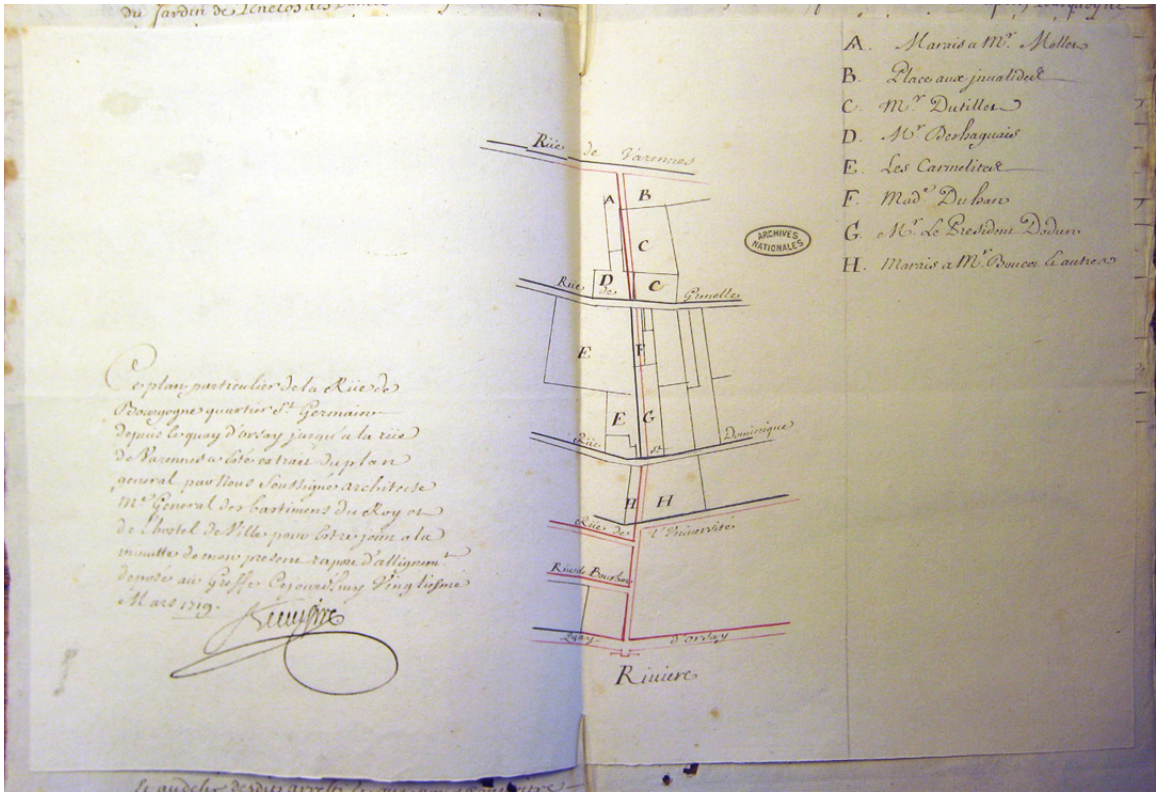
A Monsieur le Lieutenant
General de Police

Supplie humblement
Le Camus de Mezière architecte, tant pour
luy que pour ses consors, propriétaires
d'une maison seize rüe de grenelle
faisant Encoignure avec la rüe Coquillière
qu'il vous plaise luy permettre de faire
reconstruire la jambe d'Encoignure de lad.
maison, et luy en donner l'alignement par
le voyer ordinaire ou votre présence, [illegible]
offres de faire poser une table de pierre
de liais a chaque coin de laditte Encoignure
portant inscription des noms des dittes deux
rües quelle forme et les nos. marqués du
meme quartier, et vous ferez bien./

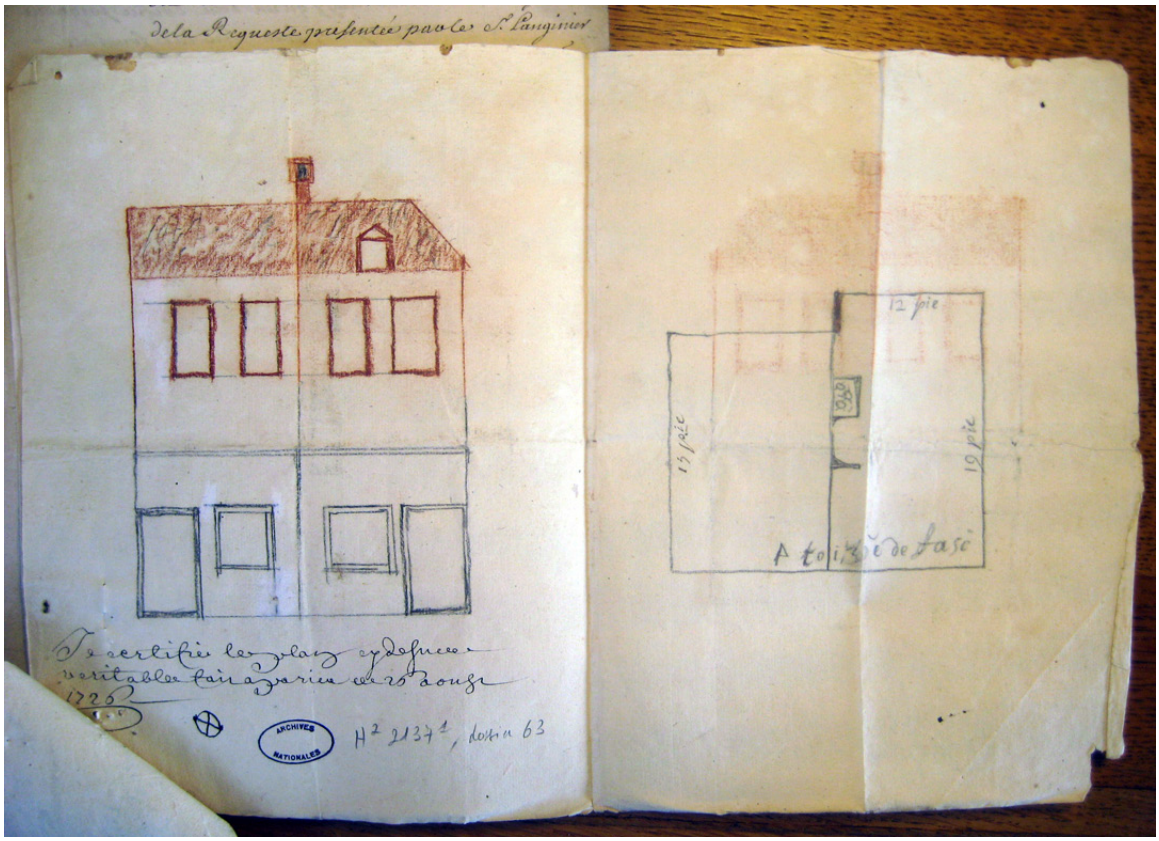
Le Camus de Mezieres

Permis de prendre et donner l'alignement de l'encoignure dont il
[illegible] par le voyer [illegible]
du Roy pour [illegible]
[illegible] encoignure [illegible] de
Pieds ——— le voyer [illegible] prendre de l'angle [illegible]
[illegible]
ne pourront [illegible] sur la face [illegible] coupé [illegible]
a chaque coin de lad. encoignure [illegible] plaques de liais
ou non, [illegible] tables de pierre seront gravés les noms
des rües [illegible] les numeros marqués [illegible] quartier

A.6. Alignment permit, Lieutenance Générale de Police, 25 June 1768. [AN Y/9507/A, fol. 237]



A.7. Alignment plan, Maître Général des Bâtiments, 20 March 1719. [AN H/2/2127]



A.8. Building permit, Bureau de la Ville, 26 August 1726. [AN H/2/2137/1]